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OR,

EUROPEAN QUARTERLY JOURNAL.

" In primisque hominis est propria veri inquisitio atque investigatio."

CICERO DE OFF.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN REVIEW.

PROSPECTUS.

It is commonly said, that charity begins at home. Might we not add, that it too frequently ends there? With nations and individuals, domestic interests are apt to absorb those affections, the influence of which might be extended beneficially, without injury to the rights of those who from nature have the first claim upon them. If we consider that the blessings of charity are upon him that gives, as well as upon him that receives; that the good which is done to others returns upon its author in a thousand ways; we shall find even the selfish passions enlisted on the side of enlarged beneficence. However true this observation, it is yet seldom that nations are sensible of its advantages. Selfishness, condemned in individuals, has been considered the privilege of communities; restrictions upon commerce have been thought the most effectual means of acquiring national wealth; and free institutions at home have been held to be best protected by crushing every germ of liberty abroad.

Indifference to the condition of every nation but their own, has been the peculiar reproach of Englishmen. To amass riches and to enjoy them, have been said to be the occupation of their lives. Our exertions are about to be directed to calling the attention of the Public to the close connexion which exists between the progress of social and intellectual improvement in England and in other countries.

A work, conducted upon this plan, seems, at the present moment, to be particularly required. The periodical meetings of men of science in the different capitals and large towns of Europe, indisputably show, that there is a general desire to be acquainted with scientific discoveries. The human mind begins to be impatient of the trammels, which narrow policy, or ignorant prejudice, had imposed upon it. What reason can be assigned that the division of labour should not produce as important results in speculative science, as in the mechanical arts? It is our good fortune to live at a time, when the anxiety for useful reform is unbounded. We earnestly hope that our efforts for its gratification may not be entirely fruitless.

The literature of our own country is, we believe, acknowledged to be at a low ebb. No poetical work of the first order issues from the press. History is very little cultivated, and Philosophy seems to be neglected. Cheap publications for elementary education abound, composed with a skill that is admirably adapted for its great and useful purpose. Essays on ephemeral subjects, and Novels, certainly well written, but of temporary interest, have filled the place of works calculated to instruct the mind in solid truths, and elevate the feelings above the passions and interests of the moment. Much as this is to be regretted, the remedy is not easily suggested. While the mind continues to be agitated by the hope or fear of great changes, it will not readily subside into a temper suited to philosophical inquiry, or to the calm enjoyment of intellectual occupations. We are, however, not discouraged by the prevalent inclination for the agitating topics of the day, since we shall have ample opportunities of ministering to that taste in our Review of foreign and domestic politics.

Throughout Europe, an anxious struggle is going on between liberal and anti-liberal opinions, or, if we may so describe it, between the voluntary and compulsory principle of Government. After what we have already expressed, it is scarcely necessary for us to declare our warm attachment to the former. We should be glad to see England take a more generous view of the contest, which is shaking the throne of the despot, and encouraging the hopes of every sincere lover of freedom. Her

insular position cannot now, as formerly, protect her from foreign interference. The power of steam has thrown a bridge over the channel, which separates her from the continent—a bridge which no storm can scatter. Her liberty can no longer exist alone. If sympathy with others be wanting, self-defence should awaken her to the necessity of taking unequivocally one side or the other, in a contention of principle, where the crisis is not only inevitable, but fast approaching.

The Conductors of the British and Foreign Review do not disguise their anxiety to see the restoration of Poland to an independent place among the nations of Europe. Nor is this desire founded solely on motives of humanity and justice. They consider, that upon her reinstatement may depend the issue of the question, whether England and the Western States of Europe shall remain in undisturbed possession of their free institutions, and be able to improve them in tranquillity; or, shall be continually exposed to degrading and jealous interruptions from powers less civilized than themselves, who fear that the example of reform, if successful, may not be lost upon their own subjects. Russia seems to be the last hold of conservatism in Europe, to which all anti-reformers turn their eyes for succour in their distress. Against her encroachments, Poland would be an impassable barrier. It is as friends of freedom, no less than of humanity, that the conductors of this Review desire to see the spoliation of Poland avenged, and the example of justice, though tardy, substituted for that of unpunished crime.

But in this work Poland shall have her place, and no more. Her cause shall have its share, and no more than its share, of the attention which every European Journal, conducted upon honest and liberal principles, must bestow upon the most oppressed nation of the world. Our object is truth—our motive charity; and we trust that over our conduct, as reasoners and as critics, fairness and candour will be found to preside, without fettering the freedom of inquiry, or narrowing the province of just censure. Those who are opposed to us in politics, shall be treated with tolerance and respect; whilst in literature and science, our arguments shall be advanced with the caution becoming men who are in search of truth, and be studiously stripped of the arrogance which denotes the propagandist.

We are still painfully aware, how difficult may be the task of engaging the public mind in the investigation of anything, considered to be of so uncertain attainment, as truth. We are, however, inclined to believe that this uncertainty may be overrated. Some one has said, that there is a question often put, and never answered, "What is truth?" But Lord Bacon observes, that it was put "by jesting Pilate, who would not stay "for an answer." His conclusion seems to be correct, for truth may generally be found, if honestly and industriously pursued. But if the path to her abode be choked up by party animosities and pedantic jealousies; if the light of reason be neglected; if vanity beguile, if impatience entangle, or ignorance weigh us down in the investigation; ought we to complain, or be surprised, if we miss that reward, which never was sincerely sought, and fail of attaining the end, for which we had not provided ourselves with the means?

It only remains for the conductors of the British and Foreign Review, to entreat from the public its kind indulgence towards their future labours. In their politics, they will be found the zealous and steady advocates of peace, when it can be maintained consistently with the national safety and honour: but should they be compelled to choose between the alternatives, they will not hesitate to express their preference of a just and honourable war, to a precarious or disgraceful repose. In their criticisms and discussions, they will be anxious to avoid giving personal offence. They will ask assistance from the wise and the learned, and spare no exertions to provide for their readers useful and agreeable entertainment.

INTRODUCTION.

Among the multitude of periodical works that issue from the British press, it is incumbent on the Projectors of a new Review to show, that there is still a vacant space on which to bestow their labours. The truth is, of this class of existing publications it may be said, almost universally, that they are conducted with partial and limited views, for the interests of certain portions of society, and particular departments of knowledge, and are calculated to uphold some party, rather than the commonwealth of letters. There remains, therefore, a chasm to be filled up, by a journal that shall embrace an ampler field of operation, collect the gleanings of literary research, and bring into one store-house the dispersed grains of science, as fast as they are brought to maturity by the intellectual industry of Europe. How far we shall be able to discharge such an office, is not for us to decide. It will be in vain either to deprecate censure, or solicit indulgence. All that we have to do, is to explain our design, and to proceed forthwith to its execution, leaving to others to judge of its merit, and to pronounce upon its fate.

While, then, we profess, and sincerely intend to promote the interests of humanity, by encouraging a free interchange of opinions and good offices, and by inculcating liberal maxims of government, and a peaceful policy, throughout the whole sphere of our communication, we do not forget the peculiar advantage to be derived to this country, by a concentration within it of European knowledge. Already London is the metropolis of the commercial world. The materials are provided, the opportunity is afforded, and the fault will be in the present generation, if they do not avail themselves of those materials, to render it the centre of knowledge, the capital of scientific discovery, and of political improvement. To aid in realizing this prospect, so honourable to our native land,

we hope to contribute in some small degree, if it be merely by ascertaining and collecting any fresh specimens of useful knowledge, in whatever quarter discovered, and presenting them, without delay, to the view of the British public. If this purpose is to be accomplished, it must be by proceeding on no selfish, narrow principle of national jealousy, either literary, commercial, or political; but by giving a just weight to the claims of every country, and every individual; and by affording a free admission, and a fair estimate, in the general emporium, to the produce of every climate.

We set out by professing, that our design is as much to learn as to teach. Conspicuous as England is among the nations of Europe, by her moral energies and political institutions, her mechanical and manufacturing skill, her proficiency in all the arts, both elegant and useful, yet has she still much to learn, which may be acquired from a more intimate acquaintance with the Continent. If there be any truth in the current opinion, and there seems no reason to dispute it, that Englishmen have more perseverance in improving, than ingenuity in inventing; this furnishes another argument for watching the first germinations of science, and transplanting them to a congenial soil, where, by assiduous culture, they will quickly grow to the highest degree of perfection. To this country, which has long flourished under a representative polity, and the free institutions resulting from it, the statesmen of Europe must come in search of facts, to guide their judgment both in the organic construction, and practical working, of free governments. In this department we have little to learn from the continental nations, except that being taught by their example, the evils both of despotism and anarchy, we cling more closely to our own free constitution, and when we apply a remedy to its defects, learn to apply it rather by the force of moral influence, than by physical violence. If, then, we may justly claim a precedence in the knowledge of civil polity, financial economy, and the science of government, both legislative and executive, as well as the mechanical arts, we need not be ashamed to confess our inferiority in other branches, which our social condition does not so peculiarly favour.

Numerous and magnificent as are our institutions for the promotion of classical literature, and fashionable as is the study of the ancient languages, yet are we chiefly indebted to the German lexicographer and philologist for any considerable facilities that have been provided during the last half century, either for the more expeditious acquisition, or more profound investigation, of the language and idiom of the ancient classics. They have been doing, and continue to do, much to correct the meagreness and technicality which pervade our systems of lingual education, and to exhibit languages, not as the arbitrary construction of a few pedantic grammarians, but as the noblest monument of taste and genius, which highly-gifted men have gradually reared and polished in a long course of ages, and transmitted, through their works, as the most valuable legacy to posterity. Under such auspices, the acquisition of language will become, what it now but very partially is, and what shallow thinkers would persuade us it never can be made—the most instructive, and therefore most indispensable subject of elementary education. For to an accurate and familiar acquaintance with the theory of language, and a delicate discrimination of its terms and modes, narrative is indebted for its precision, dialectic for its cogency, oratory for its eloquence, and the understanding itself, for the most powerful instrument of abstraction and investigation of general truths.

The muse of history has ever been considered as looking with a benignant eye upon her own province in British literature. Nor would it be difficult to mention names which have shed glory upon their country, by the fidelity as well as elegance of their recitals; and, by a peculiar felicity of selection and arrangement of topics, have succeeded in keeping curiosity awake, during a protracted history of ages, by no means abounding in attractive incidents and characters. But still in the patient and indefatigable search of truth, in pursuing her faintest traces through the labyrinth of error in which the imposture, or credulity of ancient annalists have frequently involved her; in the successful perseverance with which they disencumber the precious ore from the worthless mass in which it is concealed, and in reducing legends into genuine history, we must, at this day, yield the palm to Teutonic industry and zeal. Nor should we be justified in concluding that, because their search

is minute, their views are short-sighted. They seem, indeed, to combine an extreme minuteness of observation, with a telescopic range of vision; and to draw their conclusions with a soundness of judgment, which shows that they see objects, at last, in their natural colours, and true dimensions. If *we* may justly claim the distinction of having brought philosophy to the feet of history, to gather materials from which to construct her system, and to demolish those which had been reared on the basis of imagination, modern Germany has the credit of having reversed the process, by placing the instructress under the tuition of her pupil, and thus teaching history to test the probability and truth of her statements, by the canons of philosophy. Already have they shown, by the application of this new standard of credibility, that many of the most familiar passages of ancient history are not merely improbable, but impossible; and instead of being the faithful records of facts, are the fictions or amplifications of oral and popular tradition.

Even the biblical student would experience great advantage from a more familiar acquaintance with Continental theology. The theology of this country, accommodating itself to the taste and habits of the age, is more elegant than profound; calculated rather to win the approbation of those who are already prepossessed in its favour, than to satisfy the inquisitive or convince the sceptical. Revelation, indeed, has had no literary assailants among ourselves, formidable either for learning or ingenuity, since the time of Gibbon and Hume; and, therefore, its defenders could afford to be inactive. It has been quite otherwise on the Continent. The great preponderance of literary talent has been thrown into the scale, opposed either to revelation altogether, or to some of its most distinguishing doctrines. This has imposed upon its advocates the necessity of investigating, more closely and deeply, the original source of biblical and ecclesiastical learning, in order to be enabled to repel the attacks of their assailants; or withdrawing from the positions which they found to be untenable, to occupy others, from which they might safely defy the forces of their enemies. In the prosecution of their labours, they have not only furnished the student with fresh armour against the sceptic, but thrown great light upon the

origin, style, and matter, of the sacred books themselves; illustrated the character and worth of the ancient translators and expositors; estimated the defects and excellencies of the early ecclesiastical historians; and furnished tests for trying their fidelity, when speaking either of contemporaneous events, or recounting those which they had received from tradition or unauthenticated documents. Much of this learning is still new to the merely English reader, and requires to be understood as well as interpreted, before it can be rendered as useful and acceptable, as it ought to be, to a theological student.

The literature of France and Italy is unquestionably not of such a robust and original nature, as that of their northern rivals. Yet should we be ungrateful not to acknowledge what we owe to the modern chemists, natural historians, mathematicians, and astronomers of France; and should be blind with prejudice, not to see how much more may be derived from the same sources. Our Gallic neighbours have always displayed great ingenuity in devising experiments in chemistry and surgery, and in classifying the productions, animate and inanimate, of the natural world. As analysts, too, they have been singularly fortunate, in constructing new canons, and discovering fresh and much more commodious formulæ than their predecessors; in a manner, indeed, not very acceptable to our more rigid geometricians, but certainly adapted to investigation, which no other instrument than the modern analysis could ever have enabled us to conduct. These improvements and facilities do indeed gradually pass into our own mathematical systems, but much more slowly than might reasonably be expected, the proximity of France being considered, together with the almost universal knowledge of its language, possessed by our countrymen. This can be accounted for only by the absence of some regular and well-accredited record of their proceedings; and which this journal is intended to supply. Already is a powerful corps of native talent enlisted in our cause; from no other motive but a wish to promote its success; and no inducement shall be wanting to secure an equally efficient co-operation of foreign associates, at every point where fresh acquisitions are likely to be made to the existing bounds of knowledge.

We do not disguise, or, rather, we are eager to proclaim,

that our views are not limited to the advancement of merely professional literature and science, but tend ultimately, and more especially, to improve the moral and political condition of European society. We are desirous of seeing established, through the intervention of the press, a common standard of taste and public opinion among the enlightened and polished nations of Europe.

The same office which the Areopagus performed for the several states of ancient Greece, such a tribunal would discharge, at this age, for the existing nations of our quarter of the globe. Deferring to it, the powerful would be restrained from violence, and the weak protected from oppression; and equal and impartial justice awarded, by its authoritative voice to all public men, both rulers and subjects. Let not this be thought a chimerical project. We think we perceive such a period approaching of itself, and all that we presume to expect, is, that our labours may, in some degree, hasten its consummation. This can only be accomplished by a more frequent communication, and more unreserved interchange of sentiments, and by reciprocally expanding and liberalising the principles of each other.

The moment is eminently auspicious. Peace, all but universal, prevails. This then is the season for inculcating pacific maxims, by showing that wars, under whatever pretexts veiled, are always commenced for the aggrandisement and advantage of the rulers, and always end in the impoverishment and oppression, the degradation and ruin, of the people; this is the time to show that vicinage is no justifiable cause of hostility; — that neighbouring nations, like individual neighbours, are not natural foes, but natural friends;—that selfish and artful tyrants put hatred into the hearts of their people, and arms into their hands, and instigate them into murderous conflict with their unoffending neighbours, lest they should turn their attention and complaints against domestic oppressors, and demand redress of their real grievances. The throne of the despot, or the power of the usurper, may be established by military operations, but the interests of the people scarcely ever benefit from war, however successful. The welfare, for instance, of the subjects of the three northern potentates are not advanced by the subju-

gation and dismemberment of unhappy Poland, and still less by the accumulated sufferings and insults that have recently been heaped upon the Russian share of the spoil. On the other hand, their resources are dilapidated, their security and comfort diminished, and even their character degraded, as far as their acquiescence is voluntary, by the ministerial part they take in executing the behests of their sovereigns. Let it be once generally recognised that governments are instituted for the good of the people,—and not the converse, the principal occasion of war, will be removed, and the strongest aliment of political and military ambition withdrawn. The cares and toils of government, if conscientiously administered, would be found a sufficient counterpoise to its gratifications, and both kings and people would think they made a losing bargain, by exchanging an independent but peaceful neighbour, for a subject but disaffected province, and sacrificing amicable intercourse for compulsory homage.

In the dark and barbarous ages, a river, or a mountain, or even a much fainter line of demarcation, was deemed a natural barrier to all amicable intercourse, and a sufficient cause for the inhabitants of the contiguous districts looking upon each other with mutual distrust and hatred, and for seizing every opportunity of inflicting and retaliating injuries and cruelties. As knowledge advanced, and intercourse increased, the absurdity and inexpediency of such proceedings became manifest, and friendly relations, if not political amalgamation, were the result. The heptarchy of England, the dukedoms of Italy, the cantons of Switzerland, and the clans of Scotland, are instances of this process. Ireland is yet in the transition state. Hereditary feuds, the heir-looms of a long line of barbarous ancestors, reign at present in certain districts, soon, we trust, to retire before the light of education. What the small accession of knowledge was to the subdivided districts, out of which modern kingdoms have been formed, the same is the vast augmentation of knowledge in our times, to the larger communities into which Europe is now divided. It is time that such augmentation should produce analogous results, showing us that the way to derive the greatest advantage from other nations, and to have the greatest enjoyment of our own internal resources, is not to

fence out foreigners by police regulations and commercial restrictions, least of all by harassing them with interfering in their domestic policy, or visiting them with the horrors of war, but by encouraging the most unrestrained intercourse and the free interchange of articles of traffic, and thus creating the habits and affections of peace and amity, by the experience of mutual accommodation and common benefits. Thus a cluster of independent States naturally coalesces into a social community, whose intercourse is marked only by an interchange of kind offices.

We are sensible that these results, in their full extent, cannot be realised all at once. But are we too sanguine in believing that such ultimately, and even at no great distance of time, will be the fruits of increasing civilization and more confidential intercourse? Are we too sanguine in believing that the population of Europe will soon become too enlightened and humane to repel the stranger from their frontiers by cordons of custom-house offices and police stations, or be dragged into foreign lands to drench their hands in human blood, for the purpose of upholding the dominion of some despot, or administering to the ambition of some military chieftain? We firmly believe that the time is fast approaching when such barbarous principles will be disavowed, and practices and regulations, at once so inhuman and impolitic, will be for ever abolished. We believe, that before another generation has passed away, the rigours of Russian depotism will be mitigated; the subjects of Austria and Prussia be in possession of a representative legislature; the States of Northern Italy be rescued from the leaden sceptre of the empire, and form to themselves an independent and free constitution;—and last, and best, and greatest of all, that the chains shall fall from the high-minded but unfortunate Pole, and thus the greatest outrage committed against humanity in our days be avenged, and the foulest stigma resting upon modern diplomacy removed. In the meantime, our zealous efforts shall be made to accelerate the fulfilment of the predictions, or rather the hopes, we have ventured to express. We may have indulged too sanguine expectations, and in the order of our wishes anticipated the slow progress of social improvement; we may have miscalculated altogether the humanizing effect of increased intelligence; but it will reflect no disgrace upon

us, that we have not despaired of human nature, and that we have laboured in our subordinate sphere to enlarge and multiply the channels of information, from a conviction that as nations become more enlightened, they become wiser, and if wiser then better—as being more ready to admit, and to act upon the admission, that their own happiness is best secured, by administering to the prosperity and welfare of all those with whom they are either intimately or remotely connected.

We turn to the department of polite literature—to the productions of genius and taste, with some reluctance. We would not say that this field presents us with nothing but a wide scene of sterility. But the truth is, that we have no taste or time for any thing but politics, or topics connected with them. The progress, the symptoms, and incidents, of that mighty warfare, going on between privilege and popular rights, fixes every eye, and absorbs the whole attention that ordinary readers have to spare from their private concerns. For it is not merely interesting, as is all history that describes the movements of numerous agents impelled by strong passions, but it addresses itself to the hopes and fears of the individual himself, as involving consequences that may prove favourable or fatal to his own grade in society. Hence it arises, that our general literature embraces little beyond what is subsidiary to the predominant passion—political economy—theories of jurisprudence and government—constitutional histories, or, if of a less professional cast, it is still something that is designed to supply the logician with argument, or the orator with eloquence. Poetry is almost extinct among us. We would not deny that passages, nay poems, of exquisite beauty have been produced; but these bear a small proportion indeed to the whole mass. If a delicate discrimination of character, an instinctive sympathy with human passions, a lively and correct sense of what is beautiful and sublime, either in the material or moral universe, be the endowments of a true poet, then have the pastoral puerilities and ambitious extravagances of modern artificers of verse small pretensions indeed to that character. It may be thought that, in hazarding this censure, we have forgotten that Byron and Scott have lived to shed a splendour upon the age. As to Sir Walter Scott, who has filled a large space in the

public eye, and may be considered as embracing in himself an epitome of the elegant literature of the age, we will venture to say that the judgment of posterity will not confirm the verdict passed upon him by his cotemporaries. The powers of his genius, the soundness of his taste, and the correctness of his information; but above all, his accuracy in delineation and his fidelity to nature, have been not a little over-rated. That he possessed great fertility of invention, which he poured forth in easy and expressive language; that he infused great spirit and humour into his dialogues, and communicated to his readers a portion of that enthusiasm he felt for local and traditionary history, we readily admit. His mode of exciting interest, however, was, in our opinion, very ordinary, not to say vulgar. He overcharges his characters so as to leave it in many cases doubtful whether he aimed at reality or romance, legend or history;—placing his heroes and heroines in circumstances of great *external* difficulty and danger, and there leaving them, he conducted his readers through long mazes of local, personal, and *circumstantial* descriptions, often as tedious as minute, and having no necessary connection with the progress of the drama, or any tendency to expedite its catastrophe. That he made his own judgment yield, in order to suit the taste of the reading public, we can easily believe; but that there are so few passages, of all he has written in prose and verse, of striking splendour and original sublimity, can only be attributed to his not possessing qualities of the highest order. Add to this, the peculiarly fortunate choice of his subjects in those of his novels, on which really his fame rests;—he brought the people of England acquainted, for the first time, with the manners and even the language of a people about as unknown to us as the natives of New Zealand, and yet living within sight of our northern border.

As to Lord Byron, it would be the most absurd affectation of singularity, or prejudice the most stupid, to deny the gigantic and almost unparalleled strength of his imagination, and other poetic faculties. It is from his works, which bear the imperishable impress of genius, and therefore will embalm the foul ingredients that are enveloped in their mass, that remote posterity will form their notions of the genius and taste of the age. They will discover that he lived in times when

old systems were crumbling to pieces and new ones struggling into life. They will see that he exulted in the roarings of the flood that swept away established institutions, and attuned his lyre to the thunders of the avalanche that hurled down ancient dynasties. Yet, strange to say, while he exulted over the falling, he greeted with no auspicious acclamations the rising powers. Exasperated by mortifications of every kind, personal, domestic, social, and political, he had no faith either in human virtue or divine benevolence, and took almost equal delight in throwing odium upon the treachery and tyranny of despots, and exposing the hypocrisy of priests and the ambition of patriots. But yet, avaricious of fame, he condescended to study the taste, and to court the applause of the present generation, which he very sincerely hated, but only affected to despise. He sought, and won their admiration, and thus, amidst the tumults of war and faction, arrested their attention, by indulging at one time in the most bitter invectives, and exhibiting society in the most repulsive light, and at another by painting scenes of the most intense moral agony, and describing, in all their strength, those death struggles which fallen greatness and foiled ambition feel when their last hope expires. From the writings of Byron and Scott, who have been incomparably the most popular in their own times, we are able to estimate the character of existing literature, and see how far it differs from those works which have stood the test of time, and are considered as standards of poetic and literary excellence.

It is not for us to prescribe to others; but we may be permitted to protest against the modern laws of political warfare. According to the tenor of this barbarous code, no mercy is ever shown—no quarter given, to the character of an enemy. An ally it invests with every virtue; an opponent it stigmatizes with every vice. Our public men, therefore, figure before the world in two very different and incompatible characters. By one party they are described as paragons of perfect purity, "unmixed with baser matter;" by the other, as monsters of depravity, in which no mixture of good is to be found. Facts fare no better than persons. They are so much discoloured and distorted in the relation as to present scarcely any vestiges of the original features, and the spectators, and even actors in

the scenes pourtrayed, are puzzled to recognise the circumstances in which they had been present and taken a part. Whether or not, there exists in the higher orders of society a duplicity in some degree countenancing, if not producing, this partial and ambiguous description of them, we will not decide. But we cannot help seeing and lamenting that the effect is to shake the confidence of the general readers in the periodical press, and seriously to counteract its influence, as the instrument of diffusing sound and useful knowledge. We cannot flatter ourselves that any protest or expostulation on our part will be availing; but this we can do, and will do. We "will seek "our own road."

We have our predilections, our political preferences and aversions; we have, we confess, our party, by whose aid we hope to render some service to society; but we have no object paramount—no, nor even tantamount, to the triumph of truth and justice. We think great, very great, improvements may be introduced into the institutions, laws, and habits of this and the other nations of Europe; but we should think them far too dearly purchased by the sacrifice of those principles which form the cement, the glory, and the happiness, of human intercourse. Our readers, therefore, may rest assured that our Journal

> "Shall not be a pipe for *party's* finger
> To play what stop she please ———"

We shall have to speak in disparagement of some persons and principles, and in praise of others. But we will exert a scrupulous diligence in verifying facts and estimating characters; and, in deducing our arguments, take care neither to depreciate what we hear to be excellent, nor palliate what we know to be culpable, whatever advantage such a proceeding might secure to our cause. In beating down ancient prejudices or modern errors; in carrying on war against corruption, bigotry, and despotism; we shall employ no weapons and no stratagems that can either tarnish the glory of success, or aggravate the mortifications of failure. Stand or fall, it will be in the cause of humanity, by the side of justice, and under the standard of truth.

Article I.

Addresse à ses Concitoyens. Par M. Le Comte Rœderer, Paris: 1835.

The present state of the French Government and Parties offers a subject of such importance as to merit the most serious attention of all statesmen, whether they take an interest in the cause of sound and enlightened principles at home, or feel a sympathy with the friends of liberty abroad. Between France and this country the connexion is, of necessity, intimate; and especially since liberal policy and free institutions have become the objects of favour with the ruling powers in both kingdoms, it is clear that no event of importance can happen to affect the cause of freedom in the one, without exercising a sensible influence upon its fortunes in the other country But on the continent, the influence of French politics will always be still more prevailing. From her central position—her vast resources—the spirit, and activity, and intelligence of her inhabitants—the renown of her arms—the grand spectacle of self-emancipation which she has twice, in one age, exhibited to the admiration of mankind—France is the centre from which all political influence proceeds, and the point to which all eyes are directed in the enslaved states of Europe. The oppressor regards her with jealousy and alarm—the people with envy and with hope. At the present moment, when various combinations of accidents, and some grievous errors, seem to place the stability of the regenerated order of things in jeopardy, the hopes and fears of men are naturally more alive than ever to the state of affairs in that quarter, and we shall, therefore, enter upon a short consideration of the subject, with the view of setting before our readers the principal points in the case.

That we may at once disencumber the question of one matter which a few deluded persons are still fondly dwelling upon, it is as well to speak first of the Carlist or Legitimate party. Respectable as many of this class are, not more from station than for their steady devotion to the hopeless cause of despotism, they are, as a body, deficient in every one intrinsic quality, and in all the accidental advantages which constitute weight and confer

influence in the State. The views of their leaders are narrow and bigotted; fanatics in religion and in politics, they hardly trust to the operation of second causes; at least, they never shape their course with any view to actual circumstances, and disdain all compromise of their tenets, whether in church or in state, although they may be persuaded that to hold them with rigour is to ensure the utter failure of their cause. But blindness to the state of things they live in is their lot through life; and as at every one moment of the Emigration, even the most desperate, they reckoned upon an immediate Restoration to France and to power; so now, after the miraculous change in their favour, which, against all probability, the headlong ambition of Napoleon operated, they feel more sanguine than ever, and even draw from their apparently forlorn condition the materials for sanguine speculation. Men of talents for affairs they have none among them. Their men of experience are shut up in Ham Castle; and these are of such a perverse and impracticable description, that their liberation would perhaps be only a new calamity to the ruined fortunes of their party. In the country at large that party has no kind of following, except among the Priests; and ever since 1789 a cause espoused by this order is held in universal execration. For the French Church unites in itself all the elements of weakness; it is poor, and consequently has none of the influences attached to wealth; but then, with its poverty, there goes none of the respect or compassion which sometimes supplies the place of power; for the clergy are active, and intriguing, and eager to regain their possessions, and strenuous in asserting their supposed but denied rights. Accordingly, one of the greatest alarms all over the country arises from the apprehension of some gradual movement being made by the Priests, and connived at by the Government, towards the former state of influence which the Church enjoyed, and abused, and forfeited. The government of Charles X., and his feeble, arrogant, fanatical ministers, openly supported such a change, and nothing more disposed the country to desire its downfall—nothing more contributes to make all Frenchmen deprecate its restoration. Out of the Church, and beyond the narrow circle of the Old Aristocracy, now crippled in every way, there really exists no Carlist party, unless it be in some of the small towns of the south, where the people are extremely ill-informed, and

among some of the country gentlemen and peasants, equally uneducated, especially in the province of Brittany.

Hence there is but one opinion upon the hopelessness of Carlist affairs. Whatever may betide the present government, no man dreams of a Restoration. Many are alarmed at the unsettled aspect of affairs, but all eyes are directed away from the old Bourbons in speculating upon what may be the result of fresh convulsions. A reform, more or less extensive—a state of confusion—a pure republic—are all counted as possible results of the existing difficulties; but no one imagines that the handful of Carlists can ever again mount the heights of power and re-establish the Jesuits in the church, and the despotic sway of ignorance, incapacity, feebleness, bigotry—in a word, of the Polignacs, over the state. The real choice, indeed, seems to lie between the present government and a Republic; nor can those who counsel the crown, or guide the assemblies at the present moment, too sedulously guard against the fatal mistake which they seem so prone to commit, that the fear of a Republic will keep the people right.

These observations, and particularly the last, lead us to consider what is regarded, and in some measure justly regarded, by all parties in France as the main security for the established order of things and the great strength of the existing government, we mean, the generally prevailing dread of convulsion—the apprehension that counter revolution will produce anarchy—and the fear that this may end either in such dismal scenes as those still remembered with horror, of the Jacobin times, or in the more brilliant but not less destructive reign of a military despot, gratifying the national love of glory at the expense of all men's dearest interests. These sad recollections unquestionably have a prevailing and a very natural tendency to make men "rather bear "the ills they have, than fly to others," of which they know but too much. Such has been in all ages, and in all countries, the effect of great public catastrophes, which, from being universally felt by the body of the people, have become fixed in their recollection, and indispose them to aid any change likely to revive the same sufferings. This it was, for example, that gave such power to the restored government of the Stuarts after 1660, and enabled those profligate tyrants to domineer over a people which had brought their parent to the block for trampling

upon its liberties. In truth, it is this that makes Mr. Fox's doctrine so true, of a Restoration being the worst of Revolutions. For the restored princes reckon always too much upon the people's forbearance in consequence of the dread to which we are alluding; and confiding in this kind of security, do their best to make the evils of their domination equal to those on the apprehension of which their safety is founded. Certain it is, that as the fear of the fanatical times returning enabled Charles II. to outrage all decency by his conduct, and insult the national feelings of honour by selling himself to a foreign tyrant, and afterwards even overcame the strong religious principles which had carried the Exclusion Bill through one house of parliament, so far as to make the excluded prince ascend the throne a year or two after, in the fullest enjoyment of popular favour; so nothing but the happy excess of that bigot's religious zeal could ever have detached from him the support of the established church, and even of the country at large, in whose recollection the events of the Commonwealth, and the reign of the Saints, still survived as strong and operative principles of action. So it proved a century and a-half later among our neighbours. The fear of Robespierre and of the Imperial Conscription, reconciled men first to the restoration of a family only not hated when despised, and enabled that family ostentatiously to violate its plighted faith, and systematically to encroach upon rights fondly thought to be secured by those who forgot the great truth, foundation of all freedom, that the people never are safe if they fall one moment asleep over their liberties. Fortunately for France, in 1830, as for England in 1688, the tyrant was a bigot, and his ministers were drivellers. They tried the patience of the nation too far, and they taught men that there was a worse evil than anarchy—a domination more unbearable than the tyrannous fury of the mob. They had also to do with Frenchmen, of whom it is our deliberate opinion that no nation in the world, certainly not the English, and but possibly the Irish and the Scotch, are half so formidable to despots, or show half the courage in resisting oppression. Had the same edicts been issued among us which roused the gallant people of Paris during the Three memorable Days, we are far from saying that in the end the country might not have risen and overthrown the usurper; but assuredly the glories of Paris would never have been witnessed on the banks of the

Thames. Meetings might have been held, speeches made, and resolutions voted; but the self-devotion of the shopkeepers and of the humblest classes, the heroic spirit which led them to assault the royal infantry—to stand the onslaught of horse—to resist even the cannon that swept the streets—would never have been displayed in Oxford-road and the Strand.

That glorious revolution has, no doubt, materially impaired the security previously derived by the government from the dread of tumultuous movements. The spell which had bound the country is dissolved; the governing principle, that no change of system must be hazarded lest the times of terror should return, has been broken in upon; men have seen a prodigious popular movement quite successful, and a dynasty changed without further mischief. Should the hopes of the country be disappointed, or its liberties again assailed, the reluctance to resist oppression and exact vengeance for broken pledges will certainly be less strong than heretofore. Nevertheless, the desire for peace, for quiet, for steady and regular administration, is still universally prevalent, and it must be a severe experiment upon the patience of the community that can alone make the nation at large lend itself to revolutionary proceedings. Our opinion, then, decidedly is, that the present government has a right to build much upon this principle of safety, and that much will be borne by the French people rather than risk all by a violent change.

But the question is, whether the government has not been building too high upon this foundation? The ground is solid, and the basis even broad; yet it may be loaded beyond what it suffices to carry; and a more perilous experiment never was made than some of the small statesmen in Louis Philippe's confidence seem now to be attempting, who, counting only upon the balance of parties, the differences among their adversaries, the want of concert among a few leading chiefs of the opposition, and a good deal of personal intrigue, would persuade themselves and their enlightened and able master, that they may safely try whatever they please, and that, when they have satisfied, or intimidated, or talked over, the Chambers, the victory is gained, and the day is their own. In order to perceive fully the folly and the danger of this policy, we must be aware of the real state of public opinion in France, and how far

the Chamber of Deputies, the representative body, is really likely to speak the sense of the country at large. This brings us at once to the cardinal defect in the French constitution, and one of the principal errors that have been committed since the happy revolution of 1830.

The Elective Franchise is manifestly far too restricted; the qualification is so high, as to exclude the most important classes of the people, and to keep the right of voting among a comparatively small proportion of the whole. Before the late change, it consisted of paying three hundred francs a year in direct taxes, and it is still as high as two hundred francs. Now this sum, or about eight pounds, is equal, all things considered, to nearly double in value of our money; but we must consider the proportion of the taxes in the two countries to the population, in order to ascertain what class of persons this yearly payment designates; and as the population in France is greater than our's, in the proportion of four to three, and their taxes are less than our's, in the proportion of about eighteen to twenty-five, we must double the 16*l.* in order to find the real proportion: So that we are to consider what sort of persons in this country pay 32*l.* of taxes yearly. On the other hand, the French taxation consists more of direct imposts than our's, and on this account a large deduction must be made. Nevertheless it is clear that a person who pays every year so much as 32*l.* in any way to the state, must be in easy circumstances. Accordingly it is understood that in France there are not 200,000 electors; the number is generally given at 170,000. Now, in England, with three-fourths of the population, there are four times as many voters. Consequently there ought, in France, to be 1,066,000 voters, in order to make the elective body as numerous in proportion to the whole population as it is in this country; and thus there are not one-sixth part as many votes in France as there are in this country since the Reform Bill. In fact, there are not near so many as there were in this country under the old system, abolished in 1832.

It follows from hence, that not only the common people, but the lower part of the middle classes, and that most respectable and important body, the journeymen, artisans, skilful workmen of all descriptions, are wholly unrepresented. It is much worse than if a member here and there had constituents among

those classes, by the qualification varying as it always did in this country, and as it still does, not only by the freeman's franchise, but by the varying value of 10*l.* houses. In France, the criterion being absolutely and universally the payment of so much in direct taxes, the exclusion of these important classes is also absolute and universal, and no one of their number can have any political privileges whatever.

Now, beside many other mischiefs arising from such a system, it most injuriously operates upon the construction of the representative body, which cannot of course be said to speak the sentiments of the great mass of the people. Indirectly it may be affected by the public opinion, much as the unreformed parliament was in this country, though of our representatives it is to be observed, that there were a great many actually chosen by the middle and even the lower classes, while, in France, not one of those classes has the right of voting for any one deputy. The large proportion of the French electors who are in the public service, merits also great consideration. It amounts to 40,000 out of 170,000, or nearly one-fourth. In England, this amount of direct influence never existed at any time, and the disqualifying acts of 1782, reduced it to almost nothing. Besides, the number of representatives is very different in the two countries. In France, 32 millions are represented by 450 deputies; in England, 24 millions have 658 representatives. To preserve the same proportion, the French Chamber should consist of 880 instead of 450, or nearly double. And this produces a double effect against the people; for not only is there less expression given to the popular sentiments, but the representative body is of a less popular cast in proportion as it is smaller in number. The present electoral constitution of France is therefore incomparably less popular and less free than ours was in 1829-30, when the general voice of the country occasioned a complete change in its principle, and an influx of democratic spirit into our government, such as never before was effected without a revolution.

But if the French Chamber does not represent adequately the people at large, does it represent any class which has extensive influence over the people, and to which the people looks either with affection, or with respect, or with awe?—Or

has it in the other parts of the legislature such helpmates as can secure a controul over the community in all its branches? We suspect that no one, how little soever acquainted with France, will hazard an affirmative answer to either of these questions.

The extreme subdivision of property makes it quite impossible that any real influence should be possessed by the landed interest, and what power can the handful of 200 franc tax payers, scattered over the face of the country, have over the mass of its ingenious, active, and daring people? Marseilles has a population of 130,000 souls, or 26,000 householders, and there cannot be above 650 of them entitled to vote, and not above 500 actually exercise the franchise, or not one in fifty-two; and if one-fourth are to be deducted, as in the service of government, and who consequently can have little weight with their fellow electors, we have only one in sixty-five, which clearly can give little or no influence.

As for the Chamber of Peers, it is not easy to conceive an institution more liable to objections of every kind. Indeed, there is some difficulty in treating such an assembly with serious and respectful attention. Wealth they have none—rank they have in name only, for they are nominees of the Crown, and transmit no hereditary seats in Parliament to their descendants. Hence nobility, though nominally existing in France, is really extinct. Any body that chooses clothes himself with what titles he likes; and the Upper House having ceased to command any respect, has, of late, had recourse to measures intended to overcome, but calculated to offend and disgust far more than they frighten. A Journal among the most popular in the country, published some disrespectful remarks upon the Peers far more civil, however, than any that the public in London are daily in the habit of reading respecting our House of Lords. The Editor was cited to the bar. Mr. Carrell, his able and gallant defender, was heard for an hour to make a speech infinitely more offensive than the passage complained of. He alluded to the guilt of Marshal Ney's condemnation. Some disapprobation was expressed by the Chamber, and the President called the speaker to order, or the reader rather, for the offence was premeditated, the passage being written and read. Whereupon up rose a surviving companion in arms of the

Prince of the Moskwa, himself a Marshal of France, and in the plainest terms charged the Chamber with having been accomplices in the murder of his illustrious comrade. When the agitation occasioned by this episode had subsided, and Mr. Carrell pursued his reading, he was again interrupted by the President, just as he was about to close; he dexterously availed himself of this blunder—suddenly ended his defence—and, complaining that they were resolved to condemn without hearing, sat down with the satisfaction of having exhausted all his stores of vituperation upon the Chamber, and when he had nothing more to say, obtained from them the inestimable benefit of a grievance. In short, their Lordships, after hearing all he could utter against them, contrived to let him have it to say that he was condemned without being heard. What followed? The rage which should have been reserved for themselves, they thought it expedient to vent upon M. Rouen, the Editor, not even upon Mr. Carrell, his defender, who had obtained the victory over them; and for one of the mildest attacks ever made on a public assembly, they passed sentence of two years' imprisonment, and 10,000 francs fine, without further trial, themselves being parties, prosecutors, witnesses, judges, and executioners! The burst of indignation in the public was universal, and in a fortnight nearly double the amount of the fine was raised by a subscription, in very small sums.

Since that passage, others have occurred which almost sinks it in oblivion; but assuredly we may well assert that a public body enjoying less estimation than the Chamber of Peers, exists in no country where assemblies have not become a name and a farce; and that whatever want of authority the Lower House may have, how inadequately soever it may express the sense of the country, or however inefficient may be the influence of its constituents over the rest of the people, these grand defects are in no way supplied, and the inefficiency of the legislature is very far from being augmented by the attributes, or by the influence of the Upper Chamber.

But does it follow that, because the Chambers do not speak the sense of the French people, therefore that people is to be for ever silent, and never to speak for itself, should an adequate mouth-piece be found? It is quite impossible that many more

experiments can safely be made upon the patience of the French; quite clear that a perseverance in the system adopted since 1830, of resisting all further improvement, cannot fail to bring about far more extensive, and far more violent changes than would, if fairly proposed by the government, and adopted by the Chambers, satisfy all men at this time.

The first and greatest grievance of which the people have reason to complain, is the State of the Representation. We have already pointed out its three main defects; the elective franchise is far too high; the number of placemen having votes is intolerably large; the number of the representatives is much too limited. Until these fundamental errors are corrected, the system of the government must rest on far too narrow a basis, to be ever reasonably secure. There are very great and very serious defects in the organization of the committees (*commissions*) for the proper dispatch of business; and some of these tend to hamper the government improperly, and just as injuriously as others press upon the independence of the Chambers, and the privileges of the subject. But all other reforms may safely be expected to follow the great improvement of an extended representation, and a more general distribution of the franchise; without which the government can have no stability, nor the country any security for the good administration of its affairs.

To take a practical illustration of the manner in which the present oligarchical system works, let us only mark the conduct of the great parties which divide the Chamber of Deputies. There are the Carlists, few in number, though counting among themselves men of great weight from their abilities. This party, in the Chambers, as in the country, is only formidable from its factious hatred of the new dynasty, and the recent order of things, which it is resolved and prepared to unsettle, even by a coalition with the Republicans; in short, by any act of unprincipled violence, which, though utterly useless for the benefit of the legitimate and exiled tyrants, may avail to the embarrassment, or even the destruction of their constitutional successors.

The next party to be mentioned, is the Regular Opposition, which being more numerous, and offering also a more convenient receptacle for place-hunting politicians, is always

under a necessity of compromising and clipping and paring down its measures, in order to catch stray votes, and keep together the motley group of adherents. Having no present pay or food to give, this kind of party commonly deals in promises, and issues rations of hope—the hope of future promotion. But its notes would soon be depreciated, and its bank broke, if it hoisted any standard of principle so inflexible as might shut the door of office in its own face. Therefore, to keep up the credit of their paper, and hold their adherents together, the leaders of such a party always make war upon the ministers, with a half desire to beat them, and a whole wish to keep things quite in their existing state, save only that the partakers of place should be changed; they attack abuses for the purpose of removing those who profit by them, and therefore would just carry on the war to such a point, that the persons of those living by abuses may, as it were, be corrected, but the bulk of the benefit not much diminished. They march bravely up to the breach in the Treasury Bench, but with an eye to the citadel behind, and with an inclination to do its works and the booty they protect, as little damage as possible, consistently with making the possession change hands—in short, desirous just to take the place, and no more. Thus, they co-operate with the people, and move at their head; but always having a look over their left shoulder, and an eye turned towards the court. With that they will on no account break; and hence they hardly ever gain the confidence of the country, though they seldom succeed in disarming the hatred of the courtiers. Towards the high popular party they bear very different feelings; *that*, it should seem, is regarded as the common enemy. The regular opposition, in France at least, wages war against the ministry with the desire of taking their places; but fights against the ultra-liberals, with the zeal of protecting the common booty from the common enemy. They dislike the ministers as a thief does an interloping rogue; but the ultra-liberal they hate as the watchman, or the gallows. They make the same difference between the Ministers and the Radicals that the farmer does between his competitors and a blight: the one may make his market heavier, but the other destroys his crop. Such is the position of the Regular Opposition in France, which has little weight with the nation, and not much favour with the crown.

A faithful band of Real Liberals, however, is to be found in the Chamber; men of great ability, strong, decided opinions, and honest dispositions to give those sentiments effect. They have the want of experience to contend with; and they are far too apprehensive of committing errors. They are also too little aware how much better it is to throw themselves for support upon the people, than to court the drawing-rooms and other assemblies, which in Paris have so great and so evil an influence, in all state affairs—an influence less pernicious, perhaps, than among us, because the aristocratical, or rather, oligarchical principle, predominates here far more. Nevertheless, this party is of great respectability, for learning and for talent; and it numbers among its members several of strong republican tendencies.

The Government party comprising *juste milieu*, *doctrinaires*, placemen, and alarmists, are much more numerous than any separate branch of the opposition, but not greatly exceeding the combined force of the others upon any given occasion. They may have about as many more than that united body, as our Tory ministry had less than their enemies, when they were lately driven from power by the present men.

Such being the state of parties, it follows that the ministry has but a feeble support on any public question; but it is more to our present purpose, that we should remark, how little the public voice is spoken, or the people truly represented in the Chamber, by any of those four or five parties. No questions are brought forward, even by the *extreme gauche*, in which all the people have an interest, and show it daily. Abuses are sparingly denounced; the usurpations of the peers upon the rights of the press are suffered to pass unnoticed. The prosecutions and the sentences passed for libel are never even complained of, nay, not so much as mentioned, or alluded to, in all the able, vehement, and eloquent debates of the Chamber, where sit or ought to sit the people's representatives. It was a strange sight for Englishmen to see an Editor of a Newspaper sentenced to four years and a half of imprisonment, with two heavy fines, by those judgments; and one of them pronounced by the body which was itself the party affecting to be injured. In England such things never could have been done, by any ministry, or any court, or any cham-

ber, without immediate notice being taken of it, by some portion of the House of Commons, possibly of the Lords also. This notice might be inoperative, but at all events, the affair never would be suffered to pass in silence. But in France, no one individual, of any party, in either Chamber, has ever said one word of the late proceedings against the press; and this silence on a subject interesting, beyond most others, to the country, can only be explained, by the circumstance of the people not being truly represented in the legislature. It is very true that in France, as in England, the faults of the press, its slanders, its fickleness, its insolence, the habits of so many of its conductors to combine against all other classes, and bury in oblivion all personal differences in the pursuit of a common and professional object; all this has, for the moment, made it extremely unpopular among well-informed and respectable persons; and has alienated many of those men of liberal principles who naturally would have been its friends and defenders. But so has it been in this country; and so occasionally will it always be. Yet let but a minister, or a prince, or a house of parliament, or a court of justice, show the least disposition to profit by the press's unpopularity, for the purpose of restraining its utility—and all its faults and its follies would be forgotten in a minute of time, and every man of sound principles would be found strenuously fighting in its cause. This arises in part, from our larger experience of political affairs, and the lesson we have learnt, that oppression and encroachment are always practised against persons of inferior respectability, and declining favour; and that therefore the true patriot must take his stand by them, and in their cause fight the battle of the constitution. But it also arises in great part from the people being really represented in our Parliament, far more than in the French Chambers.

This is only one instance of the effects, so injurious to the country, which flow from the deficient representation of the French people in their Assemblies; and this brings us to the other defects of the present system—defects, however, easily remedied, if wise firmness in the nation shall be met by honest and patriotic feelings in the court. The people of France ask what they have gained by the change of dynasty? The answer is obvious, and it ought in some degree

to be satisfactory: They have gained the prevention of all the evils which the Charles's and the Polignac's would have heaped upon the country. The tyranny of priestcraft is not restored; the press is still unfettered; the alliance of despots is no longer dragging on the French armies to crusades against foreign liberty, with freedom in a course of extinction at home. All this is most true, and it is most important; but it is not enough. The French have a right to more than their glorious exertions of 1830 conquered for them.

The expenses of the civil government, and the amount of the military establishment, are both complained of as enormous; and there appears to be ground for the complaint. Let us come at once to the Civil List, which is thirteen millions of francs, out of the thousand millions which forms the total expenditure, including the interest and charges of the debt. Now this sum of thirteen millions is devoted to the personal expenses of the royal family, without any deduction. All that used to be charged formerly upon the Civil List as expenses of ambassadors, judges, &c. is transferred to other heads of expenditure, as they have been with us. Consequently a sum of 520,000*l.* sterling is the charge of the king and royal family; and it is equal to 700,000*l.* in England. Indeed, it bears the same proportion to the whole French expenditure that 700,000 does to ours. But as ours consists chiefly of the interest and charges of debt, the French Civil List bears a much greater proportion to the actual cost of the whole government of the state. Has our royal family any thing like such an income from the state? Far indeed from it. We are not disposed to state the provision made for our princes as niggardly. We think there are some salaries, and some jointures, which are very ample, and which several good subjects enough are apt to think enormous; yet, compared with the French Civil List, it is moderate indeed. It does not exceed 510,000*l.*, which in France would be equal to about 350,000*l.*, or half the French King's*.

In France a comparison of a different kind, and somewhat more invidious, is freely made. What was Charles X.'s civil list?

* Even were we to add the allowances of the Princes of the Blood, it would still be only about equal nominally to the French; but in reality only about two thirds of it.

—is the question in every man's mouth. But the attacks upon the present dynasty on this score, and grounded on this comparison, appear to be without foundation. The Civil List in Charles X.'s time was four times as ample, amounting to 52,000,000; and though it is quite true that all manner of charges have been transferred to other heads of expenditure, there has been no sufficient proof brought of the part that remains, 13,000,000, exceeding what the dethroned tyrant enjoyed after paying all extra charges. So, a very invidious topic is often recurred to, the private fortune of the present king as Duke of Orleans; and it is said that the amount of his princely appanage was urged in 1830 as a reason for choosing him to fill the vacant throne. We cannot conceive how any one can be so absurd as to suppose that His Majesty was taken on account of his private means—his separate substance—his being in easy circumstances, as it were, and one who could therefore afford to "do "the business cheaper than another tradesman." Who else was there to make King of the French? The choice was between Louis Philippe and the old branch. These arguments and topics, therefore, are groundless—they are injudiciously introduced—and they are obviously chosen for their invidious and personal tendency. No good cause can gain by such points being made in its support, and we think the good and sound general reasons against so large an expenditure as we have been considering, are quite sufficient, without any aid from unfair and unfounded allusions. There is no sense in defending the expense of the constitutional monarchy by proving it not to be greater than the tyrant's extravagancies. What could be a more fair ground of hope to the people, than the prospect that a free government would also be a cheap one, and that a prince of their choice, and who owed his throne to their favour and to his liberal principles, would be the first to show that he regarded their best interests, and would lessen the weight of their burthens? Such topics are sure, sooner or later, to find their way into the councils of this able, enlightened, and popular sovereign.

The large military establishment is a far more serious evil in our eyes, and that on every account, as well of finance as of constitutional principle. Here, then, is no doubt; no difficulty exists, of making the comparison with Charles X.'s army and marine. Instead of 300,000 soldiers, the army of 1829,

France had, soon after the Revolution of 1830, 420,000, and the late reduction still leaves it as high as 380,000. Now this ought not to be; the Chamber of Deputies ought not to permit it; and the country ought not to endure it. While all Europe is at peace, and when France has 2,000,000 of National Guards ready, at an hour's notice, to garrison every fort, occupy every town, nay, to march upon the frontier, if required—how revolting to every principle of liberty, of economy, of peace, is a standing army such as we have stated! The expenses attending this enormous establishment, in 1832, were 341,000,000 of francs, or about 13,500,000 pounds sterling; and suppose we deduct a tenth for the reduction since effected, of about 40,000 men, leaving 380,000, think of 12,000,000*l.* and upwards for soldiers, in a country where the soldier lives better upon sixpence a day than ours on a shilling! It is as if our army cost 24,000,000*l.* The increase, too, has been great, since the revolution of 1830, for the amount of the military expenditure was then not above 9,000,000*l.* sterling; accordingly, the whole yearly expenditure has now risen to near 1,200,000,000*fs.** from 800,000,000*fs.*, which it was in 1824; or, deducting the interest and charges of the debt from each, the establishment, civil and military, which cost 536,000,000*fs.*, cost in 1832 no less than 837,000,000*fs.*, an increase of 12,000,000*l.* sterling upon 22,000,000*l.* At the same time it must be observed, that the expenses of 1832 were heavier than they now are, and if we take the expenditure at 1,000,000,000 of francs, the increase becomes only that of four millions and a half sterling, or about a fifth. This, however, is an enormous augmentation of the public burthens, and one alike discreditable to the government, and injurious to the country.

If an Englishman naturally regards this overgrown establishment as the most serious evil of which our neighbours have to complain, it may be admitted that *they* are a good deal less moved by it than by some other grievances, possibly because they are much less burthened with taxes than ourselves. The points on which they are most jealous, seem to be the apprehended progress of priestly influence under certain of the doc-

* It was 1,185,838,885*fs.* in 1832, the last year for which the *Compte Général* is printed.

trinaire party, for which there seems no reason at all; and the dread of any co-operation with the remains of the Holy Alliance, which we hope and trust has not much better grounds: Certain it is, that any kind of friendship in so hateful a quarter, would entail the speedy ruin of the new dynasty.

And here we must once more express our apprehension, that the French ministers reckon too much upon the general fear of turbulence and change, which we admit forms the great bulk of the new dynasty's security, not as against the Carlists indeed, but as against the Ultra-liberal and Republican party: We class these together, because what constitutes an Ultra-liberal in the Chamber, makes a Republican out of doors. *That* is the increasing party. Thither tend all the exalted spirits of the nation. It is the refuge of discontent, in whichever of the other factions it may break out. It is the path that all choose whom glory dazzles and ambition fires, or generous enthusiasm awakens to fling off the trammels of sordid feelings, and seek imperishable renown in struggling for the happiness of millions. The young, in the ardour of hope—those of mature years in the consciousness of strength—even they, whom long experience has taught the baseness of vulgar statesmen, and impressed with a deep sense of the People's wrongs—alike join in aspirations after an equal and a popular government to sway once more the destinies of the "*great nation.*" Nor is the philosopher himself exempt from similar feelings—untouched by emotions of a kindred order. The lustre of brilliant assemblages of the people—the prospect of sharing in supreme power—all the other approaches to the temple of vulgar fame on the mountain path thronged by ordinary anxious mortals—have no charms for him. Yet is he not indifferent to the purer joys which are yielded by devotion to the interests of his country. He burns for the time when all who share the same virtuous and enlightened zeal for the noblest of human works may be called to fulfil their high destiny of accomplishing the happiness of mankind. Willing to hope that the sad experience of the past may not be lost on his generous countrymen, he flatters himself with the dream of a commonwealth free from violence, and in which proscription shall extend to cruelty and corruption alone. He soothes himself in the midst of painful recollections, with the idea that the Republican scheme has hitherto failed, mainly because men begin

with this experiment in the infancy of their political wisdom, whereas the government which the People are to exercise can be safely established only when the People have learned to rule; and he fondly looks onward to the day when the progress of education and of virtue, combined with the lessons of experience, shall make a French Commonwealth no longer the name for either sanguinary anarchy or wild and fantastic chimera.

Such is the state of the public mind among our neighbours — such the tendency towards purely popular government. And let the rulers of that gallant people beware how they contemn such warnings! Let them rest assured that each outrage upon the public feelings—each marked neglect of the general wishes—each refusal to remove an admitted abuse—each step made in advance towards extravagance, or corruption, or oppression, or priestly domination at home—or towards fostering the abominations of despotism abroad—detaches thousands from the standard of constitutional monarchy, and enlists them under the attractive banners of the Republican party.

Article II.

Report of the Third Annual Meeting of the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland. London: 1835.
Manuscript Correspondence of the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland.
Le Polonais. Paris: 1835.
Kronika Emigracyi Polskiey. Paris: 1835.

After the fall of Warsaw, on the 8th of September, 1831, all hope seemed to abandon the Polish patriots. Efforts, to rally were not wanting. But that capital, associated in the mind of every Pole with so many proud recollections, for which so many battles had been fought and so much Polish blood had flowed, was lost,—and it appeared to many, that no equally effective point of union could be found, for opposing, with a chance of success, the daily increasing power of the enemy. All prospect of succour from foreign governments had also vanished, and the very feeling that it had been

expected, and that the claims of Poland justified the expectation, added a deeper gloom to the despondency which settled on the national cause.

Yet the army was unbroken: it breathed the same martial and undaunted spirit as that which prompted its earliest achievements: and even a casual observer might have perceived, that its devotion increased with the difficulties which environed it, as if it felt the necessity of proving, that true patriotism can bear without shrinking the test of the keenest adversity. The more, therefore, the cause of Poland appeared to be on the wane, and the greater the probability that a fatal crisis in her affairs was approaching, the more was her armed force on the alert, and the greater anxiety did it evince to seize every opportunity of again contending with the enemy. Its ranks had, it is true, been thinned by ten months' sanguinary contest; but the chasms left by the killed and wounded were, without delay, filled up by combatants who thronged from the remotest provinces of ancient Poland, and by foreigners who, in defiance of the military cordons established on the frontiers, joined the Poles in their noble struggle. Hands and hearts were not wanting; and the military pride of the young soldier* was

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* The following statement of the battles fought by the Poles, from the year 1768 to the year 1831, will show the intrepidity with which they have endeavoured to maintain the independence of their country.

EPOCH I.—CONFEDERATION OF BAR.

Years.	Places.	Commanders.	Enemies.
1768, ...	Berdyczew.....	Pulaski	Russians.
May 21 ..	Brzezany	I. Potocki	Russians.
May 28 ..	Bar.....	I. Potocki	Russians.
1769, ...	Brzesc Litewski ..	Pulaski	Russians.
June 20 ..	Minsk (Lith.)	Bierzynski and Sapieha	Russians.
1770, ...	Czenstochowa	Pulaski	Russians.
April 26 ..	Szrensk	Sawa-Kalinski	Russians.
June 22 ..	Lanckorona	Dumouriez	Russians.
Sept. 6 ..	Radziça	M. K. Oginski	Russians.
Sept. 14 ..	Stolowicze	M. K. Oginski	Russians.
1772, April 22 ..	Cracow	Choisy	Russians.
Aug. 25 ..	Czenstochowa	Pulaski	Russians.

EPOCH II.—CAMPAIGN OF 1792.

1792, June 10 ..	Stolbce	Bielak	Russians.
June 11 ..	Mir.....	Judycki.....	Russians.

roused, and his confidence confirmed, by being associated in the field with the veterans who had gained over an enemy, three times their number, the brilliant victories of Stoczek, Grochow, Wawr, Dembe-Wielkie, Iganie, and Ostrolenka.

Years.	Places.	Commanders.	Enemies.
1792, June 15 ..	Boruszkowce	M. Wielhorski	Russians.
June 18 ..	Zielence	J. Poniatowski	Russians.
July 4 ..	Zelwa	J. Zabiello.....	Russians.
July 17 ..	Dubienka	Kosciuszko	Russians.
July 24 ..	Granne	J. Zabiello.....	Russians.
	Epoch III.—War of Independence.		
1794, April 4 ..	Raclawice	Kosciuszko	Russians.
May 7 ..	Polany	Jasinski	Russians.
June 6 ..	Szczekociny	Kosciuszko	Rus. & Prus.
June 8 ..	Chelm	Zayonczek.....	Russians.
June 25 ..	Soly	Iasinski.....	Russians.
July 9 ..	Golkow	Zayonczek.....	Russians.
July 29 ..	Salaty.....	Giedroyc	Russians.
Aug. 2 ..	Slonim	Sierakowski	Russians.
Aug. 7 ..	Libau	Wawrzecki	Russians.
Sept. 18 ..	Krupczyce.....	Sierakowski	Russians.
Sept. 19 ..	Brzesc Litewski ..	Sierakowski	Russians.
Oct. 2 ..	Bromberg	Dombrowski	Prussians.
Oct. 10 ..	Maciejowice	Kosciuszko	Russians.
Nov. 4 ..	Praga.....	Zayonczek.....	Russians.
	Epoch IV.—Campaign of 1806 to 1809.		
1806, Dec. 27 ..	Bromberg	Kosinski	Prussians.
1807, Feb. 23 ..	Dirschau	Dombrowski.....	Prussians.
May 16 ..	Ruda	Krukowiecki.....	Prussians.
1809, April 19 ..	Raszyn	Poniatowski	Austrians.
April 25 ..	Wygoda	Sokolnicki.....	Austrians.
April 25 ..	Radzymin	Sierawski	Austrians.
May 3 ..	Gora	Sokolnicki.....	Austrians.
May 18 ..	Sandomir	Sokolnicki.....	Austrians.
May 14 ..	Thorn.....	Woyczynski	Austrians.
May 20 ..	Zamosc	Pelletier.....	Austrians.
June 9 ..	Iedlinsko	Zayonczek.....	Austrians.
June 17 ..	Sandomir	Sokolnicki.....	Austrians.
July 11 ..	Zarnowiec	Kosinski	Austrians.
July 18 ..	Brykain ..... / Wieniawka ..	Rzyszczewski	Austrians.
	Epoch V.—War of 1830-31.		
1831, Feb. 14 ..	Stoczek	Dwernicki.....	Russians.
Feb. 17 ..	Dobre.....	Skrzynecki	Russians.
Feb. 19 ..	Swirza and / Novawies	.... Dwernicki.....	Russians.

Had not, therefore, the timid and selfish policy of the cabinets of Europe paralysed the efforts of the Polish nation, had they even consented to remain strictly neutral*, history, not-

Years.	Places.	Commanders.		Enemies.
1831, 18 to 26 Feb. on the plains of Grochow.	Milosna	Radzivill	Skrzynecki	Russians.
	Wawr	Zymirski	Lubienski	Russians.
	Grochow	Chlopicki	Gielgud	Russians.
	Zombki	Krukowiecki	Matachowski	Russians.
	Biatolenka	Weyssenhoff	Rohland	Russians.
	Nasielsk	Szembek	Milberg	Russians.
		Uminski	Iankowski	Russians.
Feb. 26	Pulawy	Lagowski		Russians.
Mar. 2	Kurow	Dwernicki		Russians.
Mar. 31	Wawr	Skrzynecki	Prondzynski / Chrzanowski	Russians.
	Dembe	Skarzynski / Zamoyski	Lubienski	Russians.
April 10	Iganie	Prondzynski	Kicki	Russians.
April 19	Boremel	Dwernicki		Russians.
April 26	Kuflew	Dembinski		Russians.
May 26	Ostrolenka	Skrzynecki / Kamienski / Bem	Pac / Kicki / Lubienski	Russians.
May 29	Raygrod	Dembinski / Roland	Sierakowski / Szymanowski	Russians.
June 19	Wilno	Gielgud	Chlapowski	Russians.
Aug. 9	Ilza	Rozycki		Russians.
Aug. 29	Miedzyrzec	Ramorino	Sierawski	Russians.
Aug. 29	Rogoznica	Gawronski		Russians.
Sept. 6, 7, 8,	Warsaw	Malachowski / Dembinski / Sowinski / Bem	Rybinski / Uminski / Wysocki	Russians.

* The following letter from General Skrzynecki, to the King of Prussia, proves to what an extent the interference of Prussia, in favour of the Russians, was carried during the contest.

" Sire—I should not presume to address your Majesty, if I did not entertain the hope, that your Majesty would recognise my title as the Commander-in-chief of the National Forces of Poland. The importance of the object of this communication will, I trust, render it a sufficient apology for me in thus engaging your Majesty's attention.

" From the time of your Majesty's accession to the throne, you have not ceased, in the course of your paternal government, to give splendid proofs of your love of justice. Relying on these qualities, I feel by anticipation, some relief from the annoyance and vexation which the civil and military authorities of your Majesty's government have caused me.

" You have recognised, Sire, in concert with the other Courts, the principle of non-intervention. And there can be no doubt that your Majesty's ministers have received orders to act upon that principle. Hence the Polish army cannot have any right to complain of your Majesty personally, but to submit to you rather, the grievances which your servants have inflicted upon it.

withstanding the feeling of despondency, which necessarily prevailed with some portions of the people, might yet have recorded the independence of Poland, achieved by the exertions of her own sons; might yet have described her again assuming, as the result of her own efforts, the position which it is the true policy of Europe she should ever maintain—that of a bulwark against the power and ambition of Russia.

The armed force of Poland, subsequently to the surrender of Warsaw, consisted principally of three corps. The largest, of about 30,000 men had been left to defend the capital, and after its surrender retreated towards Plock, accompanied by the members of the executive government, by the senate, and by a majority of the chamber. It was led by General Rybinski,

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" Every day the army witnesses, in defiance of the neutrality which your Majesty was pleased solemnly to signify your intention of maintaining towards Poland, that the civil and military authorities on the frontiers, manifest so much favour to the Russians, that it is attributable only to the supplies of every description which they receive, through the instrumentality of your Majesty's government and subjects, that the latter have not yet been compelled to retreat.

" *First*,—The Prussian authorities supply the Russians with provisions from the store-houses of Thorn and the neighbourhood.

" *Secondly*,—Prussian artillerymen have been sent to the Russian army to be employed against us.

" *Thirdly*,—The Russian army receives ammunition from the Prussian fortresses.

" *Fourthly*,—The uniforms of several Russian regiments are made in Prussia.

" *Fifthly*,—A Prussian engineer of Marienwerder (Kwidzin) has been employed to construct a bridge upon the Vistula, near Zlotoria, for the passage of the Russians; the necessary materials having been furnished by Prussia.

" I could adduce innumerable other circumstances which are equivalent to acts of hostility, but I confine myself to the above facts, in the persuasion that they will be sufficient to engage your Majesty to change the actual state of things which your Majesty is undoubtedly ignorant of, and which is so contrary both to your declared policy and dignity.

" I beg your Majesty will be pleased to excuse the liberty I have taken to address you, and I beseech you to listen to the voice of humanity, and to take pity on the oppressed, whom the gigantic power of Russia would be unable to subdue, without the assistance clandestinely furnished to our enemy, by the civil and military authorities of Prussia.

" In the hope, Sire, that these representations will not be disapproved of by your Majesty,

" I have the honour to be,

" Your Majesty's most obedient humble servant,

" SKRZYNECKI,

" Generalissimo of the Polish army.

" Head Quarters, Siennica, June 19, 1831."

who had succeeded to the chief command of the Polish army. After some fruitless endeavours to organise a new plan of operations and to cross the Vistula, for the purpose of falling upon the rear of the Russians, the whole of this corps was at last forced to take refuge in Prussia. The second corps was that of General Ramorino, in Podlachia. It numbered 18,000 men, and was composed of regular troops, in the best condition. A battle having been fought near Miedzyrzec, in which it gained some advantages, it pursued the enemy to Brzesc; but being unable to prevent the surrender of Warsaw (to which, after being recalled, it was hastening by forced marches) it made its way towards Sandomir—continually harassed by the Russians—with the view of crossing the Vistula at that point, but finding no bridge constructed, and being unable to effect a passage, it entered the territory of Austrian Galicia. The third and smallest corps was that of General Rozycki, in the Palatinate of Cracow. It consisted of about 6,000 men, a great portion of whom were recruits or volunteers from Volhynia and Podolia. Reinforcements continually streamed to it from Galicia; and there were many in its ranks, animated with an ardent desire to relieve the forlorn state of their country. This corps made the most gallant stand against the Russians, till pressed on all sides, it was obliged to retreat, first on the territory of the Republic of Cracow, and when attacked by the enemy even on that neutral ground, it continued its retreat to Galicia, accompanied by Prince Czartoryski, Skrzynecki, Ladislas Ostrowski, the President of the Chamber of Deputies, and by many more of the leading men of the revolution, who had sought an asylum in Cracow, vainly hoping that its neutrality would be respected. Thus Cracow, the ancient capital of Poland—the mausoleum of her kings and heroes—the place where the ashes of Sobieski and Kosciuszko repose—bore testimony to the fidelity with which Prince Czartoryski and his companions redeemed the pledge pronounced by him in the Senate, and adopted by every Pole, to contend for the last inch of their native country.

To the above corps, which comprised the chief divisions of the Polish army, we must unite a small body of troops under the command of General Dwernicki, which had made a partisan excursion into Volhynia, but which long before the affairs of

Poland had taken a disastrous turn, was obliged to seek refuge on Austrian ground, followed by many of the inhabitants of Podolia, who, previously to its movement towards that province, had enthusiastically joined the national cause. Finally if to the above we add about 12,000 Polish troops and Lithuanian insurgents, who, with Generals Gielgud and Chlapowski, entered Prussia at the close of the contest, we shall have the gross number of refugees of all ranks and arms, of every age and sex, who constituted in the first instance the mass of the Polish emigration.

The extent of this emigration did not fail to excite surprise in many parts of Europe, and the Emperor himself, startled by its amount, issued promises of pardon to his misguided Polish subjects, as they were called, if they would return to their country. Many, driven by necessity, or compelled by the open hostility of the neighbouring powers, were eventually obliged to accept these offers: but the leading members of the national government, the officers of the army, and a large body of the soldiers, felt that there were strong and urgent reasons for not listening to any terms proposed by the Emperor Nicholas. They knew him from experience, and that experience taught them not only that his heart was a stranger to the feelings of humanity, but that he was the uncompromising enemy of their national independence and of their social and political rights. How then could they believe a tyrant's professions, when they were conscious they had awakened his fears, by their devotion to their country's cause. When they knew they had humbled his pride, and wounded his self-love, by revealing to Europe the weakness of his unwieldy empire?—that giant, as it has been called, on his feet of clay!

But had the Poles even admitted justice to be an attribute consistent with the nature of an offended despot, all reliance on his professions would have been destroyed by the fact, that they who enjoyed his confidence, and directed the policy of his government, were the implacable enemies of Poland and of freedom. From the natural disposition of the Russian people the Poles had not much to fear; but they had every thing to dread from their fanaticism and ignorance, feelings which when artfully worked upon by the agents of the Russian Government, have ever made them the ready tools and fearful

ministers of the Emperor's will. At one time the Russian army was made to believe that it was marching against the French, to whom it bore a national hatred from the time of Napoleon; and when this stratagem was discovered, by the Russian and Polish troops meeting in the field of battle, the priests were instructed to preach a crusade against the Poles as Roman Catholics, who intended to subvert the Greek church, to desecrate their places of worship, and to convert the people of Russia to the Roman Catholic faith. By these, and similar delusions, the Russians were exasperated against the Poles, and were induced to consider the war in which they were engaged, a contest for their altars and their homes. Under the influence of such feelings, the Imperial Guards were dispatched from Petersburgh in the frost of January—Barbarian hordes were summoned from the remotest corners of Asiatic Russia—and Kierghies, Circassians, and Kalmucks were pressed into the service, to maintain the tottering despotism of Muscovy, and suppress constitutional freedom on the banks of the Vistula. In vain did the Poles send out white flags, bearing the inscription "For our and your liberty." The appeal was made without success to an ignorant soldiery; the flags were supposed to be flags of truce, or rewards were claimed by those who laid them at the feet of their commanders, as for trophies taken in battle. Thus the ignorance and fanaticism of the Russian people, which interposed so many obstacles to the establishment of Polish independence, would, in the event of the Poles returning to their own country, have rendered it impossible for them to rely on their good will, as a protection against the cruelty and oppression of the government.

The only remaining source to which the Poles could have looked for substantial relief, would have been the armed intervention of the cabinets or of the people of Europe. But they remembered the Treaty of Vienna, already violated with impunity by the Russian government. They knew too, that it had been proclaimed in the French Chamber of Deputies on the fall of the capital of their country, that "Peace and order "reigned at Warsaw," and they also knew that "the peace "which reigned at Warsaw" was "the peace of the tomb."

The Poles, therefore, after making efforts unparalleled in the history of nations, beheld themselves surrounded with

imminent dangers at home, while they could trace nothing but apathy and indifference, or open hostility, abroad. In this difficult situation, they adopted the course which appeared to them most consistent with the interests of their country and with their own character. History told them that many of their countrymen had heretofore, in foreign lands, formed themselves into Polish legions, and had afterwards returned to their homes, to assist in re-establishing one part of dismembered Poland. "In his military emigration, the Pole "of former days, who transported into foreign lands his "household gods, called down vengeance on the violence "so long inflicted on them, and consoled himself with the "reflection, that in supporting the cause of freedom he was "fighting the battles of his native land; and in the Duchy of "Warsaw, the country of his forefathers existed again*." The refugees hoped to follow these bright examples, if circumstances should permit; and, confident in the justice of their cause, they did not, even in their deepest adversity, despair of the regeneration of their native country; but with firmness unshaken, and with untainted honour, they abandoned the frontiers and emigrated from Poland.

Emigration, however, necessarily involves a severance of those ties of kindred and of home, which renders it a painful and melancholy undertaking, though prompted as in the case of the Poles by the most exalted and patriotic motives. "It "was on the evening of the 16th of November," says an eye witness, "that Ramorino's corps passed into the Austrian "territory. The last rays of the sun, emerging from behind "the mountains of Sandomir, fell across a beautiful landscape "on the opposite bank of the Vistula, which rolled its waters "in deep shade below. The contest had just ceased. The "Polish army stood in its ranks on a broken and hilly piece of "ground, safe after the recent battle from their overwhelming "and implacable foe, only because the neutrality of the Aus-"trian territory was, in this instance, respected. The Russian "cannon was still heard at intervals in the distance, echoing "along the ridge of mountains, and as its sound died away, it "seemed for the moment to the Polish patriot, that the last

* Manifesto of the Polish Nation to Europe.

" blow for his country had been struck, and that his efforts " had terminated, as the anxieties of man terminate when the " final struggle of life is over. There was, indeed, in their " situation, enough to excite the deepest emotion. The pa- " triotic songs, so often heard in the Polish camp, were hushed " —here and there horses strayed deprived of their riders— " the soldiers leant on their arms in mute despondency—and " when called upon by the Austrian authorities to surrender " those arms, many of the veterans who had served in the " campaigns of Napoleon, broke their muskets, while others " buried their sabres in secret places, in the hope that they " would soon again be required in the service of their " country."

A similar scene took place upon the retreat of General Rybinski's corps into Prussia. It was, as we have mentioned, the principal division of the Polish army, and was accompanied by ninety-five pieces of cannon, which were surrendered to the local authorities, pursuant to a stipulation which had been entered into with the Prussian Government. The Cosmopolite would perhaps have sneered at the feeling evinced by many of the soldiers on quitting these stern companions of their triumphs and misfortunes; but those best acquainted with the character of the Poles, gathered from their conduct hope and confidence for the future fortunes of their country, while every new act of devotion discovered the true source of the extraordinary exertions they had made during the past. These cannon were afterwards delivered to the Russians, a proceeding unexpected by the Poles, and which they considered the greatest insult that could be offered to them as soldiers.

The Poles in Austrian Galicia having laid down their arms, had places of sojourn allotted to them till further orders were received from Vienna. The soldiers were distributed in depôts, while the officers were allowed to take up their quarters at Sieniawa (an estate of Prince Czartoryski), and both were placed under strict military surveillance. Many of the officers, however, contrived to elude the vigilance of the Austrian cordon of 60,000 men, and joined Rozycki's corps, which was still in the field, against the common enemy. Such of them as remained, and were natives of Galicia, were allowed by the Austrian Government to continue unmolested in their homes;

while those who were strangers, met with all the warmth and sympathy which the natives of that ancient province of Poland continue to cherish towards their fellow countrymen. The refugees, therefore, were every where received with enthusiasm; the mansions of the resident gentry were thrown open at their approach, and where the Austrian system of espionage permitted, their presence was the signal of rejoicing and festivity. Indeed, no where might Prince Metternich and his Imperial master read a more instructive lesson than in Austrian Galicia. The public functionaries are, for the most part, Germans; Poles having been excluded from offices of trust in the local government, in the hope that Polish principles might be suppressed, and that opinions more congenial to the tastes and wishes of the Imperial Court, might be introduced into that portion of the Empire. But the very reverse has happened. The German functionaries have become bound by family connexions to the native Galicians; their children have been educated at the same seminaries with the Polish youth; early friendships have been established, and social ties have been formed; they have failed to diffuse German habits and prejudices, but they have themselves imbibed the feelings and enthusiasm of their new countrymen, and many of the volunteers in the Polish ranks during the recent contest were the sons of civil servants, nominated by the Court of Vienna.

In Hungary, too, the liveliest sympathy was openly avowed for the Poles, both during the continuance and after the termination of their struggle. It is known that the Hungarians offered to arm and maintain, at their own expense, 100,000 men to assist the Poles. The offer was rejected by the Austrian Cabinet. But we cannot convey a more faithful picture of the feeling which prevailed amongst these ancient allies of Poland, than by quoting the following extract from an Address presented to the Emperor of Austria by the County Palatine of Bars:—

"In considering the enormous power the Ottoman Empire "at one time possessed, and the long wars it waged with Greece; "the very misfortunes our country, through this increase of "power, was subsequently exposed to, have taught us that "the great fault at that period was with us, inasmuch as we "abandoned Greece to its own fate, and allowed it to be sub-

" jugated. The present is an analogous case, and we are " therefore reminded of the propriety of not looking with " indifference at the gigantic strides of the Northern Colossus, " which is so rapidly increasing in power; *not by any right* " *of inheritance, nor by free popular election, but by force of* " *arms;* that it may be checked while there is time, and be " confined within its proper limits. By evincing our gratitude, " and by performing a bounden duty towards the undaunted " Poles, who are fighting for their independence and their " nationality, we shall also provide for our own security. " Whereas, by neglecting to do so, and by abandoning them, " should they succumb, overwhelmed though not subdued, we " fear lest we ourselves or our descendants, be exposed to " the same perils from the same enemy, and hereafter lament, " though in vain, that there is not another Sobieski to save " us *.

" May it therefore please your Majesty graciously to con- " sider what dreadful futurity the gallant Polish nation would " have to expect, if their noble efforts should fail to produce " those results to which the justice of their cause entitles them: " a nation, Sire, whose claims on your august house, and on " our own country, are never to be forgotten—a nation, which " with courage unparalleled, but with forces unequal, is now " struggling with its enemy, and is not likely to succeed but " at the expense of the greatest sacrifices. In considering, " furthermore, that danger is impending from the North on " all the neighbouring nations, we most humbly pray your " Majesty to make the fate of unhappy Poland, before it be " too late, an object of deliberation with your faithful subjects " at the next Diet; and in the meanwhile graciously to abolish " the recent regulations which prohibit *all exportation of* " *arms, ammunition, and scythes*, almost the only branch of " commerce that is left us by the severe prohibitions of the " custom-house."

Our limits prevent us from entering more into detail on these occurrences. We have endeavoured, however imperfectly,

* Among the papers of Constantine, found after his escape from Warsaw, a plan for the invasion of Hungary by Russia was discovered, which contained the most minute details of an intended campaign, drawn up by Lieutenant-Colonel Prondzinski, at the command of the Grand Duke.

to shadow out events, which we conceive justify the opinion that there exists in the eastern sections of Europe, a current of feeling which may be diverted from its legitimate and proper channel; but which, if properly directed, would in due season overwhelm, with accumulated power, the boundaries which the narrow policy of despotism would interpose to its progress. And we contend, that even the few facts we have stated show, that a bolder and more decided course of action on the part of England and of France, during the late contest, would have re-established Poland as an independent kingdom, and by forming a nucleus in that country for constitutional principles, would have reared an impassable barrier against the encroachments of Russia.

It is said, that the timid policy we adopted has prevented a lavish expenditure of money, and a great sacrifice of human life. We are sincere advocates for peace, and the conviction that these objects had been permanently attained, would go far to reconcile us to the existing state of things in Poland. But what is there in the recent proceedings and present position of Russia to justify such an assumption? Are we prepared to look coldly on, while Constantinople shares the fate of Warsaw, while this key-stone is added to the arch of Russian ambition? And can we persuade ourselves that the moral influence which such a conquest would exercise over the whole Mahometan world, the actual power Russia would thereby acquire in the Mediterranean, and in southern Europe, would neither affect the security of our eastern possessions, or bring danger to constitutional freedom in the west?

Russia, during the contest in Poland, resembled, if we may so express ourselves, a vast, but ill-assorted Mosaic; kingdoms, provinces, and districts, acknowledging one common authority, but without any community of customs, language, or religion, made up the unwieldly and discordant mass*; and the intrinsic weakness of such an empire was sufficiently proved by the difficulty the Court of Petersburgh experienced in subduing the Poles. But let Russia possess Constantinople and her position will be fearfully changed. Austria, vacillating between her

* We believe the following, taken from Malte-Brun, to be the most accurate published statement of the various Nations and Tribes that constitute the Russian Empire. The amount of population is however uncertain, as

selfish fear of Constitutional freedom, and her dread of Muscovite aggression, may be compelled to throw her bayonets into

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independently of other causes, the jealousy of the Government prevents any precise statistical information from being obtained.

SLAVONIC NATIONS.	
Russians proper, or Muscovites	34,000,000
Inhabitants of Ancient Poland. Poles	5,500,000
Little Russians or Rusnacks	9,000,000
Lithuanians	1,300,000
Lettons, or Kures	600,000
Bulgarians and Servians	30,000
	50,430,000
FINNIC AND FINNO-HUNNIC NATIONS.	
Finlanders, Ymes, Quaenes and Karetes	1,380,000
Ehstes	480,000
Lives and Krevines	3,000
Laplanders	9,000
Syriaines	30,000
Woguls	12,000
Permiakes	34,000
Tchouvasches	370,000
Tcheremisses	190,000
Mordvines	92,000
Wotiakes	141,000
Ostiakes of Obi	107,000
Teptiaires	114,000
	2,962,000
TARTAR OR TURKISH NATIONS.	
Tartars, or Turks Proper	1,204,000
Nogays	154,200
Truchmenes	200,000
Kirguis	360,000
Khivintzes	2,500
Boukhares (Tartars)	10,500
Meschtcheriakes and Arabs	37,000
Baschkirs	140,000
Teleoutes	1,000
Iakoutes	88,000
	2,197,200
CAUCASIAN NATIONS.	
Grusians, or Georgians	560,000
Lesghians	230,000
Tcherkesses, or Circassians	190,000
Awchases	90,000
Ossetes	42,000
Midzhigis	43,000
	1,155,000
TEUTONIC AND SCANDINAVIAN NATIONS.	
Germans	380,000
Swedes	56,000
Danes	1,200
	437,200
MOGUL NATIONS.	
Buriaites	120,000
Kalmucks, or Oelocts	75,000
Kalkas	18,000
	213,000
DIFFERENT TRIBES IN THE NORTH-EAST.	
Tunguses	50,000
Samoides	20,000
Tribes of Yenisci (Klaproth)	38,000
Kamtschadales	9,500
Ioukaguires	3,200
Koriakes	8,000
	128,700
ESQUIMAUX, &c.	
Tchouktches	50,000
Kitaigues	3,000
Tchugatches	5,000
Konaigues	8,000
Kenaitzes	4,000
	70,000
American Tribes	20,000
DIFFERENT ASIATIC NATIONS.	
Jews	460,000
Armenians	74,000
Tadjiks, or Persian Boukhares	15,000
Zigeunes, or Gipsies	10,000
Hindoos	500
Arabs	6,200
Parses	2,000
	567,700
DIFFERENT EUPROPEAN NATIONS.	
Moldavians	85,000
Wallachians	45,000
Greeks	21,000
English, French, &c.	6,000
	157,000

the Russian scale. The supple Asiatic will bow with humility, though with reluctance, to the conquerors of Stamboul. Poland is already prostrate. The Black Sea will afford a secure and admirable nursery for her seamen, and its rivers will supply inexhaustible means for constructing a navy. New sources of commerce and wealth will be opened to her; that which was disjointed and weak will be consolidated and strengthened; and the armies she now employs to subdue and controul her distant and turbulent provinces, will be wielded to promote her ambition, and extend her conquests in civilized Europe.

A sufficient supply of arms and ammunition would have enabled the Poles to bring more than treble the number of combatants into the field, and it is possible that this accession of force might have enabled them successfully to resist their oppressors; but there can be no reasonable doubt, that if their exertions had also been stimulated by the knowledge of an English squadron being in the Baltic, or an English squadron and a French army in the Euxine, we should now be celebrating the triumphs of regenerated Poland, instead of mourning over her misfortunes and degradation. The Governments of England and France shrunk from this manly, and, as it appears to us, obvious line of policy. The question, therefore, which might have been disposed of before the walls of Warsaw, remains to be decided, under circumstances much less favourable, on the shores of the Bosphorus.

Prussia, with no unequal steps, followed the example set by Russia, in her conduct towards the Poles. The sluggish and more indifferent Austrian can only be arraigned at the bar of Europe, as an accessary to the national crimes perpetrated by the Czar. Prussia stands forward as a principal. Her cruelty to the unarmed and defenceless warriors, who trusted to her honour, was rivalled by her mean subserviency to the cabinet of Petersburgh.

The number of Poles who surrendered in Prussia, in consequence of the stipulation entered into between the Prussian authorities and the Polish chiefs, amounted to upwards of 20,000 men. This division laid down their arms, on the express condition of obtaining protection and safe sojourn. But the Prussian Government did not permit those to whom it vouchsafed its protection, to dispose of themselves as they

thought fit. The refugees were treated as prisoners of war, during four months; and at the expiration of that period, they were informed that such of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers as were natives of the kingdom of Poland must return, for to them the Emperor of Russia had granted an amnesty. On the 11th of December, 1831, a division of the Poles were surrounded by Prussian troops, who gave them to understand, that if they refused to march, they would be fired upon. Such of them as submitted were immediately forwarded to the frontiers, while those who declared their unwillingness to return to Poland, assembled in groups preferring death to Russian amnesty. Attempts were then made under pretence of changing their cantonments, to draw them gradually towards Poland and place them within the power of the Russian troops; but the unfortunate refugees, now convinced of the bad faith of the Prussian authorities, refused to proceed. This was the signal for a scene of blood which must fill every generous mind with indignation. The Prussian cavalry charged the unarmed Poles: but the soldiers only called God to witness the barbarous massacre, they submitted to die, but refused to advance a step. These scenes were repeated on more than one occasion, and General Rybinski thought himself imperatively called upon to address the following letter of remonstrance to the King of Prussia:

"SIRE—It is with a heart lacerated with grief, that I address myself to your Majesty, in order to lay before you the details of the bloody event which has plunged my unfortunate fellow soldiers into mourning and despair; an event which I am afraid will be represented to your Majesty in a false light, seeing that it could not have been authorized, and that the Polish soldiers, who had sought refuge in Prussia, did not forget, even at the moment at which they fell the victims of the most horrible treatment, either the respect which they owed to the authority of the country in which they found themselves, or the gratitude which was due from them to your Majesty for the hospitality which you have been pleased to extend to them. A simple and exact recital of the facts will prove this.

"Major Szweykowski, of the Prussian army, repaired, on the 27th of the present month to Fischau, for the purpose of reviewing there a detachment of Polish cavalry, which was cantoned in the neighbourhood of Marienburgh. And having separated several soldiers from this detachment, who he said were too much compromised to return to their own country, he declared to the others, that they would be compelled to return immediately to Poland. All these soldiers, who had on several occasions manifested their firm determination not to return to Poland, resolved to repair to Marienburgh, to General Schmidt, who had guaranteed to them the free choice of a place of residence, and in whose pro-

mises they had the greatest confidence. But scarcely had they begun their march, totally unarmed, when a detachment of Prussian infantry opposed their passage: the Polish soldiers instructed one of their officers to endeavour to facilitate their advance; but at this moment a sharp fire from the Prussian detachment, killed six Polish soldiers on the spot, and wounded seven very dangerously. Even a Prussian officer, named Trembicki, being among the Polish soldiers, in order to harangue them, was seriously wounded. The Polish soldiers bore with heroic patience, this horrible violation of hospitality and of voluntary promises; and although much superior in numbers, did not commit any attack against the authority and troops of your Majesty. They contented themselves with dispersing, and arriving separately at Marienburgh, where they were lodged by Major Zelaskowski, in the castle of that town.

"Having thus made a faithful recital to your Majesty, of this terrible event, so opposite to your sentiments, I have only to claim your protection against so great a violation of the hospitality which your Majesty deigned to grant us, and to supplicate you to allow the Polish officers and soldiers, who have taken refuge in your territory, their personal liberty; seeing that all the measures which have been taken to induce them to return to their country, only serve to confirm them in the resolution, to suffer death rather than profit by a mere show of amnesty.

"Before separating myself from the army which I have had the honour to command, I have thought it a most sacred duty to address myself to your Majesty, in the name of my unfortunate fellow soldiers—in the name of suffering humanity.

"MATTHIEU RYBINSKI,
"General in Chief of the Polish Army."

"Elbing, 28th Jan. 1832."

Scarcely seven thousand of the refugees were eventually able to evade the bayonets of the Prussian troops, or had sufficient firmness in their forlorn situation to resist the hollow offers of amnesty, promulgated by the Russian Government. The remainder were either forced again to enter Poland, or were induced to do so, by the delusive hopes held out to them, of being permitted to return to their homes and their families. These hopes, however, were soon destroyed; numbers were on their return enrolled in the regiments destined for Siberia and the Caucasus, and those who ventured to remonstrate were offered the alternative of submission, or of death by the *knout*. At Janow, a town in the palatinate of Lublin, this barbarous punishment was inflicted on seventeen Polish soldiers, who were beaten to death in the presence of the Russian General Gortschakoff, and the same cruel proceeding was witnessed by an English traveller at Cronstadt*, where out of fifty Polish soldiers who refused to serve, twelve were selected and beaten. Three thousand unarmed Poles were drawn up to witness the

* Polonia, p. 347. Hull Record, pp. 49. 56.

disgusting spectacle, and a large body of Russian troops attended to suppress any attempt to rescue their unhappy countrymen. Two files of Russian soldiers, consisting of two hundred and fifty men, stood with hazel sticks in the right hand, and a loaded musket in the left; the but-ends of two muskets were then placed under the arms of the sufferers, to force them through this double line of their torturers; and in front bayonets were pointed at their breasts, to prevent their advancing too quickly. In this situation several of the Poles received so many blows, that a foreign surgeon present declared, they could not survive the day; but if they survived and recovered, they were to be beaten again until they consented to serve.

A broad line of distinction must, however, be drawn between the Prussian Government and the Prussian people; for, although the Poles did not in Prussia find that warmth of feeling, which met their countrymen in Austrian Galicia, amidst their kinsmen and friends, yet they were received with kindness, and throughout Germany a lively feeling of regret was expressed at their want of success.

In Saxony this feeling kindled into enthusiasm. Two of the rulers of Saxony had, for upwards of half a century, been Kings of Poland*, and its late king was Grand Duke of the Duchy of Warsaw. Some of the aged might recollect the former period, and the latter was within the memory of every Saxon adult; the two countries were blended in the page of history; their fate had been equally disastrous; and they were linked together by a community of suffering and misfortune. The enthusiasm thus excited in Saxony, spread rapidly to the Rhine. Committees were formed, not only at Dresden and Leipsic, but also at Hannau, Frankfort, Metz, and the adjacent towns. The line of March of the Polish refugees, on their road to France, resembled that of a triumphant army, rather than the broken and dispirited progress of a defeated band of patriots, and no conquerors were ever received with more honour and distinction, than these unfortunate sufferers in the cause of freedom. Whenever the Polish columns approached a town, they were met, often at a distance of several

* Augustus II. and Augustus III.; from 1697 to 1763.

miles, by the citizens bearing the flags of their different guilds, entwined with the Polish colours. The magistrates and the people vied with each other in welcoming the gallant though unfortunate strangers; the road over which they passed was often strewed with flowers; their deeds were sung in their native Polish language; and their entry within the city walls of their hospitable entertainers, was celebrated with music, and the firing of artillery.

But the effect produced by the presence of the Poles was not confined to these outward marks of sympathy and friendship. At political meetings, and at social festivals, Poland was praised and lamented; poets bewailed her fall, and historians recorded her achievements; she was held up as an example worthy of imitation, and a feeling of admiration for the heroic efforts of her sons, and of indignation against her enemies, sunk deeply into the mind of the German people. They felt, in the language of the address of the Polish refugees to the British House of Commons, "That the successive partitions "of Poland subverted the system of European states; that "they checked the progress of constitutional improvement by "considerably increasing the material force of the despotic "powers; that they gave birth to a new system, contrary to "public right and justice; that they afforded additional power "to despots to turn to their own profit the annihilation of the "independence of nations; that they enabled them, under the "pretence of benefiting the people and of curbing the spirit "of rebellion, to overturn and destroy the liberty of twenty "millions of Poles; that then the struggle between *two* "*principles* began—a struggle, which after having brought "on the dismemberment of Poland, ought to end by her "complete re-establishment, as the only means of securing "liberty against the encroachments of despotism."

Let the Autocrat of Russia mark well these consequences of his ruthless policy! Let him call to mind his disregard of every constitutional right—his violation of international compacts—and let him reproach himself, if, when the sword is again drawn, he should find it is no longer in a contest with the limited power of the Poles, but with freemen, and the friends of freedom, to whatever European community they belong, armed to put down the enemy of civilization and con-

stitutional liberty—united to roll back into its congenial steppes and deserts the tide of Russian barbarism and oppression.

The despotic princes of the Continent felt uneasy at the prevalence of these feelings in favour of the Poles. A spark might have lighted up not only a war, but a European war of opinion, the remote consequences of which were not unnaturally dreaded by the absolute Cabinets of Berlin and Vienna. The most rigorous measures were, therefore, immediately adopted to expel the Poles, and the European States of the second and third class were in many instances compelled, at the summons of their powerful neighbours, to follow the example they were not slow to set them. Switzerland was the last to yield, the last to refuse an asylum to the refugees; but the Polish patriots were at length driven from the country of William Tell. No places of refuge then remained except England, France, Belgium, and America.

In a future number we may give some account of the state of the Poles in other countries; but our limits on the present occasion will only permit us to notice, very briefly, their arrival and actual condition in England. For about twelve months after the close of the war of independence but few of the refugees found their way hither. In the spring of 1832, some ensigns coming from Prussia, most of whom had been students in the University of Warsaw, landed in England; and these were followed, towards the end of the year, by a few officers who were expelled from Saxony at the instigation of Russia. In January 1834, three vessels, which had been dispatched from Prussia to America with Poles, landed the refugees they had on board at Havre in France, at Portsmouth, and at Harwich. Those at Harwich accepted service soon afterwards at Algiers under the French Government; but the Poles at Portsmouth amounting to about 212 men remained. The number has been increased, from time to time, by wanderers from Switzerland, France, Austria, and Portugal. At no period, however, did the refugees in England exceed 500 men, and they now amount to about 425, nearly one half of whom are officers.

Early in 1832 a number of gentlemen, including Mr. Thomas Campbell the poet, formed themselves into the "Literary Association of the Friends of Poland." In 1833 this Associa-

tion was established on a more extended basis. Mr. Wentworth Beaumont, the liberal member for the southern division of Northumberland, and the liberal contributor to the wants of the Poles, was elected President; and Lord Brougham, Lord Dudley Stuart, Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, and other zealous friends of the Polish cause, have since given it their active support. The praiseworthy objects of this Association are, to lend their zealous, though feeble aid, to preserve from utter extinction the name and national existence of Poland—to record their humble, but decided, protest against every new violation of its constitution, and of the rights which were guaranteed to its people by European treaties—to extend assistance to the victims of an arbitrary government, who may be driven to England—and to alleviate, if possible, the sufferings of those who have fallen within its grasp. With these objects in view, we need scarcely say that the Polish Association has our warmest wishes for its prosperity, and we are happy to learn that it now includes, amongst its supporters, nearly *sixty* members of both Houses of Parliament. Its influence, too, is daily increasing both in England and on the Continent; and it appears, from the "Annual Report" now before us, that its efforts to relieve the distressed Poles in England have been eminently successful. On the motion of Lord Dudley Stuart, one of its Vice-Presidents, the House of Commons last year granted 10,000*l.* for the relief of the refugees, and the government confided the distribution of that sum, under certain general rules, to the Association. This most seasonable grant of money was estimated to last for a period of twelve months, and the following scale of distribution has been adopted:—

To every field officer per month.....	£.3	0	0
To every officer under that rank.....	2	0	0
To private soldiers.....	1	8	0

The privates who still remain at Portsmouth having, it appears, the use of a government hospital for barracks, receive only 1*l.* 1*s.* per month*.

* We should be doing great injustice to the liberal inhabitants of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham, Newcastle, Hull, Portsmouth, and Norwich, if we omitted to state that they have ever been foremost to relieve the Refugees; but our limits only permit us to convey to these friends of the Poles, our belief that their exertions are gratefully remembered by the objects of their bounty, and have given assistance and consolation to more than one desponding circle.

We are sincere advocates for economy in the public expenditure, and we are not, we hope, insensible to the claims of our native poor; but we trust, nevertheless, that this pittance will be continued to these brave men until they become somewhat acquainted with our language, and have succeeded in devising a plan for their permanent support. To us the question appears to be simply, whether four hundred and twenty-five Polish refugees, who have been forced to this country, and whose sole hope of subsistence for the present is on public bounty, shall or not be permitted to die of want in our streets. The uncertainty of the period at which such grants may cease, has been urged as an objection; but it may be answered that such a consideration was not suffered to weigh with the governments of France, Belgium, and Switzerland; nor did it operate as a bar to the liberality of England in the case of the Spaniards, the French, and other emigrants. Why then so much hesitation, so many scruples, such excessive caution, on the part of our *Executive* Government, when the Poles are concerned? It has also been urged, that by relieving the Poles a precedent will be established, under which the refugees of every country will claim support from the Legislature; and we admit that this is at least a colourable argument against the proposed grant. If, at any future period, men shall land on our shores who are entitled to say to the Government and people of England, "By your act, and that of your allies, "our country was surrendered to a powerful neighbouring "State, upon certain conditions; those conditions have been "repeatedly and shamelessly violated: for fifteen years we "submitted to oppression with patience, though not without "deep indignation. At length, seeing a favourable opportu-"nity, we took up arms to vindicate our rights—to assert the "nationality you guaranteed. You abandoned us, and some of "your allies basely betrayed us in the hour of need. Over-"whelmed in consequence by superior numbers, our righteous "attempt has failed, and we now come exiles, from our native "land, to implore at your hands, the means of subsistence*." We repeat, that any refugees who may hereafter visit our shores, and shall be entitled to address us in this language,

* MSS. papers of the Polish Association.

but no others, will also be justified in referring to any relief we grant to the Poles as a precedent applicable to their own case.

We cannot conclude these observations, without noticing an event which has recently taken place at Warsaw. A commission, composed chiefly of Russian military officers, was last year appointed for the trial of political offences alleged to have been committed during the national contest of 1830–31. Its members held their offices during pleasure, and enforced a degree of secrecy which has prevented the details of their proceedings from being fully and circumstantially known; but the decrees* which have emanated from this tribunal, suffi-

* The following manifesto was issued on the termination of the sittings of this "High Criminal Court."

"Nicholas, by the grace of God, Emperor of all the Russias, King of "Poland, &c.

"When, by our manifesto of the 20th of Oct. (1st Nov.), 1831, we granted "a general amnesty to our Polish subjects, we excepted from the said amnesty, "all the authors of, and actors in, the revolt. The criminal tribunal established "at Warsaw to try the State criminals according to law, has terminated its "labours; and having submitted its report to a revision, as well as the sentences "pronounced by the same, and bearing in mind the entreaties of the late "Grand Duke Constantine Paulowitz, that we would not withdraw our mercy "from the criminals, and conciliating the interests of justice, and the respect "due to the laws, with our sentiments of clemency, we have thought fit to "mitigate the punishments decreed by the tribunals, and have ordained, First— "*to commute the sentence of death passed on four criminals, to hard labour in the "mines of Siberia—the first for twenty years, the second for eighteen years, the "third for fifteen years, and the fourth for ten years.* Secondly—*Those condemned "to be imprisoned for ten or twelve years, in the fortresses, are to have the period "reduced to eight years.* Thirdly—*Those condemned to a hard imprisonment "(carcere duro) shall be incorporated in the companies of prisoners who are "employed as labourers on the public works.* Fourthly—*Those condemned to three "years' imprisonment shall be reduced to two years; and those to two, to one year.*

"Lieut.-Col. Charles Zielinski is pardoned, in consequence of his good conduct.

"As to the criminals and malefactors, who hid themselves after the revolt was "over, as they are accused of crimes which exclude them from the amnesty, "and have not followed our recommendations, to the number of 249, and "are condemned to be hanged, it is our will that they be deprived of all "rights, and that the sentence of death shall be commuted into perpetual "banishment. *If any of these banished persons should present themselves in any "part of the empire, they are to be subjected to criminal martial law.*

"All investigations, inquests, or instructions, that have been commenced, for "arriving at the discovery of the origin of the revolt; and all proceedings "against individuals implicated in the same, shall be discontinued. The "Special Criminal Tribunal is dissolved. The documents relative thereto shall

ciently prove that the constitutional rights of the Polish subject have again been outraged by its acts, while its members have apparently vied with each other in their endeavours to carry into effect the imperial mandate, to judge "quickly and "severely*."

It would be occupying the time of our readers unnecessarily, to demonstrate how inconsistent the proceedings of such a tribunal must be with the general character of the Polish constitution, and in particular with the 138th and 141st articles, which declare, "That the judicial order is constitutionally "independent, and that judges are nominated by the King "for life, and cannot be removed." It must also be within the knowledge of every educated Englishman, that the constitutional freedom, the institutions, and the "nationality," not only of one portion, but of the whole of the ancient kingdom of Poland, under the several governments to which it is subjected, was guaranteed by the Treaty of Vienna, to which Great Britain is a party. We trust, therefore, that the fate of the unhappy men who have been doomed by this illegal tribunal to a "living death" in the Mines of Siberia, or to drag on a painful and degrading existence as common labourers on the public works, will attract some attention from the members of the British Legislature and Government. We believe that the national interests, as well as the national honour of England, demand a faithful performance of public treaties on the part of foreign powers; but at least we are called upon to attempt,

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"be delivered to our Governor, who is entrusted with the execution of the "present decree.

"Done at Zarskojeselo, 4th (16th) of Sept., 1834.

(Signed) "NICHOLAS."

Attached to the above decree of amnesty is, first, a list of forty-nine criminals, who are condemned to be hanged: secondly, a list of nine who are condemned to be beheaded; among whom are Prince Adam Czartoryski, Moraski, &c.: thirdly, a list of criminals condemned for twenty years to confinement in the fortresses: fourthly, a list of those condemned to ten years' imprisonment.

* Skoro i Srogo *(promptly and severely)*, said the Emperor, in passing through Warsaw, to General Sulima, the president of the "High Criminal "Court." General Sulima was soon after succeeded by General Pankratieff, and was *promoted* to the Governorship of Irkutsk, the capital of Ancient Siberia. It is said, he incurred this disgrace for having added to the Emperor's two words, a third, i sprawiedliwie *(and with justice)*.

by remonstrances through our Ambassador at Petersburgh, to alleviate sufferings at which humanity revolts,—sufferings not only undeserved, but which are inflicted in defiance of international good faith, and are the consequences of conduct which claims and receives the admiration of the civilized world. We admit that there is much truth in what was alleged by Lord Brougham at the last anniversary meeting of the Polish Association, as to the disinclination of the public and the legislature to entertain any question of this kind; but it was correctly said by the noble Lord at the same time, "It all "arises from their not knowing it is not merely a matter of "humanity, but that it is a matter of interest to themselves, "and that foreign policy is not foreign policy in the ordinary "sense of the word. It arises from their not knowing that "they have a domestic interest in it, which is important to "them as Englishmen, and which will have an immediate "bearing upon the interests of our own country."

We have also, with reference to this branch of the subject, much pleasure in quoting the observations which fell from Mr. Cutlar Fergusson on the same occasion, in allusion to the discussion which had recently taken place in the House of Commons, on the attempt to appoint the Marquess of Londonderry our Ambassador at the Court of Petersburgh:—"I "think," said the Honourable Member, "that the discussion "which took place the other day, was perhaps one of the most use-"ful for the Polish cause that ever did take place, because there "is no other reason why the House of Commons has not permitted "Lord Londonderry to go as ambassador of this country to "Russia except this." (His Lordship's declaration that the Poles were *rebels*.) "Now, I do think that the effect of that will "be most salutary, and that it must, to a certain degree, make "the arbitrary monarchs of the continent reflect. The "Emperor Nicholas will learn what the state of feeling in "this country is, from its being so powerful in the House of "Commons; and he must perfectly well know that if the "House of Commons take up any question, and feel it "warmly, it must be carried forward in the House of Lords. "He cannot be ignorant of this, and, therefore, I think the "result has done the Polish cause good."

We venture to hope that the observations of these distin-

guished men will not be lost on the liberal members of the Legislature, and that every opportunity will be taken to bring under the attention of the Government and of the public, the important national considerations involved in the Polish question—a question which must, we believe, ere long, force itself upon the attention of western Europe, on the ground of self interest alone, and independently of every better and more generous motive. In the mean time let the Polish exile, in the emphatical language of the Crown of Poland, in 1772, "Full "of confidence in the justice of the Almighty, lay his rights "at the feet of the Eternal Throne, and put his cause into "the hands of the King of Kings, the Supreme Judge of "nations, and in the full assurance of his succour, protest "solemnly, and before the whole universe, against every step "taken, or to be taken, towards the dismembering of Poland *."

* The following is a statistical account of the Territory that constituted the kingdom of Poland at the time of the first partition, in 1772. The whole of which took a deep and enthusiastic interest in the contest for independence:

DISTRIBUTION OF THE INHABITANTS OF ANCIENT POLAND, ACCORDING TO THEIR LANGUAGES (FROM STANISLAS PLATER, 1825).

TERRITORY.	Poles.	Lithuanians and Lettons.	Russes, or Rusnacks.	Germans.	Jews.	Wallachians.	Russians, or Muscovites.	TOTAL.
Square Miles.								
Kingdom of Poland .. 2,270	3,000,000	200,000	100,000	300,000	400,000			4,000,000
Republic of Cracow .. 20	110,000				10,000			120,000
Russian Poland 7,600	750,000	1,000,000	5,520,000		1,300,000	50,000	180,000	8,800,000
Kingdom of Galicia (Austrian Poland) 1,500	1,700,000		1,900,000	50,000	300,000	50,000		4,000,000
Duchy of Posen (Pruss:) 540	660,000			270,000	70,000			1,000,000
Prussian Poland 900	550,000	200,000		920,000	30,000			1,700,000
Courland & Samogitia (Russian).... 450		500,000		100,000				600,000
TOTAL 13,220	6,770,000	1,900,000	7,520,000	1,640,000	2,110,000	100,000	180,000	20,220,000

DISTRIBUTION OF THE INHABITANTS, ACCORDING TO THEIR RELIGIOUS CREEDS.

	Roman Catholic.	United, or Catholic Greeks.	Oriental Greeks.	Raskolnicks.	Protestants.	Jews.	Mussulmans.	TOTAL.
Kingdom of Poland.....	3,200,000	100,000			300,000	400,000		4,000,000
Republic of Cracow.....	110,000					10,000		120,000
Russian Poland.....	2,400,000	1,640,000	3,230,000	180,000		1,300,000	50,000	8,800,000
Kingdom of Galicia (Austrian Poland)	1,500,000	2,000,000	200,000			300,000		4,000,000
Duchy of Posen (Pruss:)	600,000				330,000	70,000		1,000,000
Prussian Poland	750,000				920,000	30,000		1,700,000
Courland and Samogitia (Russian)....					600,000			600,000
	8,560,000	3,740,000	3,430,000	180,000	2,150,000	2,110,000	50,000	20,220,000

Article III.

First Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Municipal Corporations in England and Wales. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 30th March, 1835.

Appendix to the First Report of the Commissioners, Parts I., II., and III.

The Municipal Corporation Reformer, N° I.

The Reports which have lately been laid on the table of the House of Commons by the Commissioners of Corporate Inquiry, are among the most curious and valuable volumes which have ever issued from the press of this country. They contain an account of the local government of the towns throughout England and Wales, and are the result of that full and searching inquiry into the constitution of those communities, which the ministry directed before they attempted to legislate on the subject of Municipal Reform. The question of Corporate Reform is scarcely inferior in importance to the great measure for the improvement of the representation; indeed we are not sure that the local abuses which are exposed in these volumes, have not pressed upon the nation generally with a severity even more galling than the parliamentary grievances from which it was relieved by the great Charter of 1832. The places visited by the Commissioners are two hundred and eighty-five in number, of which two hundred and forty-six have, or claim to have, municipal institutions, either by prescription, or by virtue of some grant or charter. In each of these places, an inquiry has been instituted into the condition of the local government, its constitution and management, with the view of ascertaining whether the corporations discharge faithfully those functions for the performance of which they ostensibly exist. One of the volumes contains an ample recapitulation of the facts collected in the course of the inquiry, applying them in such a manner to the different local governments, as to enable the reader to collect with facility the more important general features of the subject. To this part of the Report are annexed valuable documents, containing at one view an exposition of the leading matters arising out of the present inquiry;—the population of

the towns—the constitution and numbers of the governing bodies—the administration of justice—the amount of revenue and of debt—the condition of the gaols—every thing, indeed, which is requisite to enable the reader to take in the whole bearings of the subject in one synoptical view, is set forth in a series of tables arranged in the order of the different circuits of the Commissioners.

The Commissioners have not thought it advisable to recommend any specific measures for the improvement of the corporate system. They considered themselves restricted by the terms of their Commission to an inquiry into the ordinary constitution of the municipal bodies, and an investigation of their defects; for that reason they have properly abstained from "pointing out even the most obvious remedies for the imper-"fections they have observed, unless so far as the suggestion "of the remedy, in some cases, is unavoidably implied in "the statement of the evil." (*General Report*, p. 32.)

In this course, we are of necessity compelled to follow their example. We are not, at the moment when we write, in possession of the provisions of the Bill for the remedy of corporate abuses, of which Lord John Russell has given notice. The provisions of his Lordship's measure will be sufficiently known to our readers, and will have been amply discussed in Parliament, before our present number can issue from the press; but under any circumstances, we should probably follow that course, which we now adopt from necessity as well as choice, of confining our observations within the ample field of the Commissioners' Report, under the impression that we shall best discharge our duty, by supplying a careful selection of extracts from these necessarily voluminous documents.

That the people should enjoy a large share in the election of those bodies, by whom laws for the regulation of their liberties and their property are enacted, is the most incontrovertibly established principle of the British Constitution. The learned work lately published by Mr. Serjeant Merewether and Mr. Stephens has shown, that from the earliest periods of our history down to the reign of Henry VI., the people generally under the denomination of "burgesses," who were "the "permanent free inhabitants of the boroughs, performing

" their duties, and enjoying their privileges, as the free inhabi-
" tant householders, paying scot and bearing lot, presented,
" sworn, and enrolled at the court leet*," enjoyed all the privileges of the corporate body; and that " the power of
" electing burgesses now exercised by the corporation, or their
" select bodies, by which in some places the numbers are
" reduced to the smallest, and in others increased to an
" equally improper amount, is a manifest usurpation†." It is not exactly within the scope of our present purpose to trace, with any great degree of minuteness, the history and progress of the encroachments made by the select bodies on the popular rights. Those who are desirous of the fullest information on this subject, will find almost every thing which can be learned or taught respecting it, in the valuable and comprehensive work above quoted. It is right that we should take an opportunity of acknowledging the public obligations to Serjeant Merewether and Mr. Stephens, not alone for the learning and indefatigable research which they have applied to the consideration of this question, but for the zeal with which they have struggled in the cause, and the triumphant reasoning by which they have established the principle, that the construction of a municipal system on the basis of extensive popular election, is not innovation, but the restoration of ancient rights. We are not prepared to adopt the views entertained by these learned persons on the subject of court leets, or to acquiesce in the notion that the revival of those obsolete institutions can satisfy the exigencies of the present times; but notwithstanding any difference of opinion that may exist as to the mode in which our ancient rights should be enforced, we consider the thanks of the country due to the learned gentlemen for the establishment of the principle, which probably no man hereafter will attempt to assail, that a free system of municipal election is the common law right of the English people.

In places enjoying the privilege of sending members to Parliament, the invasion by the select bodies of the rights of the citizens at large may be traced to one period and

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* History of Boroughs, *Introduction*, p. v.
† Ibidem.

one motive. The first charter of incorporation was granted by the crown in the reign of Henry VI.; but it was not until the growing importance of the House of Commons, in the reign of Elizabeth, suggested to the Sovereign the expediency of strengthening her influence in that house, that the usurpations of the corporate bodies began to assume a form of substantial oppression. The Committee of Elections, in the reign of James I., whose proceedings are reported by Serjeant Glanville, and which reckoned among its numbers the most eminent lawyers of the day—Coke, and others—endeavoured to restore to the inhabitants of the towns their ancient privilege of self government, and, so far at least as regarded the parliamentary franchise, they succeeded, by their spirited resolutions in the cases of Winchelsea, Chippenham, Dover, and Newcastle, in establishing the true principle of popular election. In the troubles of the reign of Charles I., and the general profligacy of the times which followed the restoration, this constitutional principle appears to have been altogether disregarded or proscribed—the reigns of William and of Anne exhibit no tendency towards the re-establishment of the doctrine, and the boroughs have come down to our day unchanged in every respect except in this, that keeping pace with the alteration which has taken place in the conflicting parties of the state, they are no longer used by the court to counteract the influence of the country party; but employed as the most effectual weapons of attack and defence in the struggle for political ascendancy between Whig and Tory.

The origin of all these select bodies being thus traced to one common stock, it is natural that a sort of family likeness should be observable among them; accordingly, however we may perceive some slight varieties of detail, we find that in all the more important features they present a striking resemblance to each other. Under some one or other of the many titles whereby their officers are designated—and in their titles at least there is no want of variety—we meet in almost every corporation with a patron, generally a nobleman or a wealthy commoner. It was his task to provide places and preferment for the members of the corporation and their connexions, and he received, as the equivalent for those services, the privilege of guiding the choice of the council in the election

of members to represent the borough. Since 1832 this post has ceased to be so much an object of ambition, and it appears that immediately after the passing of the Reform Bill, many of the patrons thought it expedient to resign the unprofitable honour. The officer next in dignity is the Mayor. Like the rest of his brethren of the Council, he is too often a political partisan, and generally owes his elevation solely to his subserviency to the views of the patron, but nevertheless he is always a magistrate, and not unfrequently a judge! The office of Town Clerk, though inferior in point of rank, is not, we imagine, inferior in importance to that of mayor; he is commonly an attorney practising in the borough: we find him entrusted, among other functions of great moral responsibility, with the duty of selecting juries, of taxing his own or his partner's bills of costs, and of recommending, in his official character as town clerk, those suits and prosecutions which are conducted by himself or his partner in their professional capacity. The governing body consists of the two latter officers, and a small and very select number of burgesses, who are usually connected by ties of relationship. To this body the election of the representatives of the borough was formerly confided, but the Reform Bill having relieved them from that duty, their avocations are now confined to the filling up vacancies that may occur in their own council, the election of magistrates, the management of the corporate property, and the discharge generally of all the functions, legislative, executive, and judicial, vested in the corporation.

The results arising from this uniform system of municipal polity are not less uniform than the system itself is; accordingly throughout the course of this investigation we meet with the same complaints—of magistrates ill qualified by education and habits for their situations—generally partial—and sometimes corrupt,—of courts, which might be made the instruments of much local advantage, falling into disuse through the defects of their original constitution and their present maladministration—of juries improperly selected by reason of notorious party bias—of revenue misapplied—debt contracted and property alienated—of the absence of all accounts and the denial of all accountability by the corporation—of the insufficiency of the police, the neglect of paving and lighting, and the want of those municipal

accommodations for which the public property committed in trust to the corporation would, if duly administered, be amply sufficient to provide.

In the abundance of materials which the Report supplies at almost every page, in proof of these assertions, the only difficulty is that of selection. We believe there is scarcely one of the corporations visited by the Commissioners in which some one or more of the vices here enumerated were not discovered, and some there are which present an accumulation of every species of abuse. On a first view of the subject, the absence of all community of interest and of feeling between the corporations and the inhabitants struck us as being perhaps the most forcible objection to the present system. Whether the matter be considered with a view to the important trusts which have been confided to these bodies, or the extent to which the liberty and happiness of the communities among which they exist are affected by their official acts, it is difficult to imagine any thing more unjust, more revolting to every suggestion of reason, than the state of things described in the following passage of the general report:—

"The Corporations look upon themselves, and are considered by the inhabitants, as separate and exclusive bodies; they have powers and privileges within the towns and cities from which they are named, but in most places all identity of interest between the Corporation and the inhabitants has disappeared. This is the case even where the Corporation includes a large body of inhabitant freemen: it appears in a more striking degree, as the powers of the Corporation have been restricted to smaller numbers of the resident population, and still more glaringly, when the local privileges have been conferred on non-resident freemen, to the exclusion of the inhabitants to whom they rightfully ought to belong.

"Some Corporations are occasionally spoken of as exercising their privileges through a popular body, but in the widest sense in which the term popular body is used in regard to corporate towns, it designates only the whole body of freemen; and in most towns the freemen are a small number compared with the respectable inhabitants interested in their municipal government, and possessing every qualification, except a legal one, to take a part in it. In Plymouth, where the population, including Devonport, is more than 75,000, the number of freemen is only 437, and 145 of these are non-resident. In Norwich, the great majority of the inhabitant householders and rate payers are excluded from the corporate body; while paupers, lodgers, and others, paying neither rates nor taxes, are admitted to the exercise of the functions of freemen, and form a considerable portion of the Corporation."

"In Ipswich, containing more than 20,000 inhabitants, the resident freemen form about one-fifty-fifth part of the population. Of these, more than one-third are not rated; and of those who are rated, many are excused the payment of

their rates. About one-ninth of the whole are paupers. More than eleven-twelfths of all the property assessed in this borough, belong to those who are excluded from the corporation. All the inhabitants whose rent exceeds £. 4 per annum, are taxed under a local Act for municipal purposes. Of those who are so taxed, less than one-fifteenth are freemen. The assessed taxes paid in the borough exceed £.5000 per annum. The amount paid by all the corporate body is less than one-twentieth of the whole. The condition of these freemen exposes them to bribery and undue influence, and advantage is taken of that condition to establish the most demoralizing practices."—(*General Report*, p. 32 and 33.)

The privilege of electing the borough members being that which, before the passing of the Reform Bill, conferred upon the governing body of a close corporation its principal importance, and placed also within the reach of its members the solid advantages which the patron was accustomed to distribute among them, it was probably the value of the parliamentary franchise, rather than the benefits derived from the monopoly of local authority, which led to the abuses of the system; but power so monopolized, for whatever purposes, and so employed, though the objects for the sake of which it was formerly coveted may no longer be attainable in the altered circumstances of the times, must still continue to work the same mischief, so long as the system is permitted to remain. Upon this subject we extract some curious statements.

"Admission into the corporate body has commonly been sought mainly with a view to the lucrative exercise of the elective franchise. In those towns where a large body of freemen return members of Parliament, the years in which elections have happened, or immediately preceding those in which they have been expected, are distinguished by the admission of a number greatly exceeding the average: even without the confirmation, which particular inquiries afforded, it would have been impossible to avoid connecting the two events. At Maldon, 1870 freemen were admitted in 1826, one thousand of whom were admitted during the election. The average number annually admitted since that time is only seventeen. The following table, taken from a parliamentary return, ordered to be printed on the 3rd of February, 1832, shows the annual number of freemen admitted in one hundred and twenty-eight cities and towns from 1800 to 1831. London and Preston are the only towns omitted. In London the number annually admitted varies little; in Preston, freemen are mostly admitted at the guilds, which occur at intervals of twenty years. The years in which general elections took place are marked by an asterisk (*). The years 1813 and 1816 appear in the table as if they were exceptions to the general rule, whereas, in fact, they confirm it. The Bristol return for 1813 includes the period from the 29th of September, 1812, on which day Parliament was dissolved. In that year seventeen hundred and twenty freemen were admitted at Bristol, instead of fifty, which is about the average number of ordinary years. In 1816, elections took place at Gloucester and Liverpool. In Liverpool four hundred and eighty-seven freemen were admitted, instead of the ordinary average of thirty, and at Gloucester four hundred and fifteen, instead of thirty; making together nine hundred and

two, instead of sixty. These last two are the only instances in which the effects of particular elections produce a very marked result in the general table.

Year.	Freemen.	Year.	Freemen.	Year.	Freemen.	Year.	Freemen.
1800	1,775	1808	1,256	1816	2,582	1824	2,237
1801	2,051	1809	1,270	1817	1,715	1825	2,655
*1802	5,782	1810	1,606	*1818	8,889	*1826	10,797
1803	1,397	1811	1,441	1819	1,430	1827	1,337
1804	1,254	*1812	5,918	*1820	4,605	1828	1,404
1805	1,473	1813	3,285	1821	1,468	1829	1,433
*1806	4,700	1814	1,357	1822	1,430	*1830	9,321
*1807	3,114	1815	1,480	1823	2,080	*1831	2,569

" The numbers of freemen admitted since the passing of the REFORM ACT have fallen off in a remarkable manner; and the corporate officers expressed their conviction that the revenue from admission fees would henceforward diminish, and in some places would fail altogether.

" Parliamentary influence being the principal object for which freemen are created, it is not surprising that the franchise should be sought most eagerly by those who wished to make it subservient to their own advantage. The most extensive bribery of the freemen systematically prevails at Liverpool, Barnstaple, East Retford, &c.

" The election to municipal offices is often a trial of strength between political parties. Instances of systematic bribery, for the purpose of securing municipal elections, occur at Maidstone, Norwich, Ipswich, Liverpool, Oxford, Hull, &c. Thus the inhabitants have to complain, not only that the election of their magistrates and other municipal functionaries is made by an inferior class of themselves, or by persons unconnected with the town, but also of the disgraceful practices by which the magisterial office is frequently obtained; while those who, by character, residence, and property, are best qualified to direct and control its municipal affairs, are excluded from any share in the elections or management." —(*General Report*, pp. 34, 35.)

The working of the corporate system is in no respect more defective than in its most important function—the administration of justice. The recorders frequently are not members of the legal profession—in those cases among others, for example, where the patron himself exercises the office of recorder; but when it happens that they are chosen from among the members of the bar, it is solely on account of the coincidence of their political views with those of the patron, or the self-elected governing body.

In the town of Lancaster, the Recorder seldom visited his court; he was altogether absent from the sessions from the the year 1810, up to 1832, during the whole of which period he continued in the receipt of a salary. In the year 1832, the corporation, seeing reason to apprehend that the state of their municipality would be made the subject of a government in-

quiry, a communication to that effect having been received from Lord Melbourne, then secretary of state for the Home department, they addressed a remonstrance to their recorder, requesting him either to attend to his duties or to resign his office; the reply made by the learned functionary to this appeal was to the effect that "his engagement had not been to "attend constantly; that the business was commonly tri- "fling; *that recorders in general did not reside, except for "political purposes;* that he had very frequently attended; "that he had in his absence exercised a care over the interests "of the corporation; that his duties elsewhere were important; "and that the town clerk was a very efficient adviser. Upon "this, by an order in council, the thanks of the corporation "were given to him, for his attention to its interests!"— (*Appendix*, Part III., p. 1604.)

The magistrates of corporations most frequently consist of the mayor, recorder, and their deputies, and certain of the aldermen. It cannot excite surprise, that they have been found inadequate to the discharge of the duties entrusted to them. Their deportment on the bench has sometimes been such as to bring the administration of justice into disrepute and contempt. They are often chosen from a class of men for whom it is impossible that the people can entertain any feeling of respect, and consequently they are as much despised for their vulgarity and incapacity, as they are hated for their partiality and corruption. The inferiority of their station in society operates with the most injurious tendency, exposing them, on the one hand, to be acted upon by the corrupting influence of their superiors, and, on the other, to degrade their office by a scandalous familiarity with accused persons. It was given in evidence to the commissioners, in their inquiry into the state of the borough of East Retford, by a respectable solicitor of that town, who had acted also as clerk to the magistrates, "that it sometimes hap- "pened, that the junior bailiff, in the course of magisterial "proceedings, evinced an intimacy with persons brought before "him, in the character of culprits, and that on many occasions, "he had seen the junior bailiff show great anxiety to convince "the prisoner that he was fulfilling an unwilling office; that "by conduct of this nature, and a total absence of all pro- "priety of personal bearing, he had frequently seen the dig-

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" nity of the magisterial office altogether compromised. He " stated that, on one occasion, a prisoner had behaved with " extreme insolence towards the junior bailiff; that having " had occasion to be absent for a few minutes, he on his return " found the magistrate and the prisoner engaged in a personal " scuffle, and rolling together on the floor!"—(*Appendix*, Part III., p. 1873.)

The selection of juries for the trial as well of civil suits as of criminal prosecutions, is often entirely committed to the discretion of the town clerk, an officer in whose person the union of incompatible functions gives rise to much abuse. The town clerk is, as we before stated, an attorney, and conducts the suits and prosecutions instituted by the corporation. In the report on the borough of Preston we find the following catalogue of the duties performed by the town clerk, together with a statement of the emoluments of his office.

" The Town Clerk is the clerk of the borough civil court.

" He issues processes, taxes, costs, &c.

" He is clerk of the peace at the quarter sessions.

" He is clerk to the magistrates and clerk to the coroners.

" These are incident to his office.

" Besides performing the duties of these offices, the present town clerk is clerk to the commissioners of police and commissioners of assessed taxes.

" He attends the meetings for the management of the poor, and those of the select vestry for the repairs of the churches.

" He is one of the coroners for the county.

" He is the attorney and solicitor to the corporation.

" He receives no salary as town clerk, nor for his attendance on the above-mentioned vestries.

" The duties of his office are arduous, but do not preclude him from general practice.

" He is not prohibited from practising in the borough court. The present town clerk, however, does not practise there.

" He estimates the emoluments arising annually from his several offices, as follows:—

	£.	s.	d.
His emoluments as Clerk of the Borough Court	136	0	0
As Clerk to the Police Commissioners	30	0	0
Town Clerk	5	0	0
Coroner's Clerk	20	0	0
As Clerk to the Commissioners of Assessed Taxes ..	40	0	0
Clerk to the Magistrates.....	300	0	0
	£.531	0	0

" This is exclusive of the profits arising to him from prosecutions, and the general business as attorney to the corporation.

" The present town clerk is a guild burgess, and one of the capital burgesses composing the common council.

" He also carries on business as an attorney in partnership with the senior alderman of the corporation, who was his predecessor in the office of town clerk, and in whose favour an unbecoming reservation was made in the appointment of the present officer, but which is now, we believe, rescinded; the proceeding being acknowledged to be improper.

" The town clerk's partner (being a senior alderman) is, by virtue of his office, a committing magistrate, and coroner for the borough.

" The business which the town clerk transacts in conducting prosecutions at the quarter sessions, is done on account of the partnership, and the whole profits of the several offices are also carried to the general partnership account. This is complained of, and it appears to us to be highly objectionable, although the present town clerk is allowed to be personally a highly respectable man."—(*Appendix*, Part III., pp. 1689, 90.)

When such an union of offices is effected in the person of the town clerk, when we see him acting as the adviser of the prosecution, the prosecutor, and the judge, and superadded to these, when we find him entrusted also with the selection of the jury who are to try the question, we come, almost necessarily, to the conclusion, that to such an accumulation of error in the judicial system, it is impossible that any further enormity can be added. But there is yet another and a greater abuse to be found in the constitution of the jury itself, and the class of persons from whom the officer has to make his selection. If we could believe the town clerk in his capacity of attorney to be influenced in his recommendation of suits and prosecutions by no undue desire of emolument to himself—if, when acting as adviser to the magistrate, or as judge, we could fancy him unbiassed by any partiality for that side of the question, on which his own or his partner's professional sympathies are enlisted—if, when about to select the jury by whom the question is to be tried, we were romantic enough to imagine that he would seek only for such men as have no prejudices to consult, no vindictive passions to gratify — yet an insurmountable obstacle to the pure administration of justice would remain—the jury must still be selected by him from a class of persons of whom the following extract furnishes us with the description.

" The evils resulting from the ignorance and inefficiency of the borough magistrates, are heightened by gross defects in other parts of the judicial system. The juries of the borough courts are often exclusively taken from the freemen, who, besides being composed of an inferior class, are strongly tainted with party feelings. Northampton furnishes a strong instance of this. At Carmarthen, verdicts are frequently given against justice, from party bias. The population of

that town is 10,000, but the jurors are chosen from a small body of 178 burgesses. At the Spring Assizes of 1833, a true bill was found by the grand jury of the borough for a capital felony. The grand jury consisted of 20 burgesses; of these, 17 belonged to the corporation party, and the foreman was the committing magistrate. The panel of the petty jury contained 46 persons belonging to the Corporation party, 12 of the defendant's party, and only two neutrals: An application was made to the judge to order the indictment to be tried in Carmarthenshire. The trial took place there, and the defendants were acquitted. The only answer to this statement was given by one of the Sheriffs, who said that there was not a sufficient number of respectable persons of the defendant's party to enable him to summon a grand jury equally from both sides, and that the petty jury was summoned from those burgesses who had not attended the previous assizes. At Haverford West, where none but burgesses can serve on the juries, there are only 141 burgesses, and not 50 who are fit to serve on them: the juries there have been openly reprimanded by judges and magistrates, for improper acquittals of burgesses upon criminal prosecutions; the practice has not been checked by such reprimands, and the general opinion is, that it is impossible to convict a burgess."—(*General Report*, p. 40.)

At a period like the present, when the want of a well-digested plan of local judicature is the subject of such universal complaint, when the public mind, and the legislature, have been occupied in an inquiry into the best mode of supplying that deficiency in our judicial system, it is both interesting and useful to examine into the causes which have led to the partial decay, in some instances, and the total extinction in others, of the local courts already provided by our municipal institutions. The commissioners appear to entertain the opinion, that many of these now obsolete tribunals might be revived under an improved system, with considerable advantage to society, and they state that, "Any system which would have the effect of "distributing justice where the parties interested reside, would "be regarded as one of the greatest boons which the legislature "could confer."

We have enumerated some of the more striking defects of the municipal judicature, and such as are to be found almost universally in all their courts; the union of incompatible functions in the officers—the neglect of duty by the recorders—the partiality and corruption of the magistrates, and the improper selection of juries. The following extracts furnish us with some additional reason why the local courts, which would, if properly administered, be regarded by the inhabitants as a blessing, have fallen almost completely into disuse:—

"The serjeants at mace, and other ministerial officers of the court, who are

placed in the situation of sheriffs, are often persons whose pecuniary responsibility is insufficient to afford any security to the suitors.

"The costs of a suit in these courts are in general very considerable, taking into account the fact that the expense of witnesses, which elsewhere is one of the heaviest charges in a suit, is here invariably light. The costs of a plaintiff often vary from 15*l.* to 20*l.*; of a defendant from 8*l.* to 12*l.* The whole system of fees and costs in these courts is objectionable. There is, generally, no authorised table of them, and frequently no well-defined practice on the subject. They are mostly in the discretion of the town clerk, though they are in some places taxed by the mayor. They bear little relation to the services in respect of which they are paid, and bear no reasonable proportion to the average value of the matter in question. Even under the present mode of proceeding, a reduced scale of fees and costs might be introduced; but with an improved practice, their amount might be materially lessened.

"Among other causes which have led to the disuse of these courts, may be accounted the want of professional skill in the judges. Nor can it be doubted that the intimacy which must necessarily exist between the judge and the parties who appear before him, has been one source of the disinclination to resort to these tribunals.

"A few minutes convert the tradesman and the customer into the judge and the suitor. Another prominent cause of the desertion of these courts has been the facility of removing the causes, and the general inclination on the part of legal practitioners to sue in the superior courts. The plaintiff, on procuring execution, can avail himself of it only within the limits of the local jurisdiction. His process, therefore, is frequently fruitless, the defendant removing himself and his goods beyond the limits of the court. This was a very common subject of complaint."—(*General Report*, pp. 41, 42.)

The gaols in many corporate towns are in a very discreditable condition. It seldom happens that the accommodations to be met with in a borough prison will admit of any classification of prisoners, so as to separate the debtors from the criminals. So far as regards his confinement, indeed, the debtor frequently suffers much more than the felon; the latter may be committed to the county gaol when that of the borough is in an unfit state for the reception of prisoners, whilst the debtor, committed from one of the civil courts, cannot be allowed this melancholy indulgence; but must, in conformity with the rules of the court, be committed to one of those places which have been described by witnesses *as unfit for a hog-sty*, and which the Commissioners themselves describe as totally unfit for the confinement of human beings. The police of the towns is, for the most part, equally ill-ordered. The negligence of municipal authorities in the superintendance of the police, as well as in the exercise of the powers necessary for watching, paving, lighting, cleansing, and supplying the town with water, has

been so seriously felt, that the inhabitants have been compelled to have recourse to local acts, by means of which these functions have been committed to various independent bodies.

These seem to be precisely the objects for which municipal institutions would be created. The power of local taxation, for purposes of local utility, appears to be exactly that power which a wise legislature would seek to confer upon a municipality, and yet the tendency of modern legislation has necessarily been to redress the inconveniences suffered by the inhabitants from the want of energy, and often of common honesty in those bodies, by the creation of new administrative boards, and the withdrawal of all powers of taxation, and, as far as possible, of local government also, from the hands of the corporation. But this system of local boards to superintend the police, the lighting, &c. of the towns, however strong the necessity of finding some remedy for the corruption and imbecility of the corporations, is still not by any means free from serious defects. Great confusion arises from the division of local authority. In Bath, for example, every quarter of the town is under the care of a separate board, except one, and that one is totally unprotected.

"In Southampton, where the consent of the inhabitants is required to bring them within the powers of a local act, nearly half of the town has refused the benefit of it. Great jealousy often exists between the officers of police, acting under the corporation, and those under the commissioners of these local acts, and the corporate body seldom takes any active share in the duties of the board, of which its members form a part. At Bristol, a notoriously ineffective police cannot be improved, chiefly in consequence of the jealousy with which the corporation is regarded by the inhabitants. At Hull, in consequence of the disunion between the governing body and the inhabitants, chiefly arising out of a dispute about the tolls and duties, only seven persons attended to suppress a riot, out of a thousand who had been sworn in as special constables; and on another similar occasion none attended. At Coventry, serious riots and disturbances frequently occur, and the officers of police, being usually selected from one political party, are often active in fomenting them. In some instances, the separate and conflicting authority of the commissioners is avowedly used as a check and counterbalance to the political influence of the corporation. At Leeds, no persons are elected commissioners of police whose political principles are not opposed to those of the corporation."—(*General Report*, p. 43.)

It is no part of our present purpose to discuss the question whether, under the improved system of local judicature which Lord John Russell's bill will doubtless introduce, it might be more advisable to divide the country into districts or "arron-

"dissements," attaching some portion of the adjoining county to the corporate town, or to allow the new jurisdiction to extend merely to the parliamentary limits of the borough. Conforming to the plan laid down at the commencement of this article, we leave that question to be disposed of with the other proposed ameliorations; but we find under this head of local jurisdiction, as it at present exists, some very curious statements in the Report, and from these we propose to give a few extracts for the information of our readers. Outlying parcels of ground—in one case at the distance of fifty miles from the borough—are sometimes included within the corporate jurisdiction, whilst on the other hand there are cases in which precincts within the actual limits of the town offer encouragement to offenders by their exemption from the municipal authority, "presenting," in the language of the report, "the same obstacles to an "effective police as were once found in sanctuaries."

"In some cases, as at Grantham and Brecon, the corporate boundary is not continuous, but includes outlying parcels of ground. Several remarkable instances of this occur in the Cinque Ports; one of the most striking is at Hastings, where the corporate magistrates have authority, among other places, over two detached precincts, distant from Hastings 40 and 50 miles respectively. The town of Ramsgate is subject to the jurisdiction of the Corporation of Sandwich, as is also the corporate town of Deal, which adjoins Sandwich.

"In most important towns, the suburbs have extended themselves far beyond the limits of the corporate authority. The population of the city and county of Bristol is 59,000; the suburbs beyond the city contain an additional population of 45,000. The population of the city of Rochester is only 9891; the district immediately adjoining it, including the town of Chatham, comprises nearly 22,000 persons. The city of Carlisle contains 8356 persons; the suburbs are of as great extent, and contain a population of 10,713. At Hull, the municipal borough contains 15,996; the county of the town, including the borough, 32,958; the suburbs, which are beyond the jurisdiction of the borough magistrates, contain 20,000 more.

"Frequently there are precincts locally situated within the limits of the corporate authority, but exempted from its jurisdiction. Such are found at York, Lincoln, Norwich, Winchester, and Chichester. These have usually originated in ecclesiastical privileges, or have been the site of the castle of the lord of the borough. In the city of Canterbury there are not less than 15 such precincts, though some are in dispute between the counties of Kent and Canterbury."—(*General Report*, pp. 30, 31.)

The property of the Corporations, whether viewed in reference to the mode in which the revenue is collected, or that in which it is expended, is, perhaps, of all sources of complaint against those bodies, the most fruitful.

"The exemption from tolls or dues payable on the exportation or importation

of goods, in some of the great commercial towns, constitutes the most valuable privilege of the free merchants, and is at the same time strongly complained of by the merchants who are not freemen. In Newcastle, the payment of these tolls has made a difference to a merchant of £.450 annually. In Liverpool, one mercantile firm has paid to the town dues more than £.1400 in one year. * * —(*General Report*, p. 44.)

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In general, the corporate funds are but partially applied to municipal purposes, such as the preservation of the peace by an efficient police, or in watching or lighting the town, &c.; but they are frequently expended in feasting, and in paying the salaries of unimportant officers. In some cases, in which the funds are expended on public purposes, such as building public works, or other objects of local improvement, an expense has been incurred much beyond what would be necessary if due care had been taken. This has happened at Exeter, in consequence of the plan of avoiding public contract, and of proceeding without adequate estimates. These abuses often originate in the negligence of the corporate bodies, but more frequently in the opportunity afforded to them of obliging members of their own body, or the friends and relations of such members.

" Some Corporations consider that their property has been vested in them solely as trustees for the public; but in most cases, this truth is acknowledged only when forced on their attention, is received with difficulty and qualification, and is continually forgotten. Few Corporations admit any positive obligation to expend the surplus of their income for objects of public advantage, Such expenditure is regarded as a spontaneous act of private generosity, rather than a well-considered application of the public revenue, and the credit to which the Corporation, in such a case, generally considers itself entitled, is not that of judicious administrators, but of liberal benefactors. Even in these cases, party and sectarian purposes often prevail in its application.

" From this erroneous, but strongly-rooted opinion, that the property of the Corporation is held in trust for the benefit of the corporate body only, distinguishing that body from the community with which it is locally connected, the transition is not difficult to the opinion that individual corporators may justifiably derive a benefit from that property. At Cambridge, the practice of turning the Corporation property to the profit of individuals, was avowed and defended by a member of the council.—(*General Report*, p. 45.)

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" With the custom of conferring salaries, that must be considered exorbitant, even when the officers chosen are competent to the proper discharge of their duties, may be classed the practice of bestowing important and high-salaried situations upon incompetent persons; both are among the many evils arising out of the system of self-election and irresponsible exercise of patronage.

" Conduct of this description would probably have been checked by the mere force of public opinion, if the corporate accounts had been subjected to the scrutiny which must have resulted from the publication of them, and a complete prevention might probably have been effected, if a practical control had been imposed, of the same kind as that possessed by parishioners over the expenditure of their churchwardens and overseers.

" The debts incurred by many Corporations have been swelled to their present amount by most negligent and improper management. At Berwick-upon-Tweed,

where the freemen manage the affairs of the Corporation, and possess commons of the value of about £.6000 per annum, *they have borrowed money expressly for the purpose of dividing it amongst themselves.*"—(*General Report*, p. 46.)

The general Report of the Commissioners contains merely a summary of facts collected from the separate Reports. From the latter we now proceed to offer such information as the limits within which this important subject must be compressed, will enable us to extract. It will be our object to produce such illustrations as will furnish a clear perception of the actual condition of most of the corporate towns. Our notice of the large towns must necessarily be imperfect; of the state of Bristol, for example, it would be impossible to convey an adequate idea, without transcribing the whole of the valuable report on that corporation; but nowhere are the evils of bad municipal government more clearly developed than in Bristol, where, on a large scale, and in most injurious operation, the vices of a close, self-elected and irresponsible Corporation, are felt by the extensive population of the city as an intolerable oppression. We must confine ourselves to extracts from reports on other places, and we proceed to those on Banbury, Bodmin, Buckingham, Carmarthen, East Retford, Haverford-west, Rye, and Tiverton, intending to exemplify the manner in which the old Tories were accustomed to govern the country. We are much mistaken, if these facts do not convince the people of England, that no possible change of opinion—not even the open desertion of the Corporations by the *whole* Tory party—should ever induce the King or the people to submit the destinies of this great nation to the discretion of such rulers.

The corporate revenue of the town of Banbury is small, and the corporation is remarkable, principally for the bad effects resulting from its political character, in the general feeling of distrust and suspicion which accompanies every act of the magistrates, and also for two annual feasts, the expenses of which were defrayed by the patron of the borough.

" * * From the date of the first charter to the borough in 1554, until the passing of the Reform Act, the select body of the Corporation enjoyed the exclusive privilege of returning a member to Parliament. It is sufficiently notorious, and was expressly stated to us by several members of the Corporation, that, in the exercise of this privilege, the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, had long acted under the direction of the late Earl of Guildford, and after his death, of the Marquis of Bute; noblemen who successively occupied an estate in the neighbourhood, and filled the office of high steward of the borough. In return for

this acquiescence, the patron for the time being rendered substantial service to the town, by promoting local improvements, and supporting charities; and assisted the corporate funds by paying the salary of the deputy recorder, and of some inferior corporate officers, and defraying the expenses of two annual corporation dinners, called the "Venison Feast," and the "Mayor's Election Feast." From the accounts of the late Earl of Guildford, for nine years immediately preceding 1811, we found that the annual payments made by his Lordship for these purposes exceeded, upon an average, £.110, a sum nearly equal to the whole income of the Corporation. The patron's account for subsequent years were not produced to us; but as the salary of the deputy recorder, and the two corporation dinners, were continued until the year 1831, at which point of time they wholly ceased, and as no such items appear in any part of the corporation accounts, there can be no doubt that they were paid in the same manner. The circumstance of the criminal judge of the borough being dependent on the political patron for his situation and salary, could scarcely fail to excite a suspicion of partiality among those who are opposed to the corporation. This feeling was much increased about two years ago, by the dismissal of Mr. Amos, the late deputy recorder, at the suggestion of the corporation, under circumstances which, as it seems to us, by no means justified such a measure. The reason assigned by the corporation was, that Mr. Amos belonged to the Midland circuit, and that it was more convenient to have a deputy recorder from the Oxford circuit. We have no doubt that this reason was merely colourable, and that the real causes of Mr. Amos's removal were, as several members of the corporation admitted, that his political opinions were supposed to differ from those of the majority of the corporation, *and that on occasion of a tumultuous election in* 1831, *at which he attended as assessor to the returning officer, he had, pursuant to instructions from the Secretary of State, advised the mayor to take the poll without bringing a military force into the borough.* It would be foreign to our purpose to detail the particulars of this transaction; we were satisfied, however, upon a full investigation of them, that Mr. Amos acted conscientiously and correctly, and that the removal of a judicial officer under such circumstances had materially added to the general want of confidence in the administration of justice within the borough. The high estimation in which the present deputy recorder * is held, and his disconnexion from local party, exclude all suspicion of judicial injustice in trials at the sessions; but there is a constant apprehension of unfairness in the previous machinery of the courts, and in the exercise of the summary jurisdiction of the magistrates. One instance of this we have already mentioned, in the case of the supposed alteration of the jury panels; others of a similar kind were related to us; and though we were satisfied that the charges were without foundation in the particular instances, we consider them as so many proofs of the existence of an inveterate suspicion and distrust, on the part of the inhabitants, towards the local magistracy, which leads even intelligent and well-instructed persons to believe improbable suggestions and accusations upon little or no evidence.

"Upon full examination and inquiry, we are convinced that this feeling of distrust, and also a most dangerous disposition to thwart and resist the magistrates in seasons of popular excitement, arise entirely from the system of self-election as above described, and the devotion of the corporation to the political purposes of an individual. The selection of efficient magistrates from the inha-

* Mr. Serjeant Talfourd.

bitants, has been avowedly considered by the corporation as a subordinate and inferior duty to that of securing the parliamentary interest of the patron; and, consequently, individuals holding the first station in the town, for wealth, intelligence, and general respectability, entitled to and enjoying the full confidence of their fellow citizens, have been always excluded from the magistracy, on the ground of their political or religious principles."—(*Appendix*, Part I., pp. 15, 16.)

The borough of Bodmin presents us with a curious specimen of the manner in which the different members of the select council of a close corporation are frequently connected by relationship with each other.

" Several members of the corporation are related to one another. Mr. Hanley and Captain Hanley are brothers, so likewise the Messrs. Cummins; Mr. Wallis, the mayor, is the father of the Rev. J. Wallis, capital burgess and counsellor, and of the two Messrs. Wallis, capital burgesses; Mr. W. R. Gilbert, the capital burgess, and counsellor, is the uncle of the two Messrs. Gilberts, capital burgesses; Mr. Phillips, the capital burgess, and counsellor, is brother to Mr. Phillips, the capital burgess, and they are nephews of Mr. Flammanck, the capital burgess and counsellor; the two Messrs. Liddells, capital burgesses, are father and son; the three Messrs. Blighs are father and sons; and Mr. Watkin was son-in-law to the late Mr. Speller, a capital burgess and counsellor."—(*Appendix*, Part I. p. 444.)

Great inconvenience sometimes arises from the state of the magistracy in this borough, and the Report states also some singular facts respecting the political patronage connected with it.

" The mayor, the predecessor of the mayor for the year next following his year of office, and the common clerk, are the magistrates of the borough. Very great inconvenience has been sustained in the borough by the fact of the town having occasionally had but one magistrate. The common clerk has frequently served the office of mayor, and sometimes, in consequence of disputes in the corporation, aldermen have refused to attend meetings of the body, so as to prevent the election of a new mayor, thus compelling the mayor to hold over, and destroying the right of the preceding mayor to act as a justice. The borough, on one occasion was left without overseers, and without rates. A loan of money was obtained jointly from Mr. Davies Gilbert and Mr. Croker, the agents to the Marquess of Hertford, in order to sustain the poor until a new rate could be made."—(*Appendix*, Part I., p. 445.)

The population of Bodmin, in 1831, was near 4000; the annual income of the corporation is 548*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* There are no satisfactory accounts. " Formerly the public works under-
" taken by the corporation were executed by public contract,
" after public notice, and the work was given to the party
" making the lowest tender. *A few years ago, a mason and a*
" *carpenter became members of the corporation; since that*
" *time the works have not been submitted to public competition.*
" The town is not lighted, neither is it watched by night, and

"the police force is inadequate to its protection." But, nevertheless, the corporation has contrived to get deeply in debt.

"The debt of the corporation, three months previous to our visit, amounted to 3000*l.*; on the 28th March, 1814, the sum of 500*l.* was borrowed on bond from Mr. Charles Rashleigh; on the 13th September in the same year, another sum of 1000*l.* was borrowed on bond from the same person; and on the 29th of September, 1816, a further sum of 500*l.* was also borrowed on bond from Mr. Rashleigh, making in the whole 2000*l.* When the corporation proposed to build a new market, they purchased the old prison for 1000*l.*, which money was raised on mortgage from Mr. Rashleigh. Mr. Rashleigh was the agent of Lord De Dunstanville, then the patron of the borough, and the money came from his Lordship. The market has never been erected, and the old prison has been sold for 340*l.* The bill for the cost incurred in the attempt to obtain the Act for enclosing the common, &c., with incidental charges, amounted to 1261*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*, and nearly 1000*l.* have been expended out of the money borrowed on the repairs of the church. The whole sum applied to the repair of the church, between 1814 and 1817, amounted to 1591*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* When, from the cause before stated, under the head of political patronage, Lord De Dunstanville resigned the patronage of the borough, the debts of the corporation were assigned by Mr. Rashleigh to the Marquess of Hertford and to Mr. Davies Gilbert, Lord Hertford having consented to become the patron of the borough. The borrowed money was never entered in the account books of the corporation, but a payment of 145*l.* was made by them in the year 1817, said to be on account of interest on the debt. No other payment was ever made, nor was any interest ever demanded. The debt was transferred to the new patron, when the former patron resigned. The corporation, in the person of its legal officer, took no part in the arrangement; the business was chiefly transacted between Mr. Davies Gilbert and Mr. Charles Rashleigh. The corporation have been lately called upon to pay the debt which is now due to Mr. Davies Gilbert, Lord Hertford having assigned to that gentleman all debts due to him by the corporation. When an application was made to the corporation to pay the debt, some of the members objected to the demand, and others refused to pay unless an action was brought. This reluctance to comply with the demand was communicated to the applicant for payment, and an action was in consequence resolved upon, whereupon Mr. Preston Wallis, *a member of the corporation*, and the agent for the representatives of Mr. Rashleigh, brought the action on the 9th of January. On the 19th of the same month, a meeting of the corporation was called, and it was resolved that judgment should be suffered by default for 3000*l.* in discharge of principal and interest. Judgment has been obtained, and a distringas has been issued.

"The corporation have paid some portion of the money by—

Cash balances in the hands of the mayor	£.600
Fines on leases.....	560
Sale of old prison.....	340
	£.1,500

leaving a balance of 1,500*l.*, bearing interest at 5 per cent. since December 1832. The corporation expect to raise the balance of the debt, 1500*l.*, upon a mortgage of the town farm in about a year or so."—*Appendix*, Part I., pp. 448, 449.

In the town of Buckingham, the governing body, thirteen in number, are all either dependants or tenants of the Duke of Buckingham.

"The burgesses, indeed, who, as we have before stated, and as the above list indicates, are in effect appointed by the patron of the borough, may be considered as holding their situations at his pleasure. That the Duke, at least, entertains such an opinion, appears from the following note, written by his steward to Mr. Bartlett, formerly one of the burgesses, upon his declining with Mr. Nelson, the present bailiff, to promise his vote for the nominee of the Duke on an expected vacancy in the corporation.

"'*Avington, July* 13*th*, 1817.

"'I have received your letter, acquainting me that Mr. Bartlett and Mr. Nelson have both refused either to vote for Mr. Newman, or to resign their gowns. *You will, in my name, express to both of those gentlemen my strong sense of their conduct, which I consider as being totally opposite to my ideas of the conduct of gentlemen and men of honour.*'"

"The above is an extract from a letter Mr. Parrott yesterday received from Lord Buckingham.

"Addressed—John Bartlett, Esq., banker, Buckingham.

"The corporation for Buckingham has for a long time served as an instrument for enabling the patron of the borough to return two members to Parliament, and it has served for nothing more. As a corporation, it has never discharged any of the functions of town government; for it has scarcely any revenue, and the governing charter creates only one resident magistrate, who, besides being incompetent to act on the numerous occasions where the presence of two magistrates is required, is provided with very insufficient authority to act as a local justice of the peace. As he is also, by the charter, the sole justice to hear and determine offences at the sessions, and is restrained from trying any felony, recourse has always been had (as hereinafter appears) to special commissions of the peace; the expense of which is defrayed out of the money collected for the poor's rates; so that the administration of criminal justice within the borough has never proceeded from the corporation, nor has it ever been paid for out of corporate funds."—*Appendix*, Part I., p. 29.

The three following extracts are taken from the Report on the Borough of Carmarthen; they relate to juries, police, and debt, and the alienation of corporate property.

"The burgesses residing within the borough are exempted by the charter from serving on juries without the borough; and the further privilege is granted, 'that any assizes, juries, and inquests, whatsoever, concerning all matters and things arising or happening within the borough, shall be made and taken only by the said (the resident) burgesses, unless those things do concern or relate to the commonalty of the borough.' This clause is obscurely worded, and a difficulty is suggested by the use of the word 'commonalty' in the last member of the sentence.

"In practice, the clause has always been construed as exempting the burgesses from serving on juries without the borough, and as rendering them exclusively liable to serve on all juries within.

"The inhabitants who are not burgesses are accordingly wholly exempted from this duty, both in the county and the borough of Carmarthen.

"It follows, that the grand juries and petty juries summoned to try all the issues, civil and criminal, at the assizes, sessions, and fortnight courts in Carmarthen (which contains 10,000 inhabitants), are selected from the resident burgesses, who are 178 in number, and amongst whom only 98 are 10*l.* householders.

"At the assizes and sessions of the peace, the sheriffs select a panel varying from 48 to 60 common jurors, and at the fortnight courts, the town clerk selects a panel of 21.

"The juries are summoned by the serjeants at mace.

"Owing to the small number of persons liable to serve, it is found impossible on any occasion to select a special jury, and the common juries usually consist in a great degree of the lower tradespeople, with one or two of the labouring class.

"Owing also to the political character of the officers who select and summon the juries, as well as of the jurymen themselves, the majority of the jury is usually composed of partisans of the same political colour. Hence it happens, that verdicts, both in the civil and criminal courts, are frequently given from party bias, against justice and the merits of the case; and a general fear prevails amongst suitors opposed to the majority, that their cases will be so decided.

"In the case of the King, *v.* Thomas and another, tried at the last Spring Assizes for the County of Carmarthen, it appears that the defendants were charged with a capital felony, in having riotously assembled with other persons, and remained together one hour after proclamation. The offence alleged to have been committed arose out of circumstances connected with the proceedings on the charter day of 1832.

"Mr. Thomas was an active and leading member of the party opposed to the corporation.

"The sheriffs belonged to the corporation party.

"The grand jury, before whom the bill was preferred, consisted of 20 burgesses; of these, 17 belonged to the corporation party, the foreman being one of the committing magistrates.

"The bill was returned a true bill.

"The panel from which the petty jury was to be chosen, contained 60 names. Of these jurors, 12 belonged to the defendants' party, two were neutral, and 46 belonged to the corporation party.

"An application was made to the judge, to order the indictment to be tried in the county of Carmarthen. The order was made, and the defendants were acquitted by the county jury.

"The answer made by one of the sheriffs to this statement was, that there was not a sufficient number of respectable persons of the defendants' party to enable him to summon a grand jury, consisting of an equal number of either side; and that the petty jury were summoned from the burgesses who had not attended at the previous assizes."—(*Appendix*, Part I., pp. 212, 213.)

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"Of the present constables, three are small tradesmen, and the rest belong to the labouring class, some of whom are not householders.

"They are described by the best authority as 'very ineffective;' only four of the whole number being active officers.

"One cause of their inefficiency is the want of proper regulation. The chief constable, though nominally at their head, has no means of exercising an effective

control, or compelling obedience to his directions. He has not been able to systematize their operations, or reduce them under regular management.

" Another cause is ' the want of proper payment and proper selection.'

" It is the opinion of the intelligent chief constable, that an efficient police might be established, without difficulty, ' if the constables received proper pay, and were not connected with the corporation, or subject to annual appointment by the magistrates.'

" The three paid constables are burgesses of the corporation party; they are not amongst the active officers; five others scarcely act at all, and the remaining four are of an inferior class, who are content to act for the small emoluments derived from the execution of warrants. With respect to the mode of appointment, it appeared that a servant of the corporation was lately dismissed from the office of constable, ' because he voted against the corporation,' and was succeeded by a burgess ' who voted for them.'

" In a recent case, in which it was necessary to call in the aid of special constables, it seems that such constables were selected from the workmen of persons of the same politics as the corporation party. The fact, or the suspicion of it, is inevitable, whilst the appointment rests with a body invested with a known political character.

" The chief constable suggested, that the only means of obviating the evil was, by withdrawing the police from its present management, and placing it under the direction of a commissioner, unconnected with either of the parties, who contest the rule of the corporation."—(*Appendix*, Part I., pp. 213, 214.)

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" The chief cause of the insufficiency of the revenue to meet the expenditure is, however, owing to the extraordinary negligence in its collection.

" From the absence of old accounts, it is impossible to state at what period the arrears of rent began to accumulate. From the chamberlain's statement for the year 1832, it appears that, of a rental of 630*l.*, not more than 150*l.* was collected; 5*s.* only in the pound. The yearly deficiency arising from this cause, has been met partly by non-payment of salaries, and partly by money taken up at interest. This money has been borrowed from time to time from the bankers of the corporation, and now amounts, with the balance due to the chamberlain, to about 2,500*l.* In consequence of the absence of old accounts, the chamberlain was unable to furnish a statement of the alienations of property made by the corporation during the last forty years.

" According to the statements of both parties, property to a considerable amount has been sold by the corporation during that period.

" It was said, that 14,000*l.* was raised in this manner by the party now in the minority, in 1796, and three or four years ago 9,000*l.* was raised by the same means, by the party now in office. Of these transactions, however, no account was forthcoming, nor, according to the chamberlain, can be produced.

" The last sum of 9,000*l.* was raised to pay off incumbrances; of the former sum a considerable portion was laid out in public buildings and improvements; and great sums were spent in litigation with purchasers of the property, who had refused to complete their contracts."—(*Appendix*, Part I., p. 216.)

We quoted in a former page, a passage from the Report on East Retford, exemplifying the working of the corporate system, in relation to the administration of justice. The general corruption in that notorious town, and the political

causes which have led to such a state of moral degradation, will appear from the following extracts:—

"The constitution of the corporation was modified to promote the purposes of corruption. It became, of course, an object to the electors, to limit as much as possible the number of the constituency, in order to enhance the price of each individual vote. For this purpose, a limitation was introduced by the bailiffs and aldermen in the number of apprentices whom each burgess should be permitted to take. When the last batch of redemption freemen were made in the year 1796, it appears from the corporation records that these freemen, immediately previous to their admission, signed an agreement, binding themselves not to take more than two apprentices at a time. And in 1819 a bye-law was enacted, limiting the freemen generally to two apprentices each. Since the year 1796, the making redemption freemen has been, from similar motives, entirely discontinued; the result of this system has been, that the numbers of the freemen have been kept down to a very small amount. The entire body of the burgesses does not exceed 200; that of the resident burgesses, from whom alone (as residence is a necessary qualification) the governing body can be chosen, does not amount to above fifty or sixty; among these, the baneful consequences of a vicious and demoralizing system have not failed to exhibit themselves. Diverted by unlawful gains from the exercise of honest industry, they are for the most part in needy and impoverished circumstances, and in all respects, in an abject condition. It is from this body, thus low in station, distressed in circumstances, and degraded in public estimation, that the bailiffs and aldermen of the borough must of necessity be chosen!

"The general corruption was not, however, confined to the inferior burgesses, members of the governing body did not hesitate to participate in the traffic. From the evidence given before the committee of the Houses of Parliament, it appears that the price of a freeman's vote was ten guineas to each candidate, that of an alderman's, twenty. *Of the present body of aldermen, three upon that evidence stand clearly convicted of having received bribes; of these, the senior bailiff, at the time of this inquiry, was one.* We have before us a list of the persons put in nomination by the bailiffs and aldermen, for the office of junior bailiff, for the last thirteen years—in all, twenty-six persons; *of these, sixteen were proved before Parliament to have received bribes; and of these, nine were elected, and served the office of junior bailiff.*"—(*Appendix*, Part III., p. 1871.)

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"It has already been stated, that the independence of the corporation had been made subservient to external influence. It appears to us, that in this subserviency, members of the governing body are implicated, to whom the charge of bribery does not extend. One alderman admitted to us, that he had obtained an office under government through the interest of the Duke of Newcastle, in respect of which office he now enjoyed a retiring pension of 200*l.* per annum: this alderman stated to us, that he always voted for the Duke's candidate. He also stated, that he had had conversations with the Duke respecting the election of aldermen, and that the Duke had suggested a gentleman of the bar to him, as a fit person to be the recorder. Another alderman enjoys, in respect of an office obtained through the same influence, a similar pension, but of minor amount. One of the present members for the borough stated to us, that on canvassing the alderman in question, the latter answered, that he could not vote against any one put in nomination by the Duke, being under a favour to that nobleman, as he

was then holding a retiring pension, in consequence of a place which the Duke had obtained for him. A witness named Dewick, who, for several years, had been an alderman of the borough, stated to us in evidence, that being a grocer by trade, and being in the habit of supplying the Duke of Newcastle with grocery, in the year 1826 he was sent for to Clumber, the Duke's seat; that he had a conversation for half an hour with his Grace on the subject of the election and corporate affairs; that there being then a vacancy in the body of aldermen, the Duke asked him who was likely to be alderman? on which he named a particular individual, and said he was pledged to vote for him. That he received an order from the house steward on the following Saturday, and under it was written a request to go to Clumber the next day; that he went accordingly, when the Duke conversed with him as to who should be alderman and treasurer, but they could not agree. This witness went on to state, that shortly before the Reform Bill passed, the Duke, through his land steward and chaplain, applied to him to attend the hall of the corporation, which he refused to do; that he was given to understand, that the object of calling the hall, was to elect an alderman, who was a tenant of the Duke, and suggested by him, and to make redemption freemen in his Grace's interest; that he refused to attend, and shortly afterwards received a notification from the house steward, that no more goods would be wanted, as his Grace had resolved to give his business to other persons; that he afterwards had an interview with the Duke, and asked why the business was withdrawn? when the Duke said, '*it was on account of his stupidity in not attending the halls.*' The same alderman stated, that he had been returning officer at the election in 1831, that having been completely neutral, the consequence was, a withdrawal of custom on the part of a neighbouring gentleman, who told him he should employ tradesmen who were of the same way of thinking as he himself was. Another alderman, who had lately changed his party, and had gone over to the party generally believed to be in the Duke's interest, declared openly to us, that he had been almost beggared by belonging to the opposite side. We are the more particular in citing these instances, because they appear to us to illustrate the consequence of appointing the aldermen from persons in the station of society to which the present body belong."—*Appendix*, Part III., p. 1872.

"It must at once be obvious, that a municipal government, thus constituted, self-chosen from a class not only inferior in station and intelligence, but also branded with the infamy of long-continued and notorious bribery; containing among its members some proved to have been guilty of corrupt practices; others universally believed to be the tools of an unconstitutional influence—divided within itself, one half of its members accusing the other of having betrayed the independence of the borough,—cannot be expected to command the respect of, or to possess any moral influence over, the community subjected to their authority. The result, in point of fact, is wholly in accordance with the conclusion to which general reasoning would lead: among the great body of the more respectable and intelligent inhabitants there exists a deep feeling of dissatisfaction at the mode in which the governing body is appointed, and the materials, of which it is composed, and an utter absence of all respect for, or confidence in the constituted authorities."—(*Appendix*, Part III., p. 1872.)

Our first extract from the Report on Haverfordwest relates to the selection of juries; the others are intended to illustrate the system of jobbing with the corporate property,

and contracting debts in the name of the corporation, to the total neglect of those objects to which municipal property ought to be applied. The population of Haverfordwest exceeds 4000, and the annual income of the corporation would amount to 1000*l.*, if the property was suitably managed.

"The juries, both grand and petty, are summoned, on all occasions, from the resident burgesses. The rest of the inhabitants, of all degrees, are excluded from serving on juries within the borough, and, in common with the burgesses, are exempted from serving elsewhere. Of the resident burgesses, who are in number 141, there are not 50 who are fit to serve upon juries at all. The better sort are summoned as grand jurymen at the assizes; but even at the assizes it is impossible to exclude the unfit; and at the quarter-sessions and the intrinsical court, the juries are summoned indiscriminately from the general list of burgesses. Besides their unfitness in point of capacity, the jurors of an inferior class are always obnoxious to the suspicion of political partiality towards their fellow burgesses.

"In civil cases, their verdicts have been given from party feelings against the merits of the case; so that suitors of an opposite party have no confidence in their decision.

"In criminal cases, instances have frequently occurred of the improper acquittal of burgesses on prosecutions supported by satisfactory evidence. On these occasions the juries have been openly reprimanded by judges and magistrates. The practice has not been checked by such reprimands, *and a general belief prevails, that it is impossible to convict a burgess.*"—(*Appendix*, Part I., p. 239.)

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"In 1823 the corporation resolved to erect a market house. The market was built and opened in 1825.

"In addition to four pieces of waste land belonging to the corporation, four houses with gardens, in Market Street, were purchased for the site of the new market. For the freehold part of the property the corporation paid 1000*l.*; for the part which is leasehold they pay a rent of 50*l.* a-year.

"The whole cost of erecting the market, including the purchase-money, was probably about 5000*l.* Three houses have been built on the part of the site, and are let for 55*l.* a-year.

"The money was raised by a loan of 2000*l.*, now secured on a mortgage of the buildings and other property at 5*l.* per cent.; by advances made by the builder, upon which 1000*l.* is now due at the same interest; by the sale of two pieces of land, called the Merlin Estate, which produced 360*l.*; and a subscription by Lord Milford of 350*l.*

"These sums, amounting to 3710*l.*, leave a residue of 1290*l.* This money has been paid; but from what fund, or in what manner, no account can be given.

"The business was confided to the care of a committee of the common council, called the Building Committee. It appears that the money borrowed on mortgage was never paid to their account; nor does it seem that any other sum was ever placed at their disposal.

"The building committee kept no account; and the following was the only evidence which the corporation could supply with respect to the mode in which the payments were made.

"It was stated that the 1000*l.* paid for the site of the market, and borrowed

on mortgage, was paid by the mortgagee to the seller, without the intervention of the committee, and was never brought into the corporation accounts. The seller and the mortgagee are both members of the common council.

"It was stated, also, that the builder brought in bills, from time to time, which were audited by the committee, who gave him orders for payment on the mortgagee to the extent of 1000*l.* The builder's balance against the corporation amounted at one time to 1400*l.* or 1500*l.*, but has been reduced, by subsequent payments from the corporation fund.

"It seems, therefore, that the 2000*l.* advanced by the mortgagee was paid by him to creditors of the corporation, instead of being regularly handed over to the building committee; that no accounts were kept, and no statement can be made of the mode in which the rest of the money was paid, or of the fund from which it was drawn. There are not even the means of ascertaining the whole amount of money expended, or of the propriety of the expenditure. The only sources of information were, the statements of the builder, and the guesses of members of the committee."—(*Appendix*, Part I., pp. 242, 243.)

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"Complaints were made by several respectable persons, that the river was neglected by the corporation authorities, and that obstructions were allowed to accumulate to an injurious extent. It was stated that ten years ago, vessels could come 200 yards farther up the river towards the bridge than they can at present." (*Ibid*, p. 247.)

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"An act was passed (at the instance of the corporation) in the same session, for supplying the town with water. The preamble recites, that the mayor and corporation were willing, out of certain funds then in hand, belonging to them in their corporate capacity, to defray the expense of constructing the necessary works, and of supplying the town with water: whereupon it is enacted, that the mayor and common council shall be commissioners for carrying the Act into execution. The expenses of procuring the Act were 350*l.* It appears that this sum is still unpaid, and that the corporation have no funds in hand for commencing the works." (*Ibid.*)

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"The town is neither lighted nor regularly paved. Parts of the streets were paved a short time ago, by private subscription; and the pavement has since been kept in repair at the expense of the respective parishes. There is no local Act for the purpose." (*Ibid.*)

In the town of Rye, the population, according to the census of 1831, amounted to 3715. We subjoin some curious arrangements entered into among themselves, by the members of the corporation.

"The effect produced upon the inhabitants generally, by the system on which the corporation has long been constructed and managed, has been, as might be expected, that of great dissatisfaction and discontent. Not the slightest imputation was made upon the private respectability of the family who were considered to have had the patronage of the parliamentary borough; but as this patronage was founded on a system of exclusion from the corporation of all persons who were likely to exercise their privileges independently of the patron; and as he himself, and his relations, have generally been nearly the only jurats and justices, those

officers have been considered as holding their situations merely for political purposes, the obvious tendency of which is, to diminish that confidence which ought to exist towards the magistracy of the town. The offices under government held within the town, have always been given to the freemen, upon the nomination, as there can be no doubt, of the patrons. This has naturally created jealousy and discontent. A document was produced to me, purporting to be an agreement amongst five individuals of the corporation, consisting of the patron, and friends and relations of his. The town clerk protested against my receiving it, as being strictly a private paper, which had most improperly been printed; but no doubt was expressed by him of its genuineness. It was set out at length in a petition to the House of Commons, from some of the inhabitants in 1827. This agreement consists of several items, the first of which is, that the parties to it will exert themselves for the benefit of each other, for the good and advantage of the corporation generally. The next item is, that no application shall be made by any of them for any place or office exercised within the corporation, which is in the gift of government, without the privity and approbation of them all. They are to consult each other upon the selection of jurats by any of them as mayor. They are to oppose the nomination of every one as freeman, who is not liked by all of them. They are to use their interest and endeavours to procure the election of each of themselves, in rotation, to the mayoralty. There is a provision for making the patron, or a particular relation of his, deputy mayor, when any of the others is mayor. There is then an argument between two of them for dividing the profits arising by the collectors of the customs, hiring the vessels or warehouses of either of them, and for giving each other half the work which either of them may contract to perform for the corporation or commissioners of the harbour. Lastly, the agreement is to be secret, and not disclosed to any one. Within the last two or three years the corporation has been entirely opened, and already much angry feeling has subsided. It was stated that the effects of this were plainly visible in the private society of the town, and that much improvement in the general state of the town was confidently expected."—(*Appendix*, Part II., p. 1033.)

The connexion of Lord Harrowby with the borough of Tiverton, led to some singular transactions, which were disclosed rather reluctantly to the commissioners.

* * * "In addition to the ordinary revenues of the corporation, they, for a series of years, received sums of money from individuals who had been appointed, through their influence, to the lucrative situation of receivers-general for districts of the county of Devon. A copy of a letter in the handwriting of Mr. Bevis Wood, a late town clerk, was produced to us. We subjoin it:—

"'*Tiverton, 30th January*, 1801.

"'DEAR SIR.—It being the wish of Sir John Duntze, bart., to be appointed Receiver of the district of the County of Devon, for which the late Richard Rose Drewe, Esq., deceased, was appointed, and which is now vacant by his death, We, whose names are here subscribed, do request you do use your interest, and endeavour to procure such appointment for Sir John Duntze; and in so doing, you will particularly oblige,

"'Dear Sir,

"'Your most obedient humble Servants.

"'P. S.—You will be pleased to remember, that this our recommendation of Sir John Duntze, is on this condition, that he resides and keeps his office in the

town of Tiverton, and that he agrees to make an annual allowance to the corporation of Tiverton, of the sum of twenty pounds for every shilling in the pound, land-tax, which now amounts to eighty pounds yearly.'

" (Also signed by the same parties.)

" The copy of the letter has no address; but such a letter was sent to Lord Harrowby, then Mr. Ryder, and Sir John Duntze was appointed, and regularly paid the corporation the stipulated sum of 80*l.* from the period of his appointment, until the emoluments of receiver-general were stated to have been reduced, in consequence of a motion made by Mr. Hume, about the year 1821. The late town clerk, Mr. J. Wood, said that Lord Harrowby was not a party to the condition attached to the recommendation of Sir John Duntze. On an inspection of a small account-book in the possession of the corporation, purporting to contain an account of the revenue, it appeared that the allowance made by Sir John Duntze was not the only one which the corporation received. On the first page of the book, there is an entry in these words: 'Received from D——— H———, Esq. 72*l.* 10*s.*' This sum was paid to the corporation annually, by Mr. Hamilton, who was receiver of another district in the county of Devon. The extraordinary nature of these arrangements induced us to institute a strict inquiry as to this portion of the corporate revenues. We found that very numerous appointments in the church, as well as in various departments of the public service, had been obtained by members of the corporation, and by their friends and connexions; but it did not appear that the corporation derived any direct pecuniary benefit from any appointments so obtained, except in the cases of Sir John Duntze, and Mr. Hamilton. It must, however, be stated, that from the very negligent manner in which the accounts of the corporation have been kept, it was impossible to obtain any accurate or satisfactory knowledge of the receipts or expenditure for very many years."—(*Appendix*, Part I., pp. 628, 629.)

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In this borough the system of admitting clergymen as members of the corporation, prevailed to a considerable extent, as will be seen in the following extract:—

" The main object of the corporation of Tiverton, previous to the passing of the Reform Bill, was to preserve the political interest of the patron of the borough, and thus to obtain either direct pecuniary gain from the appointments procured by the recorder from the government, as in the case of Sir John Duntze, or from the more indirect, but not less valuable patronage, bestowed on the members of the corporation and their relatives and connections, through the influence of the late noble recorder.

" Possessing exclusively the right of electing Members of Parliament, the corporation thus found the means of obtaining many valuable situations, not only in the public service, but also in the church. *For a considerable period, several clergymen were members of the corporation, and some of them obtained valuable church preferment.* Mr. Coles, the intelligent inhabitant of Tiverton, before alluded to, thought that it was not fitting for clergymen to be members of a corporation, and he stated that he had written to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as well as to the Bishops of Exeter, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Winchester, Gloucester, and Bristol, upon the question, and from these prelates he had received letters, in which their lordships expressed their disapproval of the

practice of electing clergymen members of corporations. In no place we have visited do the pernicious effects arising from the connection between a corporation having the right to return Members of Parliament, and an influential nobleman as patron of the borough, appear to be more clearly displayed, than in the borough of Tiverton. The management of the public affairs by the corporation has neither deserved nor obtained for them the confidence of the inhabitants." (*Appendix*, Part I., p. 630.)

We lay before our readers some facts collected from the Report on the borough of Malmesbury, without one word of comment: no language of our's could possibly heighten the effect which will be excited by a mere perusal of the statements themselves. The chief magistrate of that borough is called the alderman; and the ruling body of the corporation consists of the alderman and twelve burgesses. The alderman, in addition to his duties as principal magistrate of the town, is also coroner and clerk of the market. Previous to the Reform Act, the right of returning the member to represent the borough in Parliament, was vested exclusively in the alderman and the twelve capital burgesses. "The present alderman is Joseph "Butler Hanks, pig killer!"

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"The following are the names and occupations of the present capital burgesses:—

"Simon Pike, labouring tiler and plasterer, alderman elect.
William Pike, labourer, steward of the burgesses.
Stephen Jacobs, labourer.
Thomas Carter, plasterer.
James Grant, ropemaker.
John Humphreys, carpenter.
Joseph Sparks, staymaker.
Charles Box, labourer, deputy alderman.
William Robins Seale, publican.
Thomas Lewis, gardener.
William Ovens Huse, labourer.
Thomas Paginton, labouring thatcher."—(*Appendix*, Part I., p. 78.)

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* * "From the foregoing statement it appears that this body is self-elected, irresponsible to the inhabitants of the town, and composed chiefly of labourers, without education, and of the least instructed class of retail tradesmen.

"The present alderman, a pig killer and chief magistrate of the town, is scarcely able to write his name. The alderman elect, Simon Pike, chief magistrate for the ensuing year, is a labouring plasterer and tiler, and can neither read nor write.

"Richard Neate and Christopher Aaron, successively chief magistrates, were both of them unable to write, and had no other substance or calling than keeping a few cows.

" It may be supposed that such persons, however irreproachable in their private capacity, would scarcely be competent to discharge the functions of chief magistrate in a considerable town. But whether it be owing to the singular distribution of certain town lands, which prevails in Malmesbury, or to any other cause, the morals of the labouring class in that town appear to be below the standard of the neigbouring country; and among those who have served the office of chief magistrate, some are not exempt from the reproach of frequent intoxication, even during their year of office.

" During the present year, in consequence of a squabble between the deputy high steward and the alderman, as to the division of fees paid upon the renewal of publicans' licenses, the alderman has refused to act with the deputy high steward, the result of which is, that no conviction, or parish order, which requires the signature of two magistrates, can be had in the absence of the high steward.

" Nor are the ill effects of the municipal institutions confined to the limits of the borough.

" As the poor are maintained within the borough, those parts of the parish without the borough, amounting to between seven and eight thousand acres, which are rated to the poor, may be said to be subject to the control and management of the borough magistrates; for the overseers of the outparts of the parish pay the amount of their rates to the overseers within the borough, and these are appointed by the borough magistrates, who pass their accounts."—(*Appendix*, Part I., p. 79.)

Mr. Bingham, the commissioner who visited Malmesbury, has subjoined to his report the following postscript, relative to the literary acquirements of Mr. Alderman Pike:

" Since the date of the above, a return has been made to the Board, *purporting to be written and signed by Simon Pike*, the alderman who came into office on the 29th of September: I have made inquiry on the subject, and find that the signature of Simon Pike, as well as the rest of the return, is in the handwriting of Joseph Pitt the elder, Esq., the patron of the borough before the Reform Act." —(*Appendix*, Part I., p. 80.)

We are impatient to learn how the boroughmongers—peers and commoners—who have "dispensed the favours of the crown," and patronized corporations, will deal with the question of municipal reform. Many of them are plainly charged in these Reports, with acts of corruption, sometimes by the gift of places of profit in the various departments of the state and in the church; sometimes by the payment of direct pecuniary allowances. The corporations returned, or procured the return, of the members of Parliament; it became necessary, therefore, in order that the boroughmongers might rule, that the corporations should be corrupted. It will scarcely be believed, that offices under government have been procured for individuals pledged to allow the corporation a certain annual sum; and yet we see that this occurred at Tiverton, where an applica-

tion was made by the corporation to the patron, Lord Harrowby, to procure a valuable appointment for Sir John Duntze, on that condition. It will not readily be believed, that a lofty Duke could condescend, first to expostulate with, and afterwards to discard from his employment, an honest grocer of East Retford, who refused to vote for his Grace's candidate for a corporate office. It is difficult to understand how another noble duke could bring himself to write that scolding letter, relative to the refractory aldermen of Buckingham. Why did the Marquess of Bute feed and patronize the corporation of Banbury? Why did Mr. Davies Gilbert suspend his scientific inquiries, to manage the corporation of Bodmin, with Lord Hertford's money? or why did Mr. Joseph Pitt make magistrates at Malmesbury, of men who can neither read nor write? We are impatient to see in what manner these noble and honourable persons will defend or palliate their connection with the boroughs, the consequent gross perversion of justice, and total neglect of those objects for which a municipal body is supposed to be instituted. They cannot defend or palliate their conduct; these Reports have stripped the last rag from the nakedness of the aristocratic corruptionists; and we shall despair alike of the prosperity of England, and of the course of justice, if these persons be not left to lament bitterly, though in "unavailing sackcloth," the share which they have taken in the corruption of our institutions. But to resume:—

We must refer to the Report on the town of Leicester, for a concise account of the difference which arose between the commissioners and the corporation, and of the refusal by the latter to produce a clear statement of the accounts submitted in a confused and garbled form, by the town clerk. It will be found that the reluctance of the corporation to afford a sufficient explanation of these matters arose from a desire, natural enough on their part, of concealing the circumstances under which ten thousand pounds of the public money was spent on a contested election in the year 1826, and probably of suppressing some other transactions of a similar character. A large amount of corporate property has been sold, but the refusal of a correct statement of the accounts has in some degree precluded the commissioners from reporting the exact amount of the property so alienated. The town clerk stated in his evidence, that no

more than about ten acres, producing about twelve thousand pounds, had been sold, but the commissioners question the truth of this assertion, and their calculations raise the quantity of land sold to a much higher amount, and the value of the property, taken as they state, at a low average, to a total of 32,117*l.*

Nowhere does the system of political exclusiveness prevail to a greater extent than in the town of Leicester. It is embittered also by religious animosities. We find that since the repeal of the Test and Corporation Act, no dissenter has been elected into the corporation, nor has any dissenter been allowed to participate in the distribution of the public charities. No corporation has interfered more extensively or more corruptly in elections. A short narrative of the transactions of the election of 1826, will elucidate the manner of this interference. In order to secure the success of the corporation candidate, the freedom of the borough was voted, in the year 1823, to about two thousand persons, "consisting "of country gentlemen, clergymen, and members of the legal "profession, residing in various parts of the country, and in "the metropolis, all of them strangers to the borough." Of the two thousand honorary freemen thus created, about eight hundred actually took up their freedom. The following circular was addressed by order of the common hall to these gentlemen:—

"*Leicester, Dec.* 31, 1823.

"Sir—I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that the corporation of Leicester have unanimously elected you to be an honorary freeman of the borough. They are anxious to increase the number of freemen by the addition of gentlemen of sound constitutional principles; and they trust that, as you cannot exercise the privileges of the office until twelve months after admission, you will do them the favour to take up your freedom at as early a period as possible. This may be done on any day, but it requires your personal attendance before the mayor.

"The corporation will defray all fees and charges incident to the occasion; but you will have to pay a stamp duty of 3*l.* to the King, an expense to which they trust you will cheerfully submit, in support of a cause so identified with the best interests of the public.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "THOS. BURBIDGE, *Town Clerk.*"

(*Appendix*, Part III., p. 1910.)

Sir C. Hastings was invited to stand for the borough on the corporation interest, with an understanding that he should not be put to expense beyond a stipulated sum. The other candi-

dates were, Mr. Evans, in the interest of the Whig party, and Mr. Otway Cave, whose political opinions were not at that time very distinctly announced. The town clerk, on the approach of the election, addressed another circular to the gentlemen who had taken up their freedom in 1823.

"*Leicester*, 27*th May*, 1826.

"Sir—I am directed by the corporation to take the liberty of representing to you the present state of affairs with respect to the borough election.

"Sir C. A. Hastings, Bart. comes forward, on the invitation of the corporation and the True Blue interest, *to support the King and Constitution in Church and State.* He is an avowed opponent to what some call Catholic Emancipation, but what we call Popish Ascendancy. He is directly opposed to Mr. William Evans, who stands forward on the low party and radical interest, and who is the champion of Reform and the pretended liberalities of the day, and a decided friend to Catholic Emancipation. The third candidate is Mr. Otway Cave, whose family was originally staunch Blue. He says his mind is not made up on the Catholic question, and on that subject he will give no pledge. In other respects he professes to be Blue; and though an admirer of the new lights rather than of the old, he is more decidedly Blue than Mr. Evans.

'After this explanation, you will judge which candidate best claims your support; but the corporation trust that the old True Blue interest will not occupy the lowest place in your regard.

"The committee will be much obliged by your exertions, and by any returns you can make them.

"I am, Sir, very respectfully,

"Your most obliged and humble servant,

(Signed) "THOMAS BURBIDGE, *Town Clerk.*"

"*To* ————"

(*Appendix*, Part III., p. 1910.)

A coalition having been effected between the friends of Sir C. Hastings and Mr. Cave, the following memorandum was drawn up:—

"*June* 7, 1826.

"The following propositions are agreed to on the part of Sir Charles Hastings and Mr. Otway Cave:—

"The return of Sir Charles Hastings to be secured by the retirement of Mr. Otway Cave, if necessary. His retirement is guaranteed by the pledge of Colonel Evans and Colonel Cheney.

"The expenses on both sides, from the day of election, to be shared equally; but in the event of Mr. Otway Cave retiring (from necessity), then Mr. Wood and Mr. Phillips to decide whether any, and what proportion of his share of the expenses from the election day, shall be repaid to him. Such proportion to be in their discretion, but not to exceed one-third.

"All expenses incurred by Sir Charles Hastings and Mr. Otway Cave prior to the day of election, to be shared in such way as Mr. Wood and Mr. Phillips may decide to be equitable.

"Upon these principles, each party pledges himself to the other to give all the support in their power to secure the election of both.

" This arrangement is made without the knowledge of the respective candidates, and is not to be communicated to them.

" Thomas Burbidge.	" Edward Cheney.
" William Dewes.	" D. L. Evans.
" J. Liptrott Greaves.	" James Phillips.
" Isaac Lovell.	" Henry Wood."
" James Rawson, Jun.	

(*Appendix*, Part III., p. 1911.)

The election lasted for ten days, and was carried, at an enormous expense, in favour of the corporation candidate, by a majority of seven hundred; various disputes arose subsequently between the corporation and Mr. Cave, as to what share that gentleman ought to bear in the expenses, Sir C. Hastings being guaranteed by his agreement from any demand beyond the stipulated sum. We give the issue of this remarkable transaction in the language of the Report.

" Sir Charles Hastings had paid the full amount of the sum to which it had been stipulated that his expenses should be limited. On that gentleman, therefore, the corporation had no further claim. Bills to the amount of 10,000*l.* remained unpaid, one half of which the corporation must, under any circumstances, have borne; but the whole of which was now thrown on them, in consequence of the refusal of Mr. Otway Cave to pay the 5000*l.* demanded of him. The parties to whom the bills were due became pressing, and applied to the committee of the corporation party for payment. To get rid of the immediate difficulty, the necessary amount was raised on bonds given by different members of the corporation; *and these bonds were afterwards paid off by the corporation*, 10,000*l. being raised for that purpose by a mortgage of part of the corporate estates.* This statement rests on the evidence of the town clerk. It is established, therefore, beyond all controversy, that 10,000*l.* of the corporate funds have been sunk in a single election, the whole of which is irrecoverably lost to the corporation."—(*Appendix*, Part III., p. 1912.)

The Commissioners proceed to detail the partial conduct of the returning officer, of the parish officers, and of the magistrates, during this election. It does not appear, however, that the distrust so naturally existing in the minds of the people, of magistrates, chosen under such a system, is by any means confined to the excited period of an election contest. The Report says, that " the belief that a political opponent is not " likely to obtain an equal measure of justice at the hands of " the magistrates is universal among the party opposed to " them. It is by no means uncommon among the dispas- " sionate persons of their own party." We give one of two instances of this feeling, supplied by Mr. Brown, who, it appears, is a respectable solicitor of the town, and who professes the same politics as the corporation.

"The other case, spoken to by Mr. Brown, was that of a Mr. Fielding, a master manufacturer, of Leicester, who had taken an active part against the corporation in the election of 1826. In November 1810, a charge of larceny was brought against Mr. Fielding by a man named Higgs, who deposed that, having taken to Mr. Fielding's warehouse a quantity of worsted yarn in parcels, which had been ordered of him by Mr. Fielding, he had seen Mr. Fielding, believing himself unobserved by Mr. Higgs, take a parcel of the yarn from a scale in which it had been placed for the purpose of being weighed, and secrete it. It is unnecessary to go at length into the evidence. It will be sufficient to state, that the case rested on the testimony of the principal witness, Higgs; that upon his statement much doubt was thrown in the first instance, on his cross-examination by the defendant's attorney, and that at the subsequent trial he was positively contradicted by two witnesses in a most important particular. Of Mr. Fielding's innocence no doubt can be entertained. He was acquitted at the trial, and the recorder who tried the case, expressed his entire concurrence in the verdict of the jury. The particular in which the conduct of the magistrates was called in question was, their refusal to take bail, which was offered to any amount. The case excited a powerful interest in the town, and among all classes of the opposite party the refusal of the magistrates was ascribed solely to political motives. Some circumstances attending the examination before the magistrates tended to promote such a suspicion. In addition to the well-known fact of Mr. Fielding being a warm political opponent, it appeared that one of the magistrates who took an active part in the examination adversely to Mr. Fielding, had had a personal quarrel with that gentleman. After one witness had been examined for the prisoner, the magistrate refused to hear further evidence, though it was expressly tendered with a view to induce them to take bail; declaring that the felony having been sworn to, the case was clear, and they should not take bail. An application was afterwards made to a Judge of the Court of King's Bench to admit the defendant to bail; the application was immediately granted, and bail taken in half the amount which the defendant had come prepared with. There can be no doubt that the magistrates would have been justified in admitting to bail under the circumstances of the case. Nevertheless, it is impossible to say that they may not have exercised an honest discretion in leaving the party to his application to the superior court. The case in question is precisely one of those which afford the most striking illustration of the evils of a political magistracy, in whom the exercise of all discretion in difficult cases, should their decision prove adverse to a political opponent, cannot fail to be attended with suspicion, and a diminution of the confidence and respect so essential to their authority and character."—(*Appendix*, Part III. p. 1915.)

The Report on the town of Coventry furnishes much valuable information on the administration of justice by the magistrates of the corporation; the inefficiency and misconduct of the police; the partial distribution of charities, and the application of corporate funds to political purposes. Our space will not allow us to do more than refer to the statements relative to these matters in the Report. The facts stated respecting the endowed school of Coventry, afford a good practical illustration of the truth of one of the resolutions

introduced by Lord Brougham lately in the House of Lords, in behalf of that cause, to the advancement of which the activity of his useful life, and the best energies of his splendid abilities, have been chiefly devoted. The resolution to which we allude —the seventh of the series, is in the following words:—

"*Resolved*—That there are at present existing, in different parts of the United Kingdom, funds, as well real as personal, to a large amount, given or bequeathed to charitable uses, connected with education; but which, partly for want of objects in the particular places to which such gifts are confined, partly from want of proper powers in the trustees, partly from other defects in the foundations, have become, in many instances, unavailing for the purposes for which they were originally intended, and are now productive of very inadequate benefit to the country; while, from want of publicity, abuses frequently creep into the management of them, only to be remedied by tedious and expensive litigation."—

The Report of the Commissioners says:

"The rental of the school estate for the year 1831-32 was 890*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.* The rents are received by a bailiff, who keeps the accounts, and makes thereout the necessary payments. The bailiff pays the repairs, and other incidental expenses, 4*l.* yearly to a person as singing master, and 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* to a person for ringing the school bell, and retains for his salary 1*s.* in the pound on the amount collected. There used also to be an annual charge of 4*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* paid to the corporation, towards the expense of their annual visit to the school and hospitals, when a feast was given. This has lately been discontinued.

"The residue, after payment of the deductions before mentioned, is divided in two-thirds to the master, and one-third to the usher.

"The masters have also each a house capable of accommodating boarders, and that of the head master has a garden and meadow attached to it.

"The following account shows the annual expenditure, and the amount of profits accruing to the masters:—

	£.	s.	d.
"Rental	890	4	5
The head master	525	13	3
The under master	262	16	7½
The singing master	4	0	0
Repairs	19	0	0
Bailiff's salary	43	0	0
Incidental expenses	8	6	6
Lost by insolvency, &c.	27	8	0
Fraction	0	0	0½
	£.890	4	5 "

(*Appendix*, Part III., pp. 1820—21.)

* * * * * *

"Two fellowships at St. John's College, Oxford, and one at Catherine Hall, Cambridge, are appropriated to the scholars of this school. There are also

belonging to it three exhibitions, for seven years and a half, of 10*l.* each, and three of 3*l.* each, to either University.

"The state of this richly-endowed institution has been for some time past deplorable, as respects the objects of the establishment, and most discreditable to all concerned in its management. During the three or four years preceding our inquiry, the masters, who now divide between them from 700*l.* to 800*l.* a year, independently of the church preferment connected with the school, have had but one scholar between them. For many years, the masters never went into the school-room, and being at variance, never met. A solicitor of the town, stated to us in evidence, that about a year and a half previously, he accompanied a tutor of Catherine Hall, then in Coventry, for the purpose of showing him the school. The door of the school proved to be locked, and some difficulty occurred in finding the key. On at length entering, *they found the seats covered with blue mould, and the place bore evident marks of not having been used for years.*"—(*Appendix*, Part III., p. 1821.)

The administration of justice, viewed in reference to its influence on the liberty of the subject, is perhaps the most important consideration that can engage the attention of the inhabitants of a free state. We remember when Mr. Godwin's celebrated novel, "Caleb Williams," first fell into our hands, how deeply we were affected by the description of the persecutions of an innocent man. But we said, as we finished the perusal of the work, this highly-wrought delineation of misery, unjustly inflicted by the instrumentality of the law, does not belong to happy England; the law of England is the shield of the oppressed, not a weapon of offence for the hand of the oppressor, and it requires all the power of the writer to enable us to overlook the want of probability in the story. But the story was not quite so improbable as we imagined. We read of disclosures made to the commissioners of corporate inquiry, in the year 1833, which compel us to acknowledge, that those parts of Mr. Godwin's work which we regarded as too incredible for fiction, were probably the result of actual inquiry into the working of our system of municipal police. The following extract is taken from the Report on the borough of Wenlock:—

"Instances were brought to our knowledge in which individuals had been exposed to serious oppression and injustice, from the negligent mode in which the magistrates had discharged the duties of their office, and the supine facility with which they had committed undue powers to an officer unworthy of their confidence. In the month of June 1833, a constable, named Walters, applied to the magistrates in petty sessions for a warrant to apprehend two Bavarian girls, whom he represented as persons of disorderly character. The application was assented to by one magistrate, his colleague being otherwise engaged at the moment. The warrant was accordingly produced by the clerk, and signed by

the two magistrates; the second signing on the strength of his colleague having previously signed, without any knowledge of the nature or purpose of the warrant. The warrant was signed in blank, the constable being ignorant of the names of the parties. It was then delivered to the constable. The warrant, though of course intended to be one of apprehension, turned out to be one of committal. It was kept by the constable till the middle of the month of August, when it was suddenly put in force, without any act having been committed by the parties which warranted their apprehension. *An attempt on the part of the constable to prove before us that the females in question had been guilty of an act of vagrancy, on the ground of which he proceeded to execute the warrant, was negatived by most satisfactory evidence.* The prisoners, when apprehended, instead of being taken before a magistrate, were at once conveyed by the constable to Shrewsbury gaol, where, had it not accidentally occurred that a stranger, a gentleman of the name of Walduck, who happened to be present at the goal, was induced, from a feeling of pity towards them as foreigners, to inquire into their case, and on learning what had taken place, to interest himself on their behalf, they must have remained until discharged in course of law at the Michaelmas quarter-sessions for the county. The constable *admitted to us that he was fully aware that the warrant of committal had been granted by inadvertence;* and that in executing it he was guilty of an irregularity; and as it appears that the warrant was executed on the morning of the day of Shrewsbury races, and that the constable, immediately after having conveyed the prisoners to the gaol, proceeded to the race-course, we can entertain no doubt that *his object in executing the warrant was, to obtain an opportunity of witnessing the races at the public expense.* It is but just to add, that the magistrates, on being made acquainted with the circumstances, set the prisoners at liberty, and discharged the constable from his employment. It must, however, be observed, that the constable in question, after having been three years appointed at the court-leet, had been rejected at the fourth; notwithstanding which, the magistrates appointed him a deputy and special constable, thereby, as it appears to us, taking on themselves the responsibility of the appointment. We of course most willingly acquit the magistrates of any undue motives in granting the warrant in question; but we cannot but feel strongly impressed that we are warranted, by the circumstances of this transaction, in saying that the duties of the magisterial office have not been performed with that degree of attention and care which is essential to the due administration of justice."—(*Appendix*, Part III., pp. 2079-80.)

These facts are derived from witnesses on the spot examined, as all witnesses were examined in the course of this inquiry, upon oath. The simplicity of the language in which this detail is given, accords perfectly with the duties of gentlemen engaged in a Commission, the terms of which restricted them to the investigation of truth, and a plain statement of facts; but what language can adequately express the feelings excited in all generous minds by the record of such misdeeds? Here we have a corporation exercising an exclusive jurisdiction over seventeen parishes, in the centre of England, containing a population of more than seventeen thousand souls. This body, which has existed solely for the purposes of the great proprie-

tors, Sir Watkin-Williams Wynne and Lord Forrester, appoints the four magistrates, by whom alone justice is administered, in a district of many miles in circumference. These magistrates are chosen by reason of their subserviency to the political views of the patrons, and, of course, not from the most efficient inhabitants of the district. The most populous parts of the borough are left without any resident magistrate; and it follows, consequently, that powers which cannot be safely exercised, but by functionaries acting under the solemn forms which accompany the rightful administration of justice, have been delegated to a common constable. To this person the magistrates have entrusted blank warrants, by means of which he was enabled to consign whomsoever he pleased to the walls of a gaol! Can such things be in this great country? Unhappily for the character of the country and the age, it was but too clearly proved, that two poor unoffending girls—strangers in the land, the most harmless, as well as the most helpless of human beings—were carried off and lodged in the gaol of Shrewsbury, *on a warrant granted in blank many weeks before;* that these poor Bavarian girls must have remained imprisoned on this process from August, until the sessions in the month of October, but for the humane, though accidental interference of Mr. Walduck, by whose benevolent exertions they were rescued from their confinement, and that no motive can be assigned for the act, save that the ruffian by whom this outrage on humanity and justice was perpetrated, wished to visit the races at Shrewsbury at the public expense!

We devote one more extract to the conduct of this constable. It appears that this is not a solitary instance of his misconduct, and that the blank warrants of commitment were not the only legal instruments improperly entrusted to him. We find that warrants of distress have also been illegally delivered to him, by which he has levied for church and other rates, and that he acted in the execution of this process, as bailiff and as auctioneer!

"It also appears, that the same constable, on one occasion, detained a prisoner in custody several days before he notified his apprehension to the magistrates. During that time he confined him, by night, in the lock-up-house, *and in the day-time kept him chained to the kitchen grate of his (the constable's) house.* It was furthermore proved to us, that it had been the constant practice of the magistrates, on the application of the same constable, as agent, to grant summonses

for the non-payment of rates and tithes, and, in the event of the summonses not being attended to, which frequently occurred, to issue distress warrants, without any further evidence of such tithes or rates being due, than the mere statement on oath of the constable; which statement, being manifestly nothing more than a repetition of what had been told him by other parties, was, at best, but hearsay evidence, and, as such, not receivable. The evil of this practice was strikingly exemplified in the following case, which was clearly proved before us. The constable before mentioned having distress warrants against an individual for non-payment of taxes and poor's rates, obtained, at his own suggestion, authority from the churchwardens to apply to him for the payment of the amount for church rate then due. Instead, however, of applying to the party for payment, he obtained a summons from the magistrates, which summons was followed up by distress. The churchwardens stated to us most positively, that *they had never authorised the application for a summons, or entertained any intention of commencing proceedings against the party.* Property of the latter was, however, seized under the distress, and sold by the constable, as auctioneer, greatly under its value; but the amount levied had not, up to the period of this inquiry, though the distress took place several months before, been accounted for by the constable. It appears to us that both the irregularity and the oppressive tendency of such a practice as the one just described, are so strikingly obvious, that great blame cannot but attach to the magistrates who have been parties to its existence."—(*Appendix*, Part III., p. 2080.)

Let us endeavour calmly to examine the causes by which such a state of things is produced. To subserve the purposes of political corruption, the corporation of Wenlock has been kept a close body, whose principal object was to guard the interest of the patrons of the borough; hence the insufficient number of magistrates; hence the delegation of power to the constable, its consequent abuse, and the disgrace which attaches to the country by this stain on the administration of justice. It may be said, the cases we have quoted are only solitary instances; we do not believe it. We are ready to assume that the commissioners performed their duty in a spirit of searching and vigorous inquiry; but we presume they had no power to investigate beyond the precincts of the borough, or doubtless they would have called for the governor of the gaol at Shrewsbury, and from him they would have tried to extract some further information respecting the practices of the magistrates and constables at Wenlock. The men who granted the blank warrants still continue to discharge the magisterial functions, and it does not appear that any steps have been taken to punish their delinquency. Is this to be endured? Is it fitting that any nominee of Lord Forrester, or Sir Watkin Wynne, should be entrusted with irresponsible

power over the liberties of the people of England? We venture to assert, that had such a case as is here recorded occurred in a county, the magistrate would have been dismissed. But in boroughs, the magistrate is appointed without the sanction of the crown; he is not under the control of the crown, but exercises the power committed to his hands without being responsible to any direct authority of the government of the country. Can the most barefaced advocate of things as they are, defend the constitution of municipal bodies, which are neither amenable to the authority of the government, nor identified with the interests of the people; which exist in their present condition by a flagrant usurpation of the privileges of the inhabitants, and are not recommended by an honest discharge of the functions thus surreptitiously acquired? We believe that the publication of these reports has settled that question. The machinations of aristocratic commoners and borough-trafficking peers; the profligate use they have made of the public patronage to corrupt the corporations, in order that they might, in their turn, acquire the patronage of still higher offices—the waste of public money—the scandalous misappropriation of charitable funds—and, above all, the shameful perversion of justice; these, and the other monstrous abuses disclosed in the Report, make it imperative on the legislature to adopt immediate measures for the redress of evils which would hardly be endured in an enslaved country, and to which a free people will never be induced to submit, after the veil which covered their vices has been removed.

Since the foregoing article was written, a Bill has been brought into the House of Commons by Lord John Russell, and passed the second reading, without any material opposition. It is based on sound principles, and appears well calculated to reform the abuses, of which so many examples have been shown in the preceding pages. The thanks of the country are due to the ministers for the manner in which they have dealt with this great question, and we are quite sure that the nation will feel deeply grateful for a measure which cuts boldly to the root of the evil, gives ample reform, not by innovation but by restitution, and satisfies the popular feeling without removing landmarks or invading established rights.

Article IV.

England, France, Russia, and Turkey. Fifth Edition. London: 1835.

The Sultan Mahmoud, and Mehemet Ali Pasha. Third Edition. London: 1835.

England, Ireland, and America. Third Edition. London: 1835.

Russia and Turkey; or, Observations on the Commercial and Political Relations of England with both. London: 1835.

The designs of Russia form a science of themselves, based on data collected and methodized for above two hundred years —a perfect acquaintance with the dispositions, habits, and history, of her neighbours, and with the resources, strength, statistics, and geography of the countries that formerly bounded her own soil, or now bound her acquisitions. Her neighbours are nearly all the important states in the world; her territory touches, or her lines or her preparatives menace, every country, the name of which figures as a substantive power. There has been, therefore, a depth in the conception, and a sequence, extent, and comprehensiveness in the development of Russian policy that have hitherto baffled the penetration of other States. Her successes and acquisitions form a mass of facts that may well appal inquiry, which no one can sufficiently possess to generalise, and which, even if presented successfully, the public mind could not be expected to embrace or retain.

Russia has had her genius powerfully and irretrievably bent on acquisition, and on the means of acquiring and retaining, by circumstances in her own state, hitherto unparalleled in the history of nations. Her own original population is bound by the threefold ties of a common faith, language, and race. This population is attached and devoted to their Emperor — to their Church, of which, again, the Emperor is the head—to their race, of which the Emperor is the Chief. Such a concentration of power, in the hands of a single individual, never has existed before: it is not the result of a sudden explosion of national feeling—it is not the impulse of conquest, the thirst of plunder, or the energy of hatred, that for a time confers unlimited sway on him whose talents can command the obe-

dience which is a condition of success. The submission of the Sclavonic millions lies in themselves; and their Emperor is not less necessary to them, than they are to their Emperor. This concentration of power is therefore permanent, without re-action or complication. It has increased with the success of the projects which its possession of necessity engenders. As the power of Russia has grown, the individuality of its subjects has disappeared; so that while the other states of the world, increasing in wealth, commerce, and knowledge, have gradually seen disturbed, weakened, or dissolved, the bonds of general government, and consequently of external political power, Russia has shown a progress the very reverse. While her wealth, revenue, territory, and population, have gone on making gigantic strides, the whole of these augmented means have been directed to external politics. Her energies and her thoughts, not exerted in the maintenance of authority at home, have been cast abroad, so as to put at her disposal political authority, far beyond even her vast material means to be used for ends to which no individual system or government can ever prove indifferent;—the increase of power and influence, by interference in the affairs of others.

From these causes, and these facilities, have sprung that intelligence in the diplomacy of Russia, by means of which she has profited by every event and every change in Europe, for one hundred and fifty years; by which she has pursued a march steady, and invariable in advance, by which she has moderated the ardour of her soldiery in success, maintained her courage, and pursued her ends under momentary reverses, by which she has rendered her military and diplomatic action, in the remotest countries, at the most distant periods, subservient to the same ends.

Russia, though emphatically a military power, owes few of her successes to conquest. It is a remarkable fact, that although, with the exception of Napoleon himself, Russia has effected more conquests than all the European states together in modern times, yet her aggressions never have produced a coalition against her; nay, further, that her acquisitions have been made by treaty, and her progress effected under the sanction of peace. When she has had to have recourse to military means as an absolute necessity, her victims have been

left without sympathy or support, or she has been assisted by those most interested in defending them.

We are far from having the presumption to think that we understand the policy of Russia, or the extent of her designs. The more opportunities we have had for becoming acquainted with this wonderful system, the more have we felt inclined to excuse the apathy of the public mind. The subject is overwhelming; and there is no access to information. We consider the subject only opened to public discussion; we require, to judge of Russia's plans, or to meet them, such information as she herself possesses. We know almost nothing of Russia herself,—as little of Turkey. Who can tell, with any degree of certainty, how long this great empire will be in passing under the dominion of the Czar? Who can tell, with any degree of certitude, what effect this acquisition will have on Russia? If it is asserted, that her strength will thereby be manyfold and instantaneously increased*, who can deny it? or if it be asserted that she will thereby be weakened†, who can deny it?

Who can decide whether or not Persia can be made an effectual barrier to her in Central Asia? or, whether or not Persia will be made the means of upsetting our dominion in India? Who can tell whether the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia are willing victims, stretching out their arms to receive her chains, or awaiting, with patient indignation, the hour of retribution? Who can tell whether Mehemet Ali is the tool of Russia or the enemy of Russia? Who can tell whether the Sultan is with Russia or against her? Who can tell whether the Caucasian tribes consist of a few straggling bandits, driven by Russia to the hills, whenever she sends an expedition against them; or whether they are a numerous and noble people, who, after forty years of continual struggles, have maintained nearly their ancient limits; against whom the half of the resources of Russia have hitherto been expended, and who now, with their rocks and their breasts, form the only practical barrier to Turkey and Persia, the only real guarantee of the peace of Europe?

These are some of the many and important questions that

* *See* "England, France, Russia, and Turkey."

† *See* "England, Ireland, and America."

present themselves; and which must be solved decidedly in the mind of any statesman before he can be prepared to oppose Russia, so as to render opposition effectual, that is *systematically;* yet very few of them are solved at all. Where is the necessary information to be found? The importance of information is never known till it is possessed. Information with us must be the result of some fortuitous accidents, and truth, when discovered, has no recognizable impression in the eyes of an indifferent and ignorant judge — public opinion, which must decide, ultimately, every question of external policy. The hardy assertions of the most prejudiced or most ignorant stand as good a chance of being accredited as the views and opinions of Nesselrode himself, if he were inclined to divulge the secrets of his Cabinet.

"We have seen her, whom we regard as still barbarous," says the *Quarterly Review*, in an admirable article on the pamphlet that stands at the top of our list, "handling the "more enlightened Cabinets of Europe as if they were the "tools with which she worked, and converting what one of "our most distinguished statesmen considered a master-stroke "of policy—what all his adherents and all the liberal press "of Europe applauded as such—into an instrument for her "own aggrandizement, more effectual than all the means which "her unaided resources could have supplied.

"The cause of all this is sufficiently obvious. Russia "brought to bear on this question knowledge superior to that "of all the other Cabinets. She knew Turkey and the Turks; "we knew them not, and sought not to know them. We have "been content to repose in profound ignorance of the language, "the institutions, the habits, and the feelings of the Ottoman "people. We were never able to appreciate the value of what "they lost, or what Russia gained. We were incapable of "profiting by their strength, or guarding against their weak-"ness. Though we have acknowledged a community of "interest, we have made no attempt to establish a concert of "design. We have been walking in the dark, and we need "not wonder that we have lost our way *."

Still we have not been more ignorant nor misguided than France or Austria, or any other State, called to reflect and act,

* *Quarterly Review*, Feb. 1835.

and to take a responsible part in the general settlement of Europe, and more particularly its eastern portion, where the agitated tongue of the political balance now wavers and sinks—far the reverse; and had any of these States been our antagonist, our ignorance and imprudence might have appeared wisdom and foresight. Our misfortunes and our danger originate in our having an antagonist differing wholly from all other Powers—an antagonist who has never yet committed a fault in the general combinations of her policy—or, if she has, has repaired it before it has been observed. Judged even by the severe test of result, this is strictly true, for every end she can be supposed to have had in view has been attained, and often with greater ease and celerity than had been predicted by those who, being the first to observe storm after storm gathering on the political horizon, were deemed alarmists.

The cause of this superiority of the diplomacy of Russia, which we have already hinted at, is, that interference abroad, and conquest, are the only subjects that can occupy the attention of a Russian government. No dangers, no complications, no struggles, no pressure of internal business, occupy it at home; consequently it has the whole of its own undivided energy, the whole undivided energy of an immense population, to bring to bear on the feeble and anarchical governments of Asia—on the busied and dissected, and warring federation of Europe. There is no neighbouring State that can present a barrier to her. To the east and west, the state of things is such as to force her to interfere if she were not so inclined; and her means are such as to render that interference effective whenever judiciously attempted. Besides this, two narrow channels, formerly at a great distance from her own territory, command the entrance of every river, port, coast, and arsenal which she possesses. She is thus placed in a state of dependence on foreign policy, that must excite her profoundest considerations of every hour—that must be ever and practically present to the minds of all men. Her commerce, her internal development, her naval armaments, the outlet of her superfluities, the inlet of her riches, or of the necessaries which the chances of the seasons, or the accidents of war, may render indispensable, are all at the disposal of the guns of the Dardanelles and the Sound, and consequently at the mercy of any poli-

tical combination by which the Governments possessing these important straits, may be put in opposition to her. It is necessary to enter into the position of Russia, to know what a Russian knows—to feel what a Russian feels, before we can comprehend the meaning of the expression, "foreign in-" fluence;" before, in fact, we can understand the geography of Europe. Any Russian corporal, if he were ambassador at Constantinople, though he might not fulfil with equal dexterity its instructions, would understand as well as Boutinieff the intentions of his court. The very insecurity of the position of Russia—her very dependence on the political combination of Europe, have forced on her the necessity of exertion and combination to guard herself against the dangers that threatened and still threaten, at every hour, her existence; and in this attempt she, too, has discovered that knowledge is power, and has found in the intelligence resulting from this necessity, the means of solving every point of discussion between herself and Europe by a threat of war, which she safely hazards on the general ignorance of her position.

The first stage in Russia's designs has been to secure the free passage of these straits. Next, to weaken the possessing powers, and so to arrange the combinations of Europe, that they should be subservient to her. Lastly, these being obtained, she must look to absolute possession, which instantaneously alters her whole internal existence. We allude, of course, more particularly to the southern outlet, the possession of which multiplies the internal strength of Russia without reference to the acquisition of the richest empire, of the most important position on the face of the earth, and of rendering available the military and financial resources hitherto expended in observing large and extensive acquisitions which henceforward will be invulnerable and inaccessible, and inapproachable.

This diplomatic intelligence, once called into existence, and exerting itself for the furtherance of its national objects, has not only not found an opposing organization to represent and support opposite interests, but has found auxiliaries in the warring principles of Europe. The tendency of European masses in all countries is to encroach on, and to restrict, the powers of the executive. Russia, the type and personification of the executive supremacy, obtains, therefore, from all governments, avowedly

or unconsciously, favour, consideration, and respect, and acquires over them various degrees of authority and influence. It is but a narrow view of the question to reckon her influence as extending merely to the advocates of those principles and interests which have been denominated legitimate. The whole of the directing portion of European intelligence is thus rendered subservient to her in a twofold manner; politically, because they are engaged in a struggle from which she is free; morally, because they look to her as a model, and, if need be, as support. Hence the amazing prostration of mind and facility of delusion, to which Russia owes the astounding fact, that her acquisitions have been made in peace, and that her progress and her projects have never called into existence a combination against her. And then there is ignorance of her designs, and further ignorance of the general and extensive facts, the knowledge of which is necessary to the comprehension, discussion, or admission of these designs. There is with her a strong and powerful impulse of movement, which can only be met on equal terms by some feeling equally strong. Then her progress is gradual—one step is assured before a second is made—each, in turn, becomes fact—men become familiarised to it—the progression is forgotten, the result not thought of, or if the individual act does create alarm, that alarm is subsequent to the perpetration. How can that be undone? Then the absence of plan, knowledge, appropriate agency and concert, renders it impossible to prevent, to repair, or oppose. Hence the slightest opposition to Russia is associated with the idea of war, and therefore, every idea of opposition is abandoned.

The point where all these views and this agency meet, is the council chamber of that power, which has been hitherto, we may say, the only enemy of Russia, possessing that which she wishes to acquire; for the prostration of which all her diplomatic command of Europe is useful, and all her material means of aggression have been created. That State has, by recent changes, been converted into a pure despotism; the authority of the chief has been left without any balance whatever. The Sultan and his counsellors have practically found, when they have attempted opposition to Russia, the whole of Europe leagued against them; tortuous and inextricable complications, through every winding of which the

directing finger of Russia may be traced, have reduced the Sultan to a state of subserviency. All powerful in his internal administration—all dependent in his external position, he is an efficacious instrument of disorganization in the hands of a power who knows the country so well, and who has occupied, no less by our fault than by her own dexterity, every avenue through which correct information or encouragement, could reach her mystified protegee.

It is on such timorous and distracted elements of European resistance that Russia brings to bear the full intelligence, activity, and impulse of her diplomatic organization; and while each state reasons on its separate interests, consults momentary impulses, and revolves in its own circle,—she is every where—her objects the same to-day as a hundred years ago. Her agency has no weaknesses, and her plans no interruption. So that while each anticipated advance has been believed impossible, because its success would raise a European opposition, not only has such combination not been formed, but she has obtained from those very States from which resistance was anticipated, "fleets and armies, and all the weight of their moral support, "for the furtherance of her designs*."

But the object is not confined to the Cabinet; it extends to the army, and to the whole population; one object throwing all others into the shade—one enthusiastic feeling, absorbing all others, animates the whole, gives it unity of purpose and will, and entire submission to the leaders of this mighty and systematic movement, that is to endow the fortunes of Russia with the richest provinces of the globe, and to raise up its power on the ruins of those States, and that civilization that has bestowed on them so long the harsh and irritating epithet of barbarian; not the less irritating because deserved, and rather a word of fear to Europe than of reproach to Russia†.

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* "England, France, Russia, and Turkey," *p.* 7.

† Russia makes equally good use of our expressions as of our acts. The following Extract from the *Gazette de Moscow*, 27th December, 1832, will show that she has a national sensitiveness to work on, and no doubt she does so with effect.

"La nation Russe est indignée, de la part secrète que l'Angleterre, ou plutôt "son perfide ministère, a prise aux troubles de la Pologne, mais nous aurons "notre tour. Nous lui ôterons son masque, et nous apprendrons au monde, "*comment, on constrait véritablement un peuple à l'esclavage.* Vous ju-

This national feeling is permanently acted on by climate; that climate which repels invasion propels to conquest. In every land to which the Russian is led, he enjoys comforts, luxuries, authority, and indulgences, far different from any thing he can ever hope for at home*. The government is oppressive even to those who fulfil its most responsible functions; the tendency of all men is, therefore, to seek distinction at a distance from its repressive shade†. The whole system is military; as well might the habitual drunkard be expected not to long for strong drink, as a whole nation, educated and habituated to military service, be expected not to long for conquest. All necessities, all inducements, all motives, all feelings, commercial, political, military, and physical, combine to push the masses of the north on the south and west, even as the waters of her streams to their outlets the Sound and the Dardanelles. These outlets will be Russia's, unless some bolder arm and abler head interpose; but still that progress will not be a displacement of her strength; even this poor consolation is not reserved for us. Her power will flow down and overwhelm the south, but its sources will remain in the cold, inaccessible, uncontaminated north. Russia's serf has all the inducements to conquest of the ancient Scythian; her generals all the power of modern tactics to direct the impulse;

" gerez bientôt si Ponsonby a dit vrai en répétant, à qui voulait l'entendre; " ' La Russie n'est plus rien, et la Pologne l'empêchera dorénavant d'intervenir " ' dans les affaires de l'Europe, c'est un gouvernement Asiatique,' &c. Com- " ment cet Albion endettée, et maintenant imbue des plus perfides principes, " ose-t-elle reveiller l'ours, (ainsi qu'elle nous nomme) qui faillit dévorer " Napoléon, avec la première armée qui fut jamais sur son territoire, et aller " ensuite se venger de cette témerité, à Paris même? Non; il faut que son " tour vienne, et dans quelque tems nous ne devons plus faire de traité, avec ce " peuple que à Calcutta, sa fausse politique a joué son reste, qu'elle aille s'allier " aux nègres d'Afrique, à qui elle veut tant de bien, et pour lesquels l'Europe " est sa dupe. Nous barbares et esclaves comme ses feuilles nous nomment, " nous lui donnerons une leçon, en attendant, qu'ils continuent C'EST CE QUE " NOUS VOULONS."

* The Government has seized, with its ordinary ability, this important motive; the navies and armies of Russia receive four times the regular pay the moment they have quitted the Russian frontier; but not to excite the alarm, she knows so well to soothe, her troops are only paid in silver instead of paper roubles.

† Even Paskevitch, in the midst of his splendid successes in Persia, carried about with him, as an invaluable and ennobling document, his *freedom* of the town of Perth in Scotland. During the war, his nails and hair remained uncut, in obedience to a vow!

her government, the science derived from the experience of the most opposite systems, the results of which she has combined so as—to menace and conciliate—to extend and centralise.

The action of Russia on Turkey—the treaty of Adrianople, of Unkiar Skellesi—the convention of St. Petersburgh, have been so completely laid bare in "*England, France, Russia, and Turkey*," that we need offer no remark on the subject; no attempt has been made to controvert any of its positions; no doubt seems even to remain as to their truth. That essay is too succinct to admit of useful citation; it cannot be analyzed, because it is itself a condensed analysis of an overwhelming subject. We must content ourselves with urging it on our readers' attention, and presupposing in them acquaintance with its revelations and arguments, we shall proceed to point out what appear to us the principal, though hitherto unobserved, causes of the unity and disposability of Russian power—the reasons that lead us to consider that power permanent, and its progress, unless arrested, certain; and we shall then endeavour to point out the advantages it has gained, especially since the last settlement of Europe. But we do so with the deep conviction of the general insufficiency of the information we possess in common with those who have already attempted to treat this question. All we can hope to do is to excite, certainly not to satisfy inquiry.

The vast extent of European Russia (for her Asiatic possessions are scarcely worth considering*), is composed of a dead level. There are, therefore, no ineffaceable and distinctive lines to separate race from race—to harden men, by continual and local struggles—to combine men, by the various motives and necessities arising out of relative weakness, strength, riches, and poverty. There is, consequently, no spirit of mountain independence; there are no clans—there are no chieftains—there are no castles. Levels are the cradles of independence, while the population, thinly scattered over them, is pastoral and nomade; but when the population becomes fixed to the soil, it sinks into

* Except in as far as they prove that extent of dominion is no cause of weakness, more than increase of capital is a cause of bankruptcy. This is a mere practical question. This large tract of the earth is governed with more strictness, and watchfulness, than the little despotic handkerchief Modena. Along the vast frontier of China, the grass is every morning examined for the trace of footsteps.

a state of serfage, and ceases to resist the authority that may be placed over it; yet if that authority is intelligent, can be made as efficient for the purposes of political power and foreign conquest as the warlike mountaineer, or the sturdy republican. Two millions and a half of Egyptians have been more easily subdued than a tribe of Bedouins; yet 20,000 of these Egyptians, imperfectly disciplined, have shaken the Turkish dominions. Why does the Bedouin wander? Precisely because his independence is lost when he settles; the difference between Fellah and Bedouin is, not religion, race, climate, political condition, but that of being nomade, or fixed. Egypt, moreover, is placed in subjection, by its dependence for food on the Nile, so that, as in the northern levels of Russia, the government has complete command over man's existence. But the degrees of this submissiveness depend, in a great measure, on the *extent* of the plains, and on the density of the population. The plains of Russia, which nourish her troops, may be stated at 500,000 square miles*, and the population *is increasing*† more rapidly than in any State of Europe. Not less important is the severity of the climate. During six months of the year the soil is without vegetation, the peasant is confined to his hut, and depends for his own existence, and that of his cattle, on the accumulation of the previous season. Can men, under such circumstances, combine against the authority which, by a single devastating order, may annihilate the sources of existence? The idea of resistance to any mandate becomes a chimera, it ceases to exist;

* A circle, the diameter of which is 1500 miles, may be drawn round Moscow as a centre, without touching or including a mountain.

† At p. 47 we have given an estimate of the present population of Russia, but the Caucasian Tribes are, we conceive, greatly underrated. The privileged orders are—

	Totals.
Nobility (males only) 225,000	450,000
Clergy	243,000
Officers and Servants in Civil Departments	750,000
Emancipated Peasantry (males only) 550,000	1,100,000
Free-born Peasantry (males only) 97,000	194,000
	2,737,000

Thus, only about six per cent. of the population is not in a state of serfage, only one-fifth per cent. can read—that is one in five hundred can expound to the rest, from the Psalters distributed in every parish, the spiritual and temporal authority of the Autocrat.

and in time the possessor of such uncontrolable power, of such dreadful means of retribution, becomes elevated in the prejudices of the ignorant mind into a being superhuman, whose will is associated with the idea of the divinity, and whose decrees it becomes religion to obey.

A national character and national feelings, once generated, become themselves causes; they become elements of power, combining with, though distinct from, the motives that called them into existence; submissiveness and serfage have become the distinctive features of all the tribes descending from the Sclavonic stock; devotion to the Russian Autocrat, as chief of their faith and race, is more or less the creed of the largest family of nations in the world, and extends to climes, and regions, and circumstances, wholly uninfluenced by the causes that have impressed upon all their original type, and which continue to act on the great mass with daily increasing effect.

The principal strength of Russia is at present composed of thirty-four millions of Muscovites, who have no will, save that of their Emperor; who have no balancing power, no protecting statutes, no property; who are attached to the soil, or transportable, at his pleasure, to the remotest parts of the empire; not excited by the hope of advancement, not even spurred by the obligation of providing for their own necessities; resigned to whatever fate awaits them, not inquiring into it. The indolent, the untractable, the turbulent spirits, if such are found, are draughted into the army, and the mass remains, as before, with its passive and active obedience, its strong muscle and pliant will.

Institutions, personal character, political accident, and religion, may separately and disjointedly produce devotedness, on the part of a people to its leader, its prophet, or its government. But here all possible causes coincide to produce that devotedness which consequently exists in a degree, and in an extent, unparalleled. Then are the elements of the power of Russia fixed and increasing, because dependent on immutable causes, faith, ignorance, climate, geographical structure, and extent.

This is the mighty nucleus round which her conquests have been and are to be agglomerated; her future acquisitions are to furnish the resources which are to equip and pay the number

of men drawn from this uncontaminated nursery, that are to render those conquests durable, and to depress the populations she acquires down to her own level, or below it *.

Above this mass of serfs there is no middle class. The Russian merchant when, as an exception, he does emerge from serfage, rises in the second generation to the class of nobles, or sinks again into his original state. The progress of Russia in manufactures has produced no independent class of artisans; her principal factories are the property of the Crown, and the workmen the most wretched of the serfs.

The soldier propagates no free race; he is himself made free, and therefore loses all interest in his brethren; but his children born before enrolment remain serfs, and subsequent marriages remain unfruitful, from the dissolute morals of a Russian barracks. The military colonies are specific nurseries of soldiers intended to reproduce and support the army, without being a drain on the general population (deteriorated by the continual abstraction of the finest men), and at little or no charge to the State.

The regiments stationed on certain frontiers, where a strong and warlike population, and an exhausting climate, oppose her progress, *must* be married. Lands are allotted them, they then form a military settlement like those of ancient Rome, opposed in interests and in feelings to the natives, and inured to the climate.

The nobles have in Russia, in direct contradiction of all European fact and history, been made the means of subduing the peasant to the Crown. The noble's right of property in the peasant was not, as in our feudal states, extorted by the power of the Baron, but conferred by the favour of the Autocrat. The slavery of the Russian is of very recent date, and those sovereigns who are illustrated as the founders, or the

* According to the date of the subjugation of each province may its degradation be estimated. This is most striking in Finland, where a streamlet divides the yet hale, holding property, sturdy peasant, in the recently acquired district, from the downcast unresisting serf of the district, acquired under Peter. In the southern provinces, in the Crimea, to the east, even in Kamskatka, the same effect is constant and uniform. A merchant intimately acquainted with every portion of Russia, made this remark, "The process of degradation is so regular, "and so similar, at the most remote points, that it resembles the results produced "by the action of a machine."

consolidators, of the power of Russia, are precisely those who have introduced those changes into the condition of the millions inhabiting those vast regions; evidently showing that the progressive power of Russia has not depended on the progress of her intellect and institutions, but on the concentration, in the hands of the Chief, not only of the powers of the State, but of the profits of all the individuals who compose it.

The Russian is superstitious, but the Church is no political body, as in the rest of Europe; the crosier no balance to the sceptre:—the superstition of the Russian centers in his Emperor. Peter the Great took from the clergy the tenths conferred on it by Vladimir; Catherine appropriated to the State its remaining possessions, assigning scanty pensions in lieu; and Paul undertook to ennoble its dignitaries in the eyes of its votaries, by decorating them with the insignia of military rank*.

What can Russia want but money? Her conquests have as yet furnished none: she is therefore making efforts—laying out capital with the view of future returns. The Ukraine, Bessarabia, the Crimea, the plains of Mozdoc, Astrachan, Kizlar, the nominal possession of the Caucasus, the occupation of the coasts of Abazia and Circassia, the possession of the redundant Georgia, Mingrelia, Imirettia, of Erivan, and Carabaugh, are yearly drains on her treasury to an enormous amount, without in themselves the possibility of any return: but this expense is the expense of the bridge that is to carry her to the reality of her golden dreams,—the rich plains, the docile, yet warlike population, the timber-bearing coasts, the sailor-nourishing islands of Anatolia, Roumelia, Iran, and the Archipelago.

If this organisation is so powerful, it may be asked why it has not already burst its present bounds, and overwhelmed Europe again. It is because its designs are cast in a great mould; because its power, increased as it is, is yet far from equal to its objects; it presses on Asia and Europe, but it no longer seeks to overrun, it seeks to acquire and incorporate.

* "A bishop is little thought of *now* unless decorated with the star and ribbon "of some order of knighthood, which are worn by him when he officiates, above "his pontifical robes, and add not a little to his importance in the eyes of the "multitude. The lower degrees of the same order are bestowed upon the more "distinguished of the secular clergy."—PINKERTON'S *Russia, p.* 247.

It has ceased to be a migrating body; it has become a calculating system, subjecting its faculties and its passions to a ruling will, and awaiting the fitting moment for accomplishing its ends, with as much patience as it shows perseverance and ability in pursuing them.

But the process of incorporation is progressive and patient. Hitherto she has betrayed no hurry; yet her progress has been rapid, beyond all parallel: her's is not the sudden conquests of a gifted leader, but the regular advance of a system. The incorporation of a vast empire, which she is now compassing, is a work of infinite labour, and until completed, she dares not awaken Europe from its slumbers. She must not threaten and alarm; she must soothe and undermine; she does not excite combinations against her; she sows dissentions before her; the chains she carries do not clank; her footsteps have no echoes; her shadow blights where her hand cannot yet reach, and when she comes, it is to abide.

It is singular to observe the effect a close observation of Russia has on different minds. Some, disgusted with the barbarism of her people, treat her with contempt; some, astonished at the civilization of her government, hail her progress as the triumph of all that is most estimable and most to be desired in the destinies of man; some look exclusively on her military development, and consider her irresistible when the moment comes to put forth her energies, and therefore resign all hopes of opposition. Not the least interesting is the religious alarm of the pious missionary, who looks on his silent labours as the only means of converting this tremendous power into an instrument of benevolence and charity, instead of the engine of wrath and desolation it portends to be*.

Russia's first acquisition of a settlement on the Black Sea

* "Russia has not yet reached the maturity of her strength: remain stationary "she cannot: and who is able to predict her future greatness, or to tell how far "her limits may yet extend? How desirable is it, therefore, that education and "the pure principles of the Gospel should extend their influence among the "nations of that mighty empire; so that this colossal power, raised up by the "Almighty in these latter days to fulfil His inscrutable decrees—raised up from "the descendants of those very tribes that once overturned the Roman empire "in the meridian of its civilization, and which has now assumed such a com-"manding position on the frontiers of the nations of Europe and Asia—may "become the minister of peace and happiness, and not of desolation and thraldom "to the human race!"—PINKERTON's *Russia, p.* 17.

inspired the whole of Europe, and this country in particular, with deep and universal apprehension. The European public felt that, that power could not go on increasing and extending without disturbing the order of things as at that time constituted. There were grounds of alarm, which moreover presented themselves in perspective, resulting from the special position of Russia and her neighbours. It was apprehended that she would render her influence paramount in the Baltic; that she would reduce to subserviency Sweden and Denmark; that she would absorb Poland; that she would obtain a preponderating influence in Germany; that her military establishment would grow rapidly, and endanger the peace of Europe; that she would become a maritime power; that she would overwhelm the resistance, and undermine the stability of her principal enemy, the Porte; enrich herself by her provinces; strengthen herself by her degradation; ultimately command, at once, politically and commercially, the Black Sea, and, by that command, be placed under the necessity, while she acquired the means, of occupying the Dardanelles.

At that period these apprehensions were universally and deeply felt; nor were they calmed by suppositions, of more recent origin,—that Russia was a government so contemptible in resources as to give no just cause for alarm; that the extension of her dominion would be beneficial to the commerce of this country; that the common jealousy of the Continental Powers would effectually arrest that progress, if it were dangerous; that the extension of her limits would diminish her strength; that new acquisitions would lead to dismemberment; or that the *then* ultimate object of her supposed designs—the possession of Constantinople—would break up the empire.

These fallacies have strangely grown up with the very facts that demonstrate their hollowness, and confusion and indifference have succeeded to apprehensions and alarm, in proportion as these alarms have been verified, as the worst effects of the things apprehended have been inflicted on Europe, as the danger of the ultimate consummation has been brought more near.

It is sufficient to state these fallacies, to show that they will not bear discussion; but the public mind clings to them, as

the only excuse for past and present apathy; and no prejudice is so rooted as that which has not a shadow of reason to support it: for it thus resists all inquiry. The idea, that Russia is a power from which we have nothing to apprehend, is certainly one of those prejudices, since Russia has assumed, with respect to every neighbour, an offensive attitude; she has outstepped, with respect to each, the natural barriers which are the practical limitations of political power. The obstacle of distance has been diminished between her points of assemblage and the capitals of those states that formerly were her antagonists*. She has issued from a war that has heaped millions of debt on England and France, without having imposed a single new tax. Her military establishment has been doubled in efficiency since the peace. She is the creditor of England, Turkey, and Persia. She has fifteen millions of cognate tribes, with more or less Russian feelings, under the dominions of Prussia, Austria, and Turkey. Her influence is commanding in Europe; her policy aggressive against England and France. She has incorporated Poland; she has forced on Turkey an offensive treaty against England; she is proceeding to the incorporation of Turkey and Persia; and yet many statesmen in this country meet with indifference, if not with ridicule, the idea of the commerce, the influence, or the power of England, being endangered by their realization.

But while some think the power of Russia too contemptible to require opposition, there are others whose ill-instructed apprehensions deem Russia too powerful to be resisted. These extreme opinions testify the ignorance that obscures alike the minds of men and the policy of cabinets. Both ideas have some degree of truth. Russia is as yet so weak, that she may easily, very easily, be curbed; but will become, if not curbed, too powerful to be opposed.

But the weakness of Russia is relative, not positive—relative to her gigantic projects, which render her very existence precarious until they are realised: so that the evidences

* Warsaw is her's; the frontiers of Prussia are naked; her lines are within 100 miles of Dresden, within 180 of Berlin and Vienna. Aland is occupied by her, at 70 miles from Stockholm. Copenhagen, Constantinople and the Dardanelles are within two or three days' sail from her arsenals over seas her own; she has crossed the Arraxes, and the Danube.

of weakness, so consolatory to us, are in reality proofs that the results formerly anticipated, and which now have been realised, are applied by her to bring about other results, as yet veiled from us.

The financial poverty of Russia is quoted, to prove the unfoundedness of all apprehension from her progress. Why does Russia suffer from financial difficulties? Because she expends the greater portion of her revenue in the preparation of aggressive means;—an enormous military establishment, for which no home necessity exists;—the construction of navies unintelligible, if her projects are not admitted;—the construction of lines of defence and of fortresses, in the face of nations that never can give her cause of alarm;—the expenditure of incredible sums, for the purpose of corruption, for obtaining an influence in foreign Courts, also unintelligible, if her real motives are denied;—the expense entailed by her systematic action on Turkey, and that so lavishly expended for forty years, in the reduction of the Caucasus, which never can make any return in itself*.

These are the causes of Russia's financial embarrassments. It is only the presumption of ignorance that can console itself with the existence of such embarrassments. Whoever has had the opportunity of studying this subject, equally vast and obscure, equally important and neglected, has learnt to appreciate better the judgment and information of Russia and the comprehensive accuracy of her calculations; and even if he could not exactly see the objects she has in view, he would say, if Russia makes such sacrifices, and continues those sacrifices with so much perseverance and unity of purpose, it is neither

* It is of course impossible to pierce the veil of mystery with which Russia covers all such transactions; yet, many things may be known although not capable of proof. Elections in England,—certain expenses at Paris and Vienna —in Vendee lately,—in Spain and Portugal, must have amounted to a very large sum. The Chancellery at Constantinople is like a money change. It has been seen ancle deep with coin. Boutinieff within three weeks of his arrival drew bills on Vienna, &c. for 40,000*l.*; yet he could not have come empty handed. The post regularly brought pack-loads of gold,—none of the indemnity had been remitted to St. Petersburg,—8,000,000 of roubles were said to be appropriated to the new fortifications of Sevastopol—the new naval armaments contracted for cannot be stated at less than 2,000,000*l.* The half of the revenue of Russia must suffice for all internal and peaceable ends,—the other half may fairly be considered as devoted to the preparations for war.

rashly nor unadvisedly that she does so. Some immense compensation must be at hand. Either some new event is approaching, or those in progress offer to her eyes results which have not been appreciated by those who have not the same means of judging.

The progress of Russia has thus been succinctly traced by Sir R. Wilson, in 1817:—

"In the years between 1701 and 1711, Peter was contending, with various success, against the Swedes, Turks, and Poles, for an advance of his European territory.

"In 1713, having conquered Riga and Livonia, he built St. Petersburgh. In 1714, he developed his naval projects which have been suspended, but never abandoned, by his successors.

"In 1721, he declared himself Emperor of all the Russias.

"From 1729 to 1762, although Russia, under *six* sovereigns, some of whose reigns were short and tragical, proceeded in the attainment of internal strength, solidity, and trade; although in the reign of Elizabeth she had connected herself with England, and acquired military character, still she had not taken her station as a great European power.

"When Catherine the Second mounted the Throne, only twenty-two millions of subjects paid her homage. During the thirty-three years of her reign, the number was augmented to nearly thirty-six millions, by acquisition, and natural increase of population. The twelve millions acquired, Catherine subjected to the *military conscription*, and Europe has seen soldiers, from all of them, twice enter the capital of France!

"In this reign of naval and military exertion, territorial aggrandisement and political consequence made advances equally rapid on every side.

"Paul extended the military force, and the battle of Novi and the Trebia added to the laurels of Russia.

"Alexander commenced his reign in 1800, over thirty-six millions of people, but—

"The guns of Sweden could be heard at St. Petersburgh; the Poles of Warsaw were suspicious neighbours; the Poles of Russia doubtful friends. The Turks of Asia

" were still inclined to struggle for the recovery of the " Crimea, from which they were not a stone's throw. The " Turks in Europe still occupied Bessarabia, and held the " Russians in check on the Dniester; Persia presented a " salient and *offensive* frontier; Denmark and Sweden had " considerable navies; Aland covered the coast of Sweden " from insult or invasion; and Sweabourg commanded the " navigation of the mouth of the gulph of Finland.

" The finances were deranged, &c." After a summary of the ameliorations, conquests, and progress, he thus concludes:—" At this day (1817), not less than forty-two " millions, by increase and conquest, acknowledge his au- " thority, chiefly Europeans; situated in territories, whose " military and political value to Russia does not merely " consist in an augmentation of her revenue and population, " but in CONTRACTING her line of defence, and at the same " time affording her powers of advance, to positions that " must, if properly occupied, secure the *command* of Europe " and Asia*."

In the great European struggle, Russia observed from a distance, and rejoiced in the irruption of the Gallic volcano; she artfully nourished the flame wherever it appeared to sink—counsel, negotiation, and bodies of troops, were employed in turn; but while every European state risked its political existence in each combination, Russia stood aloof and indifferent; compromising no national interest; endangering no principle; *she risked just the number of men that crossed her frontier, and no more.* Any permanent settlement was thus rendered impossible; while one government, inaccessible, possessed such aggressive and convulsing power, and while *the policy of another was guided by a spirit alive to the necessity of opposing a barrier to such aggression.* Napoleon, therefore, saw no other alternative than a deadly blow at the very heart of the northern colossus. The European struggle resolved itself, in fine, into a contest between France and Russia; Russia being advanced to this high standing by the previous exhaustion of Europe, and by the maritime and financial support of England. The victory remained to Russia—that victory was solemnized and recorded in the Treaty of Vienna.

* Sketch of Russia in 1827, pp. 116—128.

The three states bordering the Baltic, the empire encircling the Black Sea, and possessing the Dardanelles, linked together by intermediate Poland, had hitherto formed a barrier extensive and powerful to the progress of Russia. The Treaty of Vienna records the dismemberment of Denmark, the acquisition of Poland, and leaves, distinct from all European interests, the Turkish question to be disposed of by Russia at her own convenient time, and no longer to be an object of solicitude and protection to the other powers.

This is not all: Prussia is raised by her from the dust to the station of a first-rate power, by the dismemberment of Saxony; so that Russia possesses two voices in the council of five, and a strong military out-lyer, which she can make as subservient as if nominally her own; and while she obtains to this settlement the adhesion of the diplomatic synod, who never could have admitted the nominal extension of Russia to the same degree, she preserved the *compactness* of her own frontiers, the *integrity* of her own principles, and may sacrifice Prussia without risk or discredit.

The discernment of the representative of humbled France, the alarms of Prince Metternich, the debates in the House of Commons, and the prophetic remonstrances of the lesser German States, aroused for a moment a spirit of resistance in England, France, and Austria; but the final adjustment settled down to its natural basis. Russia, in fact, had triumphed over France, and she insisted on the consequences. The Prussian troops in occupation of Saxony, and 200,000 Russians on the Vistula, were arguments too powerful for the sophistry of the Congress, especially when Alexander spoke of the 1,000,000 of bayonets intrusted to him by Providence, and Constantine appealed to the patriotism of 8,000,000 of Poles, to support their *Russian Nationality*. SINCE THAT PERIOD PEACE HAS EXISTED IN EUROPE, BECAUSE NO POWER HAS BEEN ALIVE TO THE NECESSITY OF OPPOSING A BARRIER TO HER AGGRESSION.

During this peace, Russia has been permitted to take her own time, and to concentrate all her forces, for the prosecution of three wars. She has beaten the troops of Persia, had it in her power to enter her capital, imposed a heavy debt upon her, and secured a new and aggressive frontier. She has effaced

every trace of Polish nationality, and owes to the direct diplomatic agency of England the prevention of a simultaneous irruption from Persia, which must, of necessity, have spread to Turkey; France could not then have remained neuter; the consequences need not be traced.

Turkey, excluded from the "reparatory stipulations" of the Congress of Vienna, is dismembered and convulsed by her direct influence in Greece, in Wallachia, Moldavia, and Servia, then attacked in the midst of an internal revolution—attacked under the sanction of a "European cause," and with the arms of a *Christian* combination. Beaten in the north, a lever is then applied to the south; the beaten victim is *driven back* into its foe's protecting arms; the fact of protection is no sooner established, than the conditions on which it was accepted are cancelled, and the convention of St. Petersburgh was regarded by the other powers as an internal regulation of the Russian empire. It is needless to talk of the annihilation of its maritime force, of its fortresses mortgaged, of its frontiers occupied, of debt contracted, of obligations of protection imposed—every chance of collision has now vanished, and unless the systematic progress of Russia be disturbed from without, the consummation may be considered complete, though an interval of material time may be requisite to accomplish the progression.

Still that no misapprehension may exist as to the essential consideration that it is not, that it can not be, by physical means, that Russia can obtain possession of Turkey, it is necessary to observe, that 40,000 men, moved by her during the winter against the Caucasus, have been repulsed and beaten on every point; an additional reason for her altering her plans, to adapt them to the new expectations that wonderfully favouring circumstances have offered to her, and for aiming, with the least possible delay, at the Dardanelles, which will render such contests superfluous, and prevent the possibility of the introduction into the Euxine of the British flag, which at once connects the power of England with the destinies of Turkey, unites the interests of Austria to those of England, and by preventing Russia's acquisition of that vast basin, establishes an impassable region between her and the south, across which no body of troops capable of making any im-

pression can be transported by any means she can command. That region, thus rendered impervious to her, and placed under the controul of England, would extend over land and water, from the mountains of Transylvania to the deserts of Khyva.

Perhaps the most remarkable, though hitherto the least understood, portion of the political history of Napoleon, has reference to the relations of Turkey and Russia, and as he said himself, his character will not be appreciated nor his policy comprehended until this question is understood. His reminiscences in his lonely retreat, contain much that bears on this subject deserving of the most solemn attention, not only for the views themselves, but in consequence of the experience of the man that had handled and knew the practical strength and weakness of all the masses in Europe; also, in consequence of the revelations there given of the designs of the Russian cabinet, if, indeed, such revelations are still necessary to establish a fact, which, however few may reflect on, no one will deny.

"Alexander's thoughts," says Napoleon, "are directed to "the conquest of Turkey. We have had many discussions "about it. At first, I was pleased with his proposals, because "I thought it would enlighten the world, to drive those "brutes, the Turks, out of Europe. But when I reflected "upon the consequences, and saw what a tremendous weight "of power it would give to Russia, in consequence of the "number of Greeks in the Turkish dominions, who would "naturally join the Russians, I refused to consent to it, "especially as Alexander wanted to get Constantinople, which "I would not allow, as it would have destroyed the equi-"librium of power in Europe. I reflected that France would "gain Egypt, Syria, and the Islands, which would have been "nothing in comparison to what Russia would have obtained. "I considered that the barbarians of the north were already "too powerful, and, probably, in the course of time, would "overwhelm all Europe, as I now think they will. Austria "already trembles; Russia and Prussia united, Austria falls, "and England cannot prevent it. France, under the present "family, is nothing; Austria can offer little resistance to the "Russians, who are brave and potent. Russia is the more

" formidable, because she can never disarm; in Russia, once " a soldier, always a soldier. Barbarians who, one may say, " have no country, and to whom every country is better than " the one that gave them birth*."

We quote this passage, less on account of the confirmation of some of our positions, by the reflections of this great man, than to point out that in his mind many erroneous ideas existed, which militated against the very conclusions at which he arrived; that he reasoned, in fact, on a portion only of the case, and on that portion, too, which in the actual posture of affairs, appears the least important. The possession of Constantinople, in his eyes, was important to Russia, as giving her a command over continental Europe—without reference to the value acquired in the Turkish Empire—without reference to the dominion acquired over Mahometan Asia—without reference to the contraction of her vulnerable and insecure frontiers—without reference to the acquisition (by Russia, *not* France) of Syria, Egypt, and the Islands.

The ex-Emperor thought the Turks brutes, and desired their expulsion from Europe, he therefore had not the remotest idea of the utility which Russia will draw from them†; he thought that France would obtain a compensation in Egypt, &c., a mere delusion, on which we need scarcely waste words‡, although this delusion has betrayed the present Government of France into its anti-national and perilous position. He conceived France, under the elder branch, as useless in the political balance of Europe; yet Louis XVIII., immediately on his restoration, displayed a resolution to oppose the encroachments of Russia, and a deep conviction of his prostrate country's dignity, which offers an afflicting contrast with the views actually entertained across the channel.

Napoleon's estimate of the power which Russia will acquire by the possession of Constantinople, is therefore far, far below the mark; he had quite overlooked the maritime ascendancy she will attain in the Mediterranean; he had no conception

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* O'Meara's "Napoleon in Exile," Vol. I., p. 382.

† See "England, France, Russia and Turkey;" and "Sultan Mahmoud and "Mehemet Ali Pasha," passim.

‡ See Valentini, for Paskevitch's opinion on the service rendered in the last campaign, against Turkey, *by the Mussulman regiments.*

of her carrying into effect his own commercial combination against England. On the other hand, his anticipation of the impossibility of a European balance to her prejudice has been fully realized; the sword, it is true, has not yet been drawn, nor will it, while no opposition exists; she will first obtain possession of the Dardanelles, establish herself as a maritime power in the Mediterranean—the idea of dislodging her will then as soon vanish as that of restoring Poland when "order was restored at Warsaw." Then will she throw the torch of discord on the inflammable principles, and breathe the breath of agitation on the struggling interests and influences of Europe; the long suspended cloud will fall on Germany and France, and she will interfere when both are exhausted.

Immediately on the fall of Constantinople, England will find that troops must be shipped for India.

Few persons are aware of the maritime force that will *instantaneously* be placed at the disposal of Russia, by the occupation of Constantinople. Russia, at the close of 1834, had fifty-two men-of-war in the Black Sea; of which sixteen were line-of-battle ships: twenty-five new vessels are in construction. She will find at Constantinople forty men-of-war, of which nine are line-of-battle and four three-deckers. The day after occupation, she will have at her disposal, in the Channel, ninety-two men-of-war, with a flotilla of small armed craft, at least as numerous. Such is the activity that reigns in all the arsenals of the Black Sea, that in less than two years, one-half of the vessels commenced in autumn last, will be ready for sea. Thus in a few months she will be able to muster one hundred sail, twenty-five being line-of-battle, within the impregnable Dardanelles. These immediately secure her acquisition, and give her time to organise it, having the seas of Marmora and the Euxine to exercise in; having unlimited supplies of all materials within herself, ready to her hand, and at a trifling cost. She has at present 30,000 men employed on board her vessels, or in her arsenals; she will obtain a certain number of seamen from the Black Sea and from Constantinople itself; but her great resource will be the Greek sailors; the seamen of Hydra, Spezia, Psara, reduced by the peace, and the stagnation of Greek commerce, will flock

by thousands, spurred not only by their necessities, but by a spirit of enthusiasm, to hail the symbols of the Greek church reared above the Crescent. A single mass, chaunted in Saint Sophia, will collect every Greek seaman from far and near. This is no dream of the imagination; these materials are not to be created — they do exist, ready to be employed, and available at a moment's warning. The slightest degree of energy, the commonest feeling of self-preservation, will, in a month's time, combine these elements for securing her conquest; with one squadron anchored in the Golden Horn, and another under the castle of the Dardanelles, who, that knows anything of the topography of Constantinople, of the spirit of eastern populations, will be hardy enough to talk even of resistance from within, or of attack from without?

If it be asked, whence the pecuniary means are to come, we answer, the expenditure will be insignificant. Such an acquisition would be cheaply bought at the expense of twenty campaigns; and the expenditure will perhaps not exceed the sum she lays out in a single year on the Caucasus. Is Russia unprepared for such a contingency? Besides, is it to be supposed that the treasury of the Seraglio is empty?— Will Constantinople be a less rich prize than Algiers? Are there not many means by which a conquering power can obtain money? Is it not clear, that she will be able to borrow hundreds of millions of piastres from the merchants of all classes, and from the Armenian bankers, who, if they do not lend with the zeal of enthusiasm, as many will, will contribute from other motives, which Russia knows how to inspire? Will not, moreover, every place of 'Change in Europe offer her resources on such a contingency? While we affect to believe the occupation of Constantinople impossible, because of the expense it would entail upon her, she, better informed, knows, as who that has given the subject a moment's serious consideration does not, that, independently of all political gains, she at once lays her hand on an enormous treasure, which in itself, if she acquired nothing else, might justify all the expenditure she now incurs in furtherance of the scheme that is to give her possession of it.

If Russia had never thought on the subject before, from

the moment that England made a naval demonstration at the entrance of the Dardanelles, the possession of these straights must have become to her a question of life and death. That this was the case, appears from the following extract from "Sultan Mahmoud and Mehemet Ali Pasha:"—

"Up to the autumn of last year, Russia seems not to have dreamt of the "possibility of being attacked in the Black Sea; she seems to have remained "confident of the indifference of Europe, and of the sufficiency of the means she "actually possessed for the realization of her designs. At that period a new "light seems to have broken upon her; she suddenly contracted for the con- "struction of twenty-five line-of-battle ships, and thirty-five of smaller sizes, "and commenced extensive works at Sevastopol, which had but the character "of strength. These facts require no comment. These vessels must be "designed to issue from the Straits she has ordered to be closed against us. "These works of defence can be of service but to resist retaliation for what she "is preparing to inflict. Circumstanced as Russia financially is, such an expen- "diture, at this moment, proves that no time is to be lost.

"In conjunction with these facts, we have others no less important. The "treaty of the 8th of July is now clearly established to be an offensive treaty "against England, and an abrogation of the treaty between England and Turkey "of 1809.

"During the last year, the influence of England at Constantinople has been "maintained by the hope and belief that England would be forced to take steps "to annul the treaty of the 8th of July—restrain Russia, and re-organize "Turkey. This conviction was universal, because all these things appeared "easy, connected, necessary, and inseparable from the evident interests of "England; and, however England might have sacrificed Turkey before, it was "now hoped that a new era in our policy had arrived. The Turks judge of the "nation by its representative, and, at a moment when, under the ordinary "routine, our diplomatic relations with Turkey would have been interrupted, "and our representative must have retired, not only have those relations been "kept up, but an influence obtained over the counsels of the Government, and "over the minds of the Turks, unparalleled at any previous period. This "result, though brought about by the efforts of the distinguished nobleman, "whom statesman-like views, political sagacity, and courtly manners, most "particularly fit to represent England as she ought to be represented, among "such a people as the Turks, is still contingent, on the decision of England, to "do that which is pointed out as her part, by the hopes of all the countries that "feel or fear the Russian power*."

* There is no individual who has had the means of appreciating, on the spot, the feelings of the Servians, Wallachians, Moldavians, Lazes, Armenians (of Armenia), Circassians, Georgians, Bessarabians, Crimeans, and, generally, in a greater or less degree, according to circumstances, of the Turks and Persians, who will not bear testimony to the truth of this assertion;—that all these populations have their hopes and feelings so rivetted on England, that an intimation of her will would be received by them as an order, that it is in her power to combine all these by moral means alone, and that a practical or intelligible demonstration of her decision to resist the encroachments of Russia, would put it out of Russia's power to advance.

We have left untouched the principal points of this question; indeed, we profess to treat but one; but having extended our observations thus far, we are induced to offer some practical conclusions, the more, as the space seems to us daily and visibly contracting, during which, the event we dread shall remain to be anticipated. When the period of prevention will be passed, the truth will be equally clear and useless.

We consider the preservation of Turkey, and the re-organization of that Empire, as the means of opening up its own immense territory and resources, as those of central Asia, to light and commerce. We consider the existence of Turkey as necessary to the existence of Persia, and to the security of India. We consider the principles of Turkey as necessary to give to England, to liberal governments, and to free trade, the weight *they actually possess* on the continent of Europe. We consider the political regeneration of Turkey, in itself, one of the most extraordinary events in the history of nations, and look to the results, if fostered and encouraged, as one of the most extensive prospects of good ever opened to man. We consider the principles of its existence, now distorted and obscured, as likely to benefit other lands, and advance science; and finally, we consider Turkey, in balancing the power, in arresting the progress, in exhausting the resources of the Scythian organization, as the only bulwark of Europe against Muscovy, of civilization against barbarism.

We consequently infer, that Turkey is to be supported by every means and every effort, at any cost and at any risk.

We feel too strong in our position to admit of any palliation of these conclusions in favour of timid reasoners; but when this alternative is looked boldly in the face, and only then would we say, that though Turkey ought to be supported at any risk, that she can be supported without the slightest risk;—that though the further extension of the power of Russia must be prevented, whatever the means, whatever the sacrifice;—that that extension can be prevented without any sacrifice whatever, and by means of the preservation of Turkey, which we should consider the first object of our foreign policy, even if it were not Russia that were to make the acquisition.

We talk of peace as of a thing which has only to be wished for to be secured, and not as a state of repose, which is to be enjoyed only by those who have the power and the will to cause their rest to be respected by others. No one accuses England of aggressive designs. Why does she, therefore, parade her pacific dispositions if not to excite the ambition of others? The whole moral and material power of Europe and Asia are at the disposal of England if she signifies her intention of arresting the overflow of Russia; and with this force of great imperturbable resistance at her disposal, she allows Russia to proceed to the acquisition of universal dominions, merely because she has the command of that magic word, "WAR;" while England is not only not aware that the result of a war in the East at this moment would break Russia to pieces, but that so disproportionate is the relative strength of the parties, that Russia must submit to any terms that England may dictate, whenever she places Russia between the two alternatives—her terms, or war.

War is at present impossible between Russia and England,—because a regulation of England's Tariff suffices to deprive Russia of half her revenue, and her nobles of all their allegiance;—because the Dardanelles are yet Turkish;—because the Caucasus is erect;—because the practical and visible union of England and Turkey causes Russia and Turkey to change places, rendering the first defensive, and the second offensive;—because Sevastopol is *yet* defenceless; and finally, because Russia can injure England only through attacking Turkey, clearly an impossibility, with England committed on the side of Turkey. We therefore conclude that a conviction on the part of the English ministry of the necessity of supporting Turkey, and a knowledge of the means of doing so, will even yet not only save Turkey from absorption, but Europe from a conflict which no one can anticipate without the darkest forebodings.

Russia, had she had it in her power when her troops were encamped on the Bosphorus, never would have retired; then it was impossible for her to have retained possession; she encamped at *the distance* of sixteen miles from the capital, with the Bosphorus *between*, the Channel was commanded by thirteen Russian line of battle ships; the troops occupied the Giant's Mountain, in

Asia, their tents so placed as to make the greatest possible display; sentries on every side forbade approach; their numbers represented as double their real amount; every precaution, in fact, was taken to guard against attack, collision, or contact. On the moment of embarkation, a breeze that had been blowing from the south suddenly failed; the most intense anxiety was the result, not only to the chiefs, but to the whole expedition. Fortunately, a light air sprung up, and carried them out of the channel. What service did not that breath of air render to the fortunes of Russia;—but for it, Nicolas would not have had to boast of the glory of occupying Constantinople! or the greater glory of quitting it!! At that time the country was in a state of convulsion, and England and France were universally supposed, by means of her agency, (a falsehood that cannot be twice available), opposed to the sultan, and supporting Mehemet Ali.

Any number of troops Russia can suddenly and at once transport to the capital must be sacrificed if a single pistol is fired, or a drop of blood drawn; she, therefore, dare not—can not attempt to occupy until she is invited; that invitation she is now labouring to bring about by three causes, or rather sets of causes; 1*stly*, general rumours of war—of occupations spread and repeated throughout every province with a pertinacity and a similarity most remarkable, producing a feeling of insecurity and alarm, arresting commerce and industry, and disturbing the action of government, and the idea of permanency. 2*ndly*, By the use she makes of her influence over the government, driving it into acts, and even crimes, that makes it despised and hated—detaching it from the other powers, and introducing administrative measures that place it in opposition with the people, their prejudices, rights, and opinions. 3*rdly*, Through the schism in the empire, and all the consequences of the hostile position of Mehemet Ali. These causes all acting together are now pushing Turkey forward with fearful rapidity to that point where all bonds of respect and government are dissolved, and revolution in the provinces, or revolt in the capital, or invasion from Egypt, or all these causes combined, will thoroughly disgust the Turks and their tributaries with the government, and the Sultan; and Russia will be called in to support the government—to protect the Sultan—to shield the

people—to prevent convulsion—to arrest bloodshed—and then her intervention will be hailed by civilized Europe as an act of charitable humanity; and those who may dread the consequences will be little inclined to interfere in favour of a people that licks the hand of its betrayer and oppressor. For this,—peace, that is, the undisturbed progress of causes in action, the accumulation of the results of the treaty of protection are necessary. Russia cannot enter till she enters as a friend; and though this will soon be—the time is not yet come; and until it comes, collision is fatal to her projects.

We dread the word war—Russia makes use of the word, but dreads the *thing*. Let us grant both dread war equally; whichever country, therefore, makes an advance, or establishes a point, will secure the advantage by the other's dread of the word, or its consequences. But Russia alone understands how those steps are to be made, therefore this dread is turned solely to her account.

When Napoleon miscalculated the power Russia would acquire in the possession of Turkey, he also neglected the power Turkey did then exert, and could be made to exert, against Russia; deceived by that art that has so long deceived all Europe, he looked on Russian power in Europe as an aggregate of native strength, and of means drawn from her Eastern possessions or position. He lay under a grave error; he believed Turkey already within the grasp of Russia—a graver error. Turkey has immensity, though silently weighed in the European balance; added to Russia, the amount exceeds all previous calculation; placed against Russia, all Napoleon's fears become shadows.

Again, while the European struggle is *allowed to appear* one of political principle, half of Europe is thrown into Russia's enumeration, and Turkey is wholly abstracted; but brought to its real issue, which a word of England does—that is, of opposition to Russian aggression, then is all that portion of Europe combined to us, Turkey added to this amount, and Russia left alone with her naked body and her exposed designs. In fine, it is reserved for some great mind, as minister of England, to ally the interests of civilization with the spirit of conservation; to disperse the gathering clouds

which, in various forms, and under various denominations, menace bloodshed and convulsion; to close the gate of Janus, perhaps, for centuries; to frustrate the consequences of the treaty of Vienna, to do, by a single declaration, that is, by the convictions that lead to it, and the consequences that flow from it—what Napoleon could not effect at the head of 500,000 of the finest troops on which the sun ever shone, under the first captain of this or any other age; and to put England in the position France would have occupied had Napoleon triumphed and been wise.

The question, in its simplest expression is, shall Turkey, with its *space*, and seas, and positions, and wealth, materials and arms, be used for aggressive or conservative purposes? Is Turkey to be placed in the scale of Russia, or in the scale of England? for now it has been so violently disturbed in its proper equilibrium, that for the time being it must fall under the dominion of the one, or be stayed up by the power of the other. Strange, that while Russia is straining every muscle, calling to her aid violence, corruption, deep combination, in fact, her whole known and unknown resources, to place Turkey in her scale; that England not only takes no step whatever to oppose her, but even rejects the advances, and spurns the confidence of that very power, on which hinge the destinies of Europe and of the world, and thus continues to the last her efforts to secure to Russia all she aims at.

And under such circumstances, Russia talks of war! of being "armed to the teeth, and not inclined to be trifled with as last year."

Need we a stronger proof of the universal ignorance that obscures this question, when Russia is allowed to make use of a falsehood insulting to common sense, as a menace which silences every tongue, carries every point; and—more than this—which arrests all inquiry.

Article V.

Reports of the British Association. Vols. I. and II. London: 1833 and 1834.

The student who at length begins to combine the study of the history of mathematical philosophy with that of its methods and applications, very soon finds that in his previous career the order of time has been changed for his convenience; he begins perhaps with Euclid, finishes his elementary course with modern writers, and never comes into direct contact with the middle ages till he begins to seek the account of the rise and progress of the methods which have amused or instructed him. But he has something to do before he can get an adequate idea of the velocity of knowledge at different periods, and more to gain than can be realised from reading connected histories. For in these, much more than in political narrations, the uninterrupted succession of descriptions is calculated to give an idea of continued progress (unbroken by partial cessations, and unimpeded by obstacles arising out of circumstances) which has no claim to exist. A tabulated history, indeed, might help him; but only by consecrating an unseemly portion of blank paper, to represent sometimes the paucity of investigators, sometimes the scantiness of our records. And he must endeavour to read the same phrases in different senses, as he runs through the authors of different periods; for as there has hardly been a time, certainly not since the invention of printing, in which the existing generation was not able to see that philosophy was advancing, either in power or diffusion, the forms of expression by which different ages denote their own progress preserve that sort of similarity which must exist, where things which differ only in degree are to be described without numerical allusion.

We have no single word by which to distinguish between the progress of discovery and the increase of diffusion, things as different as the investigations of Newton and the lectures at an Institute. Still less can we find a distinctive term for the object of the society, the transactions of which stand at the head of this article, founded for the purpose of (not *reporting*, but) *diffusing progress*, firstly, among men of science in

all countries; and, secondly, as far as is possible, among all the educated classes. Such an *annual* attempt implies the certainty, among those who make it, that the advance of natural philosophy is such as to render direct and personal communication more than heretofore advantageous; and also that there are principles and modes of reasoning to which all can appeal without the fear of lengthened controversy, or of the creation of party virulence. Each of these, we suppose, prevailing notions suggests the comparison of our actual position with that of our predecessors, in modern Europe generally, and particularly in our own country.

In putting together a few slight remarks, which will rather serve to distinguish than to compare, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that national character in philosophy, whether for the better or the worse we know not, was not of easy formation before the invention of printing. Men of learning were a sort of missionary caste, owning, so far as their pursuits were concerned, no allegiance to the notions of their country. The church, to which they for the most part devoted themselves, might have helped to incorporate them into a separate society; but there were circumstances independent of the vows and their consequences, which prevented such distinctions as did exist from being those of *country*. The deficiency of books, and the necessary predominance of *vivâ voce* instruction, obliged students to resort within earshot of their oracles; and as difference of language formed no obstacle (Latin being almost the mother tongue of the educated), and celebrated teachers were few, the mixture of nations was complete and continual in all the places of education. How much this was the case at the University of Paris is well known; and we remember to have read a story of the amusement which the pronunciation or idiom (we forget which) of Roger Bacon gave to the *Spanish* students at *Oxford*, who were severe Latin critics. Thus, though we may compare one great school with another, it must be recollected, that the countries in which the two were situated are not much concerned in the comparison.

Again, the small number of highly educated men, and the degree to which their writings have been diminished by the losses of time, places the same sort of difficulty in the way of general comparisons, which is felt in attempting to construct

a table of statistics from a small number of elementary facts. And the smallness of the existing number of authors had an effect upon their own writings which it is needful to remember and allow for, by drawing a distinction between the mention of an ancient author by an ancient, and of a modern author by a modern. When books were few, every writer, as such, was a person to be cited, and praised or blamed, defended or refuted, as the case might have been, by every other writer into whose hands his book might fall. And we might easily establish a fact, in itself very probable, namely, that every man who wrote had read a large proportion of all that had been written, by referring the reader to the lists of citations which accompany the older editions of almost any work.

It is essential to remark, that the mere circumstance of a fact having been mentioned by a writer, gave it a degree of evidence which we are not in the habit of allowing to so small a quantity of testimony. The learned A, or the erudite B, said that he saw a man with three heads, or at the age of two hundred and fifty years, or who had invented a drink which would cure all diseases, or who could make gold at pleasure; and certainly his words would never fall to the ground. For those who did not cite them as authority, would feel bound to oppose them, and give serious grounds of dissent. Nor will this be wondered at by any who consider a preceding age as younger, and not older than our own: let us fairly get the notion that a book is not the work of an old man, because it has been written a long time, and we shall be prepared to consider black letter as the sign of our juniors. Without in the slightest degree casting contempt upon the necessary result of circumstances, we shall rather be prepared to view our predecessors with a little more candour and allowance than our most enlightened age is always prepared to give; or if we must indulge in censure, we shall rather inveigh against that which does not please us, as a folly of inexperienced youth, than as the bad habit of a vicious old age.

The thing which most strikes us in the philosophy of the middle age is an apparent excess of credulity, which we estimate to be such, rather looking at our own means of coming by evidence, than at those which formerly existed.

A man of learning, educated in a foreign university, even

if he remained there, was comparatively deprived of the society of other men of the same stamp; but he was frequently detached for the remainder of his life from all communication with his colleagues, except such as consisted in the casual receipt of a volume, or a letter; or it may be the conversation of a young student on his return from his foreign studies. He had but small evidence, properly so called, of any new thing that was advanced; and, wanting the means of discrimination, must have become either habitually sceptical or credulous. But the former is a character derived from proximity and discussion; and where nothing could be proved, the consequence was, not that nothing was received, but that nothing was rejected. The more cautious might state as from report, what the rash would not hesitate to make themselves responsible for; but the method of philosophizing, which neglects all but what is believed to have such demonstration as the case affords, was not, and could not be, the offspring of the closet and the manuscript. Is it a mark of sense, or of folly, that an age which had not much experience, did not assume to exercise a faculty which only experience can give? And were those who knew that their own acquaintance with the globe was very incomplete, and that antiquity was the best guide they had, to pronounce definitively upon the existence, or non-existence, of "men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders?" There seems to have been among them a full appreciation of the maxim, Δει μανθανοντα πιστευειν, of which we can only say to those who reject it, that even if it were the motto of church-tied men in a dark age, and applied to verbal mysteries, it was cited in the last century as a proper guide to the mathematical sciences, by the free-thinking D'Alembert.

But the ancients of Europe committed a great crime against posterity, as we have been assured by posterity itself. They seized upon the writings of Aristotle, and cultivated them with the utmost zeal. In spite of the ban under which these works were placed by local councils, and in spite of the badness of the Arabic versions, Aristotle, it is asserted, became the master of the age. But there is one circumstance, and that rather essential, which is usually dropped or lightly insisted upon; we suppose, because those who write the history of mental philosophy are generally but little acquainted with that of

mathematics. Those same men who adopted Aristotle, also adopted the Greek geometers, who were at first equally considered as heterodox by the higher churchmen, though never, we believe, formally denounced. Not to be a geometer, or an astronomer, was not to be a graduate in arts in any university: and the logic of Aristotle was only *one* of the pure sciences which they cultivated, perceiving that they were guides to the only sort of demonstrative truth which could be obtained. We see the *débris* of the circle of sciences in our own universities. Oxford has retained *logic*, Cambridge *geometry*, as the distinctive feature of the degree in arts. But it must not be considered that in the Aristotelian logic was contained all, or nearly all, the discipline to which the mind was subjected. The Greek geometry contains much which is of the most difficult kind of thought; and many an analyst of modern times would be obliged to gird up his loins, and address himself seriously to work, if he would read, for instance, the quadratures of Archimedes, or the fifth book of Apollonius, or some of the now obsolete books of Euclid. Nor was it till very long after the invention of printing, that the great veneration in which the pure sciences were held had time to subside, or that we find such a sentence as the following in the letter of one man of learning to another: *Sæpe de artibus mathematicis cogito, quam divinæ sint, et quam ab hominibus negligantur. Irascor etiam nonnihil quod iis non sim eruditus.*

The preference given to Aristotle was not the effect of the want of an alternative, but the choice, and it seems to us the sensible and judicious choice, between at least two masters. The Aristotelian philosophy had barely time to get the good graces of the church, when the writings of Plato were brought into western Europe by the Greeks, who migrated towards the middle of the fifteenth century; and the discussion between the Peripatetics and the Platonists is a prominent feature in the history of that period. That the former doctrine prevailed over the latter, we cannot help considering as a favourable specimen of the reasoning power of the times. It is true that the latter found the former established; but this is by no means conclusive against the decision having been in a great measure one of reason, since the Aristotelian doctrine itself had forced its way against opposition, and against authority.

All the complaint that can be made against the middle ages amounts to this—that they could not learn in a short time that which their masters did not know how to teach. The Greek philosophers took up principles evidently from individual temperament, hazard, or the impossibility of establishing a new school, except upon some decided ground of opposition to those already in existence—so did their pupils, though the church, a power not only distinct from, but at first opposed to, the influence of the Greek writings, turned their speculations in a great degree upon theology. The masters were not given to experimental philosophy, and the few among their writers who had any turn for systematic observation of facts, were in the hands of the Arabs, and of comparatively late introduction. Their pupils followed them in this also; but their modern successors have not been forward to mark how well they selected among the Greek remains the objects of their particular attention: and we insist strongly on the following circumstance, as indicative of a very bad colouring somewhere or other in the medium through which the "young" ages have been viewed.

With the Greek writers the Arabs furnished three sciences of their own, which, however they may differ from each other, must have been introduced nearly about the same time. We allude to astrology, alchemy, and algebra. Of these our ancestors cultivated the first and second, and rejected the third, which lay dormant for three centuries from the time of its introduction, without our being able to find any trace of that introduction, except in the existence of one single work. We consider alchemy as really a legitimate subject of speculation, being, in truth, what we now call chemistry, or at least that part of it which investigates the components of bodies; with this distinction only, that, as there was no known reason to class gold among simple substances, its manufacture naturally became one great object of speculation. The astrological attempts to overcome the difficulty not being more absurd than the judicial astrology itself, we shall class them together, and simply remark, as the greatest blot in the old philosophy, that astrology flourished while algebra was neglected, even in an age of geometers. Certainly it cannot be contended that an exaggeration of the province of logic, a most necessary thing

in one form or other, was an offence, if offence there be in the case, at all comparable in magnitude to that of the preference above mentioned. An astrologer was as necessary to every man of note as a *professed* fool; and if the sallies of the second formed his amusement, the predictions of the first were in a great degree his guide in the details of the conduct of life. But this has been passed over, *non sine risu*, certainly; still, however, the *risus* has been considered as the most appropriate manifestation of opinion. How does it stand with the other offence? Till within very late years, almost universally, and now very frequently, not a school-book was published, not even a manual of the use of the globes for young ladies, which did not contain its little fling against the "schools" and the "schoolmen." For ourselves, we learned by heart certain invectives against these criminals long before we knew the distinction between a school *man* and a school *master*, and of course we did not dissent from the harshness of the censure. Children were made cognizant of the sad plight into which Aristotle had got their great great grandfathers long before they could read such a hard word without spelling, and what they were taught was only an echo of a set of words which, in graver productions, as naturally accompanied the mention of the middle ages, as something about our own great superiority.

We shall now proceed with our subject. The geometry and logic of the Greeks, including their astronomy, as improved by the Arabs in the correctness of several of its data, and which constituted the sum total of profane philosophy, was not much shaken by the introduction of the decimal arithmetic and algebra. The work of Leonardo Bonacci was fully made out by Cossali to have been published in the thirteenth century. The notion which had prevailed of the introduction of algebra at the end of the fifteenth century, is almost a sufficient presumption that it could hardly have been known, that is, received and cultivated, till then. In the dreary period of three centuries, the "great art" received no addition or development, even in Italy. And when the successful researches of the Italians in the earlier part of the sixteenth century, had begun to extend the art, for it was then little more, more than half a century elapsed before we can find traces of its existence in any other country

of Europe; and then not in the most developed form. We cannot call algebra a European science at any period anterior to 1570, nor can we say it had extended beyond the bounds of Italy before about 1550. The impulse of printing caused its introduction nearly at the same time into France, Germany, and England.

If we ask what had been done in our own country, up to this period, we shall find no great materials on which to found an answer. With the exception of Roger Bacon, there is not an English name which would be known to one tenth of our readers. In the middle of the twelfth century, one Daniel Morley, who had travelled into Spain for the purpose of learning Arabic, is said to have written *Principia Mathematices*, but whether he had learnt any thing of Algebra from the Arabs cannot be known. Chaucer, the poet, wrote a species of astronomical work, on the use of the Astrolabe; the first treatise which we can prove to have been written in English on any part of science, and certainly the oldest of those which exist. In the middle of the thirteenth century, Roger Bacon and John of Halifax (for so it is supposed *Johannes de Sacro Bosco* must be rendered) wrote the only treatises of their century which obtained a lasting reputation abroad. But at the period when algebra began to flourish in Italy, we have no great evidence of progress here. While Tartaglia and Cardan were employed on cubic equations, Bishop Tonstall was writing his treatise *De Arte Supputandi*, (published at Paris, in 1529) in which, in about two hundred and fifty small quarto pages, he succeeds in establishing a somewhat meagre system of arithmetic. He informs us, however, that in his time no country was without a treatise on figures, in the vulgar tongue, which is more than could easily be established without his assertion. That algebra was then altogether unknown in our country and in France, is evident from his work.

This science was introduced into England by Robert Recorde, who died in the King's Bench, in 1558. He had previously taught at Oxford, where he was a Fellow of All Souls College*. But we now know him as the first writer *in English* on algebra, and geometry, in his "Whetstone of

* Wood *Ath. Oxon*, in the list of All Souls College.

Witte," A.D. 1557, and his "Pathwaye:" while, but for the treatise of Chaucer, and the assertion of Tonstall, both above noticed, he might have claimed a similar precedence as to the doctrine of the sphere and arithmetic, in his "Castle of Knowledge," and his "Grounde of Artes." We have here only to inquire what his sources were in his algebraical work, the "Whetstone of Witte." He cites only Scheubel, of whose work on algebra, an edition was published at Paris in 1551; and this appears to have been his guide, though he does not go so far into the subject. Had there been much direct communication with Italy, he must have heard of Cardan and Tartaglia. In mentioning Recorde's algebraical work, we must further state, that it is not only the first in *English*, but altogether the first of its kind published in England. John Dee, in the preface to his Euclid (the first English translation), written in 1570, mentions his having had the works of Diophantus lent him in 1550, in a manner which shows that they could not have been then generally known.

When we consider the writings of this period, we must affix a sense to the term *contemporary*, which its etymology will not bear. All men in different countries must be considered as contemporary, who were the first to hear of the writings of each other; that is, so far as any purpose of comparison is concerned. And thus we must make the velocity with which knowledge travelled, an element in determining the quantity of time which constitutes one period. For instance, the work of Copernicus appeared in 1543, but the first English work* which adopted the Copernican theory, was published *thirteen years* after, by John Field. We are convinced that this is less than the usual time necessary for the propagation of an ordinary work: but let us even suppose that it is more, and considering that at the present time, any peculiar system of a philosopher, who is known to, and esteemed by, several individuals in a foreign country, will certainly appear in print in that country within a year from their promulgation by himself, let us say that the velocity of communication at the present time is only ten times as great as in the latter half of the sixteenth, and the first of the seventeenth centuries. We

* This has been lately discovered by the Rev. J. Hunter, who communicated an account of Field's work to the Astronomical Society.

must then compare the century just mentioned with ten years only of our own epoch, in comparisons of which the velocity of communication is an element, and the history of science fully bears out the propriety of our supposition. For example, we cannot find in the algebra of Cataldi, published in 1618, any thing which indicates that the author knew the works of Vieta, who died in 1603, and had changed the whole face of the science, in works published many years before his death. The first mention we can find of the French discoverer by an Italian, is in the writings of Marino Ghetaldi (A.D. 1630), who was, moreover, a personal friend of Vieta.

We left off our remarks on the progress of mathematical philosophy, a century and a half before the publication of the *Principia* of Newton; and on the preceding view, we cannot, during that period, suppose such facilities of communication as answer to twenty years of our own time, and certainly not as much as to fifty. We find the philosophers of the seventeenth century in possession of the geometry of the Greeks, the astronomy of Ptolemy, the decimal arithmetic, and a species of algebraical art, rather than science, of no use whatever in the class of investigations which have since made algebra so remarkable an instrument. Correct inductive reasoning, minute observation, general analysis, extensive power of computation, and all simplification of the complicated system of Ptolemy, were yet to begin. We may pass over the work of Copernicus, which, owing it may be to the immediate death of its author, or to the incomplete development and support which he was able to give to his own (or rather to the Pythagorean) system, enjoyed little or no influence for many years. But almost at the same time there arose in every country of Europe, in which science flourished at all, a man of a genius calculated to overcome one or other of the impediments to further progress. Most of them were absolute contemporaries, and all so near together, that the knowledge of each as to what the others had done or were doing, was comparatively small. These men, who stand forward so prominently between the Greeks and the moderns, were Bacon in England, Napier in Scotland, Tycho Brahé in Denmark, Kepler in Germany, Vieta in France, and Galileo in Italy. If we might dispense with either, that is, neither suppose him to have existed, nor

his place to have been supplied, without depriving Newton of any of the essential aids which existed in his time, we must name Bacon. For though the additional principles which he inculcated were at least as necessary as any other part of the great work, yet they cannot be called the definite discoveries of one man, in the sense in which we say, that if they had not existed, the *Principia* could not have appeared. It is too frequently forgotten or denied, that the principles which Bacon was explaining, Kepler and Galileo were actually applying, independently of him. But Napier, by his invention of logarithms, furnished an aid to calculation, without which, though it is certainly possible as much *might* have been done in the next half century, we can by no means say it *would* have been done. Tycho Brahé improved both astronomical instruments, and the art of observing; and by the number and correctness of his observations, furnished Kepler with the means of investigating and verifying his celebrated laws. And it must be particularly observed of Tycho Brahé, that the *non-elliptic* inequalities of the lunar motion, which he discovered, were precisely those which the theory of gravitation in Newton's hands was powerful enough to explain; while that noticed by Ptolemy was not explicable by Newton's means, nor became so, till many years after his death: so that if it had stood as the only test of the truth of Newton's theory, we do not see how the *mutual* attraction of the planets could have been advanced by him, or that of the sun on *satellites*. Of the immediate bearing of Kepler's researches on those of Newton, we need not speak; the discovery of the elliptic motion of the planets, and the laws of that motion, being the very *principium* of the *Principia*. Vieta is perhaps one of the most indispensable of all; he was the first who gave algebra the right to be called a part of mathematical analysis, nor do any two branches of the mathematical sciences differ more in form or power than that which he received, and that which he left. Of Galileo, the true establisher of the Copernican system, by the promulgation of a sound theory of dynamics, which removed objections that were valid according to preceding notions—the discoverer (or *a* discoverer) of the telescope, it is unnecessary to say more. Of the names that have preceded, it is interesting to remark, that in 1570,

no one had attained the age of thirty years; in 1630 all were gone but Galileo. We doubt if any period of sixty years has ever been so productive, the facilities of communication properly considered.

We have noted those who first gave the impulse in the several branches of knowledge which were most prominently useful in the construction of Newton's work; but we have no room to fill up the details. There is an interest, perhaps in some degree partaking more of romance than reason, in the extent to which it is felt; but certainly to the most phlegmatic of mankind there *is* an interest, in those who first originated any acquisition of power, whether physical or mental. The words "first invented" have a charm even to those who do not understand what is invented, and those who *inventas vitam excoluere per artes**, are of more notoriety than the arts which they improve. The filling up of the picture would excite more curiosity if it were made a little more of the deductive kind; that is, if the dependence of certain men upon certain others were more prominently explained and demonstrated. The reader, who cannot enter very minutely into original works, wants a genealogical history of discovery, in which descent and alliance may be made evident. The line of Tycho Brahé should be traced through Horrox, Hevelius, Flamsteed, the Cassinis, &c., so far as they necessarily must be placed in that line: and the mixture of the blood of Galileo should be noticed. It should be shown how Harriot, Descartes, and Wallis, owed their immediate origin, on one side of the house, to Vieta; Huyghens perhaps to Kepler, and more to Galileo; Barrow to Cavalerius, or it may be to Roberval, or to Archimedes: we are not settling these points, but only insisting that they should be settled. However this may be, we claim every quartering for Newton.

Immediately preceding the time of our great philosopher, the English school of mathematics was in high repute, and *both* Universities had an equal claim to scientific honors; or if either predominated, it was Oxford. The names of Harriot,

* Virgil, cited by Boswell, *à propos* of the "great" Twalmley (as he qualified himself), who invented an improvement on the laundress's ironing tool. We are sorry for the anti-climax, but it is really beyond our power to abstain from alluding to it.

Brouncker, Wren, and Wallis, are sufficiently well known; and we hope the University which produced them, will endeavour to regain the scientific lustre which in their day they imparted to her. But while the diffusion of mathematical knowledge was going on in England, the peculiar habits of thinking of the people were laying the foundation of a curious schism, which has lasted even to our day.

The form of the new science of algebra, was not such as would enable it to compete in rigour of demonstration with the geometry of the ancients. To a close and dry reasoner, used to the severe form of Archimedes or Euclid, or to the elementary works formed on the model of those writers, it must at first have been somewhat repulsive; but to an imaginative disposition, which could be pleased with an instrument of discovery, and excuse the necessity of examining results, on account of the ill-understood character of the process, algebra was an alluring study. The locality of the two English Universities naturally drew students from the more southern parts of the island to Oxford, and from the northern to Cambridge. This is even now very much the case, and must have been still more so at and before the time of Newton, perhaps we should rather say, of stage coaches. Whether there is that difference between the character of the two divisions of our country, which will render the result a natural and probable one, we leave to our readers, expressing our own opinion decidedly in the affirmative. But in any case, Oxford was the birth-place of algebraical studies in England, and we do not find, before the time of Newton, any thing done at Cambridge in the science in question, at all comparable to the researches of the three whom we have mentioned. The works of the contemporaries, Oughtred and Harriot, the former of Cambridge, the latter of Oxford, will serve, to those who know them, to point out the difference of character in the algebraical pursuits of the two Universities.

Newton, himself a north countryman, was wedded to the forms of the old geometry, and unfortunately for the cause of science in his country, not only spoke and wrote in favour of them, but took the trouble to wrap the discoveries which must have been the result, not only of algebra, but of his own extended fluxions, in the ancient covering of synthetical demonstration.

By this he gained a conventional rigour, but lost the opportunity of communicating his methods. His works were thus made more than necessarily difficult to read, and when read, were found to contain within themselves their whole value. No step was to be made from them; no method of advancing was pointed out. To complete the misfortune, the dispute upon the right to the invention of fluxions begot a national preference for the form of Newton's algebraical symbols, in the matters in which they differed from those employed on the continent. Thus the communication with foreign parts was wilfully shut up: an obstinate adherence to the cause of one individual, threw the country upon its own unhelped resources; and the reader may judge, from the sketch which we have given of the roads which led to Newton, how small was the probability that one country by itself would be able to advance beyond him. But in the meanwhile, it may well be asked, was the University of Cambridge the only hope of our country in these matters? Supposing that the students of that University chose to identify themselves with the fame of an individual, and to take root in geometry instead of advancing with algebraical analysis, what could that be to Oxford, which was not likely to share any inveterate, or at least undue degree of partiality for the star of its rival? If, as we believe, the students who naturally resorted thither, were the better disposed of the two sets to cultivate analysis; or if, as must be conceded on any supposition, some circumstances had rendered that University, for the time, a most eminent *European* school of algebra, surely we must regard it as the natural soil of that science in this country. But matters fell out in a different way: if Cambridge did not make progress, Oxford retrograded: nay, retrograded so completely, that there was no longer question about that seminary when the natural sciences were spoken of; and Cambridge, which came to be considered as the mathematical school of the country, bore all the blame of the stationary character of our philosophy. But at the time when the fall began, it is clear enough that both Universities were in a position to have sustained the national character: and with regard to what has since been called the modern analysis, the southern seminary was more likely to have done so under proper management. We are not suffi-

ciently well acquainted with the history of that University to know the reasons of the decline and fall of mathematics: but now that the tide, we hope, has turned, it is for those who are endeavouring to re-establish the academic character in that respect, to give a full historical explanation.

In Scotland, the ancient geometry maintained itself as firmly as in the north of England. Maclaurin cultivated the new subject of fluxions originally and successfully; while, at the same time, he wrote an elementary work on that branch which held its ground till the introduction of the foreign form of the science. But the writings of Emerson and Benjamin Martin, which now crowd the second-hand book shops, are the best indices of English mathematics during the two middle quarters of the last century, both from their number and celebrity. To these we may add the works of Thomas Simpson, which are even now worthy of attention. One thing cannot fail to strike the inquirer: it is, how carefully they avoided all explanation of the harder parts of the *Principia*.

On the continent, in the meanwhile, the realities of Newton had been adopted, and stripped of their cumbrous forms. The extensions of the higher parts of analysis were almost entirely made abroad: and in the earlier part of this century there was but one living proof in Great Britain that any extension of the foreign improvements had been made here.

The first work on the differential Calculus, which appeared in this country, was Professor Woodhouse's *Analytical Calculations*, published in 1803. To this Author the University of Cambridge was indebted that its body was the reformer of our mathematical system. But public opinion had begun to touch the sore point; it was noised abroad, particularly in Scotland, that the French were in possession of a mathematical system, to which our's was altogether inferior; and an early article in the *Edinburgh Review**, had charged the members of the University of Cambridge with being unable to read and understand Laplace. The charge was true, at least so far as this, that neither in the elementary works emanating from the University, in the questions of the public examinations, nor in

* This article was written, we believe, by Professor Playfair, and was noticed in the preface to a subsequent Cambridge work, in terms which showed that it was felt.

the researches of graduate members, was there any thing which could prove that the modern analysis was either known or cared for. It is not our intention to enter minutely into the steps of the reformation, as they are living in the memory of all who are acquainted with the state of mathematics in this country. Suffice it to say, that before the year 1820, most of the vestiges of the old system had disappeared: and only the habit of studying the *Principia* in preference to, but sometimes in conjunction with, the higher astronomy of the foreign successors of Newton, remained to tell of past times. The completion of the work, in the introduction of what is there somewhat improperly called *physical* astronomy, and in that of the newest researches in optics, electricity, &c., considered as mathematical sciences, dates from the last few years.

The University of Cambridge is indebted for the power of making such a change of studies to a democratic feature in its constitution, which places the matter of the examinations entirely in the hands of the examiners for the current year, without restrictions as to the methods or notations to be insisted on. This is in effect throwing the controul of the whole University system into the hands of the younger members, so far as the regulation of studies is concerned. Had it required a grace of the Senate to make the change, it probably would not yet have happened.

The Universities of Dublin and Edinburgh have kept pace with that of Cambridge, as to time, in their rejection of the confined system which fettered their mathematical energies, and Oxford has fairly begun to follow. Out of the Universities, the best index of the prevailing mathematical taste is in the well-known almanacks, the Gentleman's Diary, and the Ladies' Diary, which, through good report and evil report, have continued, for a century past, to propose questions for solution. A collection of these problems would furnish materials for the mathematical history of the non-academic scientific world, such as we believe is not possessed by any other country. These publications, we now see with satisfaction, have adopted the foreign notation and extended views. But, even before any public body had begun to show symptoms of renewed vitality, a private periodical publication was drawing largely from foreign sources, and in a manner which

must have acted most favourably on the judgment of mathematicians as to the benefit to be expected from an entire adhesion to the foreign system. This was Leybourn's *Mathematical Repository*, the first work after that of Mr. Woodhouse made its appearance, in which the notation * of the differential calculus is to be found.

We have exclusively attended to the progress of mathematical philosophy, and its applications, because the state of those sciences has always been an index of that of all the rest, since the time of Galileo and Bacon. Where sound notions upon mechanics and astronomy began to prevail, inquiry upon other subjects was never far off, and all the higher parts of experimental philosophy in this country felt the want of the stimulus which results from mathematical discovery. In new sciences, in which the most fundamental points are to be established by the roughest experiment, this does not hold; nor did the infant progress of chemistry, so far as it was in the hands of Priestley, Black, and Cavendish, show any symptom of the languor which pervaded the kindred branches. Indeed, it cannot but have struck every one, who is at all acquainted with the subject, that there has been in this country either a singular number of coincidences, or a great aptitude for successful investigation of the *fundamenta* of different sciences. Bacon, Newton, Napier, Wallis, Brook Taylor, Bradley, Priestley, and others, are all connected with some one or more elementary points, either of speculation or observation, on which whole bodies of science, or prominent parts of bodies, are now constructed. How many of the brilliant results which have been brought amongst us from abroad, can be traced back to some law or fact exported from England! In blame rather than praise be it spoken, that the country which has originated should not have been able to complete.

We may appear to have taken, in a very fair degree, the usual licence of writing about every thing under cover of a title page; but we shall now proceed to make it evident that the preceding remarks have a very obvious bearing upon the ends of the Society, which, under the name of the British

* The Memoir of Legendre, on Elliptic Transcendentals, was reprinted in this work in 1809.

Association, has taken upon itself the general *surveillance* of the state of natural philosophy.

The want of communication, where national prejudice interfered to isolate the inquirers of different countries; and of *speedy* communication, even where no such feeling existed, has been one of the great impediments to science: an obstacle, the evil of which cannot be measured even by the good which it is actually proved to have prevented, since fair room for surmise must always be left, as to what might have been done, if the results of one country had been quickly conveyed to every other. The public scientific bodies, have hitherto been the Universities and the various philosophical societies. The first, entirely employed in the education of the young, and leaving all matters of research to the disposition of individual members; no express institution existing in either for the *advancement* (as opposed to *diffusion*) of any one single branch of natural knowledge, except those formed by the private act, *quoad* the University, of certain members. This may surprise some readers, and there may be trivial exceptions; but it is generally true. We cannot here enter into the distinction between the *colleges* and the *universities* to which they belong, nor correct the mistakes which spring from confounding them. To take one instance, the *university* professorships of mathematics, &c., are very poorly paid; while the *college* tutorships (totally distinct things) are the actual means of teaching. The second, instituted to be the passive recipients of the researches of individuals, for the purpose of promulgation, and not professing to do more than to divide all that is presented to them into good and indifferent, or necessary and unnecessary, to publish the former of each class, and to circulate it at home and abroad. If any other views were entertained by the founders of these societies, experience has shown that there is quite as much as can be done, in what is stated above. In neither of these, therefore, does there exist any person or persons whose duty it is to inquire into all that has been done in any past period, to digest the result of their inquiries, and to make the public acquainted with it. If any individual had, by his own labour, successfully and properly collected the history of the progress of any one science for the last twenty years, undoubtedly the Royal Society, or any other which it

concerned, would be ready, or *would have been* ready, or at least ought to have been ready, to give it the sanction of their name, and the publicity of their transactions. But it was not in their line of duty to search for such productions, and there would have been many practical difficulties in the way of their doing so. The British Association is instituted to fill up this void, and at the same time to effect an object which arises naturally out of their first duty, namely, to point out the paths in which further investigation is most needful. They are to instigate inquiries, where it is found that individual research has not travelled; to be the commanding officer where concert is necessary; and to prevent any part of the public force from being wasted on what has been already done, or is actually doing.

To these objects they have added that of endeavouring to arouse a spirit of enthusiasm in the cause of knowledge, by holding their successive meetings in the different capitals and large towns of the empire. Whether the effect intended will be produced or not, we cannot say; but it is certainly worth a trial. To the imposing character of their meetings, and the festivities which accompany them, there can be no objection in themselves; but one point should be attended to, and we put it to their better judgment, whether the admiration which, as individuals, many of them may feel, and ought to feel, for each other, ought to be allowed to break out, when in their joint capacity the public must look upon them as one, and their mutual praises as very like self-praise? Still more, if the excitement of a public meeting, and the sight of those whom he most respects, render hyperbole pardonable in the "possessor of the chair," should the sounding words, unaccompanied by the excitements which render them bearable, be printed and circulated? We turned with nausea from some reports which we have seen in print, though not in the volumes we are now considering, but separately printed. We never could have believed that truth (for the praise was properly bestowed, and upon objects of the highest desert), could have been rendered so unpalatable by circumstances.

We turn with more pleasure to the volumes which are announced at the heading of this article, containing, we say, without any fear of contradiction, more specific and valuable

information upon the actual state of mathematical and experimental philosophy, within the present century, than can be found in any one work, for any the same period of time. We do not by this mean, that the information is popular, but it may be made popular by those who know how. And it must be recollected, in judging of this society, that it is not intended for the diffusion of easy knowledge, but for the collection of information upon the most difficult subjects, for the use of those who are engaged in the van of investigation.

In viewing, generally, the state of the sciences which it is the object of this society to promote, we must give it as our own opinion, that there never was a time when the prospects of this country, in comparison with those of others, showed greater promise. Far from joining in opinion with those who hold that we are on the decline, we think that we have risen, of late years, from a state of languor, which had lasted more than half a century—that the proofs of an energy which did not exist, even ten years ago, are among the daily advertisements of our newspapers—and that the evidence of success which could hardly have been dreamed of by the most sanguine, half a century since, is to be found in the pages of each successive volume of the transactions which emanate from many societies.

We shall close this article with a few remarks upon the present and past state of scientific feeling in this country—a consideration of the utmost consequence, when we consider how much the cordiality of mutual intercourse must influence the efficiency of such societies as we are now considering. No reader need be told that the olden time was distinguished by a disposition to carry on the minutest controversy by arrogance of style and abusive invectives. That this childish mania pervaded the scientific world, is easily proved; and it is whispered that some curious information on this subject is, even now, in course of preparation, which will not a little vex and astonish those who would wish to think highly, in every respect, of superior intellects. To show the way in which people differed from each other about the middle of the last century, in the quiet regions of mathematics, we shall take one instance where the parties were academics, and another where they were not. When Dr. Berkeley published his

Analyst, he stated himself (but without reflecting on any person) to have been credibly informed that the deference paid to mathematicians was one way of making infidels. "For "God's sake, Sir," answers Philalethes Cantabrigiensis, "are "we in England or in Spain? Is this the language of a "familar, who is whispering an inquisitor, &c. &c.....your "informers, how credible soever you may think them, are no "other than a pack of base, profligate, and impudent lyers."

The preceding, we suppose, was more moderate than it otherwise might have been, owing to the University education and sacred character of the answerer. The following is an instance of the tone of disputation among the privileged laity. An answer to an attack on Simpson's Fluxions provoked a reply, which was actually published in 1751, under the title of "The Ladies' Philosopher; or, Miss Billingsgate in a Saliva-"tion for a Black Eye. By the Triumvirate. To be con-"tinued quarterly, for the universal improvement of truth, "and correction of error." Very little better was the measure which Emerson was accustomed to deal out to any Anti-Newtonian.

Now we need hardly say, that the day of such exhibitions is gone by among our scientific men. Political and theological considerations have ceased to create differences among philosophers acting for what we may call a professional object. That the old spirit may return, is very certain; but its sphere is narrowed, not by any superiority of human nature in our day, but by the necessity of confining itself within the bounds of certain sciences, which afford no great aliment to angry discussion, at least when compared with politics. That such is the case, might be presumed, from the mere fact of the existence of the British Association, which differs from the other societies in this, that members, being persons of decent character and common education, may elect themselves, and the most motley literary crowd that ever assembled in this country is thrown together, under all the excitement of a public meeting, to listen to addresses delivered by those who cannot be personally cognizant of the feelings or dispositions of one-tenth of their hearers. We do not believe, that, in the time of our citations above made, such a phenomenon could have been exhibited, as four peaceful meetings of such a

description, and we think the character of the association in this respect must show, if any thing can do so, the altered state of manners among men of science.

It is no small assistance to the maintenance of the above desirable state of things, that there do not now exist any great parties collected under specific watch-words. The distinction of Newtonian and Anti-Newtonian has vanished; that of *dot*ard and *de*ist * did not last long, and is also gone; the national animosity has been smothered by the introduction of the continental works. Even the watch-word of the *decline of science*, which lately threatened a lengthened controversy, is now of no force; and it is remarkable, that the association, formed as it was during the height of that contest, avoided the dangerous question, thus giving a gratifying proof of the disposition which exists to work in concert without introducing extraneous discussions.

It must also be observed, that most philosophical questions now in dispute have been reduced to circumstances in which violent collision is hardly possible. If we except the question upon the undulatory and emanatory theory of light, those great peacemakers, the differential equations, have brought contested theories to such a degree of resemblance, that the quarrelling ground is all anterior to the working ground, and whether there be gravitation or no gravitation, is, absolutely and independently considered, of as little consequence as whether Euclid's definition of a straight line be metaphysically good, and, indeed, stands in much the same sort of relation to the planetary theory, as that same definition to the subsequent propositions. It must be noticed also, that the enormous questions which agitated men's minds have subsided into numerical inquiries, which afford as little excitement as the question of an odd sixpence in a duty on tea, when compared with that of whether the taxing body possesses the right of taxation. Even the inquisition, though it might take hold upon the mind when it settled the point of motion or no motion, could hardly have excommunicated upon the question of a year of ten seconds and a half more or less than another,

* This was a Cambridge joke, the terms being applied to distinguish the advocates of the home and foreign mathematics, while the controversy lasted. The fluxionists used $\dot{x}$ where the advocates of the differential calculus wrote dx.

or a maximum of the aberration of light of one-tenth of a second more or less than orthodoxy.

To one probable consequence of the existence of the association, we look with great satisfaction; one of its great objects is the description of the actual state of the various branches of philosophy, which cannot be properly done without a complete knowledge of their past history. This point has been as much neglected in England as any other, or even more so, if we may judge from the proceedings of the scientific societies. It is obvious, that all purely speculative or experimental sciences do not absolutely require that knowledge of the past, which is not a mere adjunct to, but a constituent part of, every branch of literature. If we except astronomy (and we hardly know whether to make the exception), there is no division of mathematical philosophy, or its applications, which necessarily, and by the very act of studying it, brings the learner in contact with its history. A man might be a perfect mathematician for every purpose connected with the application or extension of his science, and not know whether Euclid be alive or dead, or whether he wrote in Greek or Arabic. Such being the case, a society for the promotion of historical research was much wanted, in all those departments of knowledge which are not necessarily historical. And we hope the association will not forget, in its ardour to point out the road which is to be travelled, or the voyages which are to be undertaken, the necessity of providing good maps of that part of the world which is already known. They have begun well in this respect, and the acquisition of two or three members of extensive research, has enabled them to set out with a great quantity of heavy work fairly got over. But it is to be recollected, that every year which is allowed to elapse, runs them in arrear on matters in which they may not hereafter be fortunate enough to find competent and willing labourers to so large an extent as delay will make necessary. The history of astronomy is brought down to the year 1830; we are now in 1835, and have grounds for supposing that the course of time will bring on 1850. But we have not half as much reason to imagine that the association, or any other scientific body, will always possess an individual member with both knowledge and leisure sufficient to write the history of

twenty years; though, perhaps, if three were substituted for twenty, the difficulty might not be great.

Here, again, the spirit of the age would relieve the undertaker of such a task from the invidious part of his enterprise. There is no occasion to give strong opinions upon disputed points; a summary of the evidence on both sides (with references), being all that is absolutely necessary to the future inquirer.

If the British association, when the first impulse is past, dwindle into a society for the communication of individual discoveries, and the discussion of them at an annual meeting, high and useful as such a purpose must be called, it will have lost the mark by which it is now distinguished from the ordinary scientific bodies, and will have abandoned the ground on which its exertions were most wanted. We must confess, that we fear such a result, and we say this knowingly, under the certainty of its being answered, and truly answered, that no symptom of such a change of pursuits has yet appeared. But there is a strong disposition in all public bodies to settle down into *routine*, while the very principle of the association is *origination*. The members who make the reports are usually selected and sought; this implies an activity in the executive body, which it is very difficult to render perpetual. But we augur something from four well employed years; and at any rate, if the suggestion shall prove to have been unnecessary as a warning, it will become a trophy.

Article VI.

Lord Brougham's Speech, on presenting the London Petition against the Taxes on Knowledge, in the House of Lords. London: 1835.

There is an article of first necessity. Men, in a civilized state of society, can no more live without it, than they can live without bread or clothes: in a savage condition, they can make some shift to do without even these bodily necessaries, and to drag on a comfortless existence, on shell-fish, and raw flesh, and roots uncooked, while they shelter themselves in the caves

and bushes from the inclemency of the weather; but bread and raiment are essential to civilized life. It is so with the article of consumption to which we are alluding; not only can we not be at ease without it, but we are not safe from a thousand impositions, if we have not the free use of it. We derive from hence protection against tricks cunningly contrived for our ruin, and we are thereby enabled to rely upon ourselves for the safety of our most important interests. Nay, the moral character of society depends upon our use of this same article: it forms the only sure foundation of all moral discipline, and all religious improvement. In a word, there is nothing within the whole range of the human desires, which men ought more anxiously and unremittingly to seek the possession of, and nothing which all men of common understanding do more eagerly desire to have, and more prize when obtained. There is nothing more essential to our happiness, or our virtue; nothing which it is more absolutely necessary to diffuse, easily and cheaply and rapidly and freely, among every class of every community.—Lastly, far from the use of this article being confined to one class, and that the wealthy, it is in equal demand among the poorest of the people; and it is even of more importance that they should have free access to the use of it, than those of a higher order.

This is the article which it has pleased the wisdom of our rulers to tax far more heavily than any other commodity in the country ever was taxed, except salt alone; and that impost was many years ago taken off, because of the universal indignation raised by a common necessary being so heavily burthened. But the article we are now referring to pays a tax of two hundred per cent. upon the prime cost, beside other heavy duties! Had any other thing, used by even a small portion of the community, been burthened with so exorbitant a duty as this, years and years ago we should have heard of nothing else in all meetings, and all debates, and read of nothing else in all the newspapers. No Parliament, reformed or unreformed, could have resisted the loud and universal demand for its repeal; and no ministry could have stood, which resisted the general importunity of the suffering and clamorous public. Yet KNOWLEDGE, and above all, POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE, is suffered still to be crushed down by this enormous burthen,

while no great effort is made by the country to get rid of it; hardly any one in Parliament lifts his voice against it; all governments, the liberal and the conservative, are alike indifferent about it, and unfortunately prefer relieving glass bottles and tiles from some inconsiderable duty; and the Newspapers themselves, upon which, in the first instance, it mainly presses, almost all of them carefully avoid the subject, or only touch on it to oppose the repeal! How is this to be explained? Are the people dead to their best interests? Are the conductors of the press the only vendors who care not how heavily their wares are taxed? If we begin by considering the real situation of these newspapers, we shall at once discover the key to the other enigma.

That the sale of a great London paper is exceedingly impeded by a duty of about fourpence laid upon the paper which they sell to the newsman for about twopence, nobody can doubt; and that the repeal of that heavy stamp would greatly increase the sale, and so far augment the gains of the concern, is therefore certain. But as there is another source of profit in the advertisements, not independent, indeed, of sale, but secured just as much by selling five thousand, as by selling ten thousand; and as that is by far more valuable than the profit of the sale, it is to that the proprietors chiefly look; and if any change in the law which should increase the sale, were sure to lower the profit on advertisements, such a change would naturally give great alarm to the owners. If, again, the falling off in the gains by advertisements were likely to be much greater than the rise in the profits by selling more papers, it would manifestly be against the interest of the proprietors that such a change in the law should take place.

Now one thing is said to be certain, that the stamp chiefly prevents the establishment of daily and even of weekly papers. The sums paid are all rigorously exacted, and are to be advanced. This of itself is a heavy loss, during the first weeks, or even months, of a new paper, which is generally little bought, but either given away, or printed in far greater numbers than can find purchasers. This, however, is the least of it. As many persons as can afford to pay for newspapers at sevenpence a-piece, already buy the established papers; so that there

would be little demand for new journals at the same high price; and no competition can be expected in an article so heavily taxed; so that each new publication must be sold at about this established price. But if the stamp were taken off, a number of new papers would immediately be set on foot. What would be the inevitable result?—Advertisements now paid for to the few old papers at the rate of fifteen, twenty, or twenty-five pounds, would be inserted in the new ones for as many shillings. The traders and their customers would greatly gain by this greater publicity given to the announcement of all articles, and at perhaps a tenth part of the price. But the gains of the old papers would be materially lowered; and though their sale would be increased exceedingly, their owners believe that on the balance there would be a great, at least a considerable loss. Add to this, that the competition of the new papers would create trouble and possibly some expense to the old, in order to maintain their ground. They are like all monopolists; they dislike the struggle of free competition, because they are as well off as they can be; and they know that they never *could* gain by the change, while they *might* lose. This consideration is quite sufficient to make them very averse to any change, even if they saw no reason to believe that it would be certainly detrimental to them. The risk, the danger is enough, and that they are naturally desirous to avoid.

No one can blame the respectable parties to whom we are alluding for all this; they have a right, nay, it may be a duty, to regard their own interests; but if they ever represent themselves as interested in favour of the repeal, and as acting disinterestedly when they oppose it, then they *are* blameable; because they are, in fact, pursuing their known interest all the while, and have no right to pretend the contrary for the sake of giving weight and authority to their opinions. Some of them have had the boldness to say that they feel how beneficial the removal of the stamp would be to themselves, yet that they feel so strongly the evils of encouraging seditious and blasphemous papers, that they willingly sacrifice their own gains to the good of society; as if anything could be worse for society than such hypocrisy and falsehood! That the apprehensions thus put forward to cover the real objection, are utterly groundless, we shall presently show.

In explaining the reasons of the newspapers being against the repeal, we have confined ourselves to those printed in London, because they it is which give the tone in a good measure to the Provincial Press; at least, their purposely keeping a subject out of sight, and discussing all other matters, naturally prevents the country papers from generally taking it up. Besides, they alone exercise very considerable influence over the members of the government and of the legislature. When men, whose opinions are more or less influenced by what they see every morning in print, find that this subject is never handled in their Morning Paper, they not unnaturally conclude that the public cares little about the matter. This impression is strengthened, when they see an attack on the repeal from time to time; now a sneer against those who support it—now a doubt how far it is of any use—and never a single thing said to show, or even to acknowledge, even the importance of the discussion—there is no great wonder that those men, of somewhat indolent habits, and who do not often go out of their way after information that is not dropped on them, or impressions that arise not of themselves, should imagine this to be a question they have little to do with, and which none but a few enthusiasts, or visionaries, or inferior editors, take any interest about. In truth, the influence of the London press is much greater, both upon ministers and members of both houses of parliament, than is generally supposed—unfortunately greater than these persons could ever be forced to admit; perhaps a good deal greater than they are themselves aware of. As this matter is very important, not only in explaining how the subject is so much neglected, in both cabinets and legislative bodies, but in exposing the worst evils of the present absurd and oppressive system, we must enter a little more at large into the consideration of it.

A gentleman living retired in the country, even if his education be good, and his independence of mind considerable, falls, sooner or later, under the influence of a paper which he reads daily. It is true that the paper originally chimes in with the politics with which he, more or less, agrees, and so far the influence is mutual. There being so many men like him in their ways of thinking, produces so many papers, generally taking that line

in politics. But how great a latitude does this afford for influence, and all exercised upon the reader, and none by him in return! The newspaper has only not to make a sudden and sharp turn, only not to go over, only to abide generally by the same creed, and then it may lead the worthy squire, or the good retired citizen, any way it pleases. It may even on certain questions go off altogether, and he will follow half way; or it may take a much higher or a much lower tone than he would have done, and he will pitch his to the same key. You shall see his worship, at the next Bench meeting, adjusting his language by his paper, almost as nicely as his grandfather did his wig by the looking-glass, or his father did his own wine-glass by his right-hand neighbour's. Nay, there is a feeling of pride about those good people, which comes in to the editor's aid. "I'll assure you, Sir, my paper "has it so, and I never yet was deceived by it."—"Well, "I've taken that same paper any time these thirty years, and "it shall go hard but I stick by it still." Then the London papers are connected, more or less, with certain parties, and supposed to speak their sentiments. This becomes a most overpowering consideration to the squire or the parson, who grows pale as he reads the names of those great people in church and in state, of whom the ingenious editor makes himself the daily mouthpiece. How far he is, by dictating to those very parties, his own mouthpiece and no whit more, we are presently to see. But in the mean time we are only marking the kind of influence exercised on the rural by the editorial mind; on the *Sylvanuses* of the provinces, by the *Urbans* of the daily press.

To take but one instance more of this kind of dominion, and how well intrenched it is, and how enduring: the paper excels in some one kind of intelligence congenial to the tastes or habits of the worthy gentleman. It deals in police intelligence, and he is a diligent justice, the ornament of the quorum, and no two magistrates commit so many in the twelvemonths; or it abounds in anecdotes of the turf and of high life, and he runs his hunter, and has daughters of fashionable propensities; or it is full in all articles of City intelligence, and he was in business before his elder brother, the young squire, broke his neck in hunting. So the paper is adhered to in spite of its "*vagaries*," which grow more and more numerous till it gets almost

liberal; treats tithes (which he never *could* in his heart think scriptural) with levity; would simplify the law; in short, he will forgive any thing but a fling at the Corn bill, or the Game laws; and even these, though they fail to influence his opinion, will not wring from him an order for any other paper. But all the while that he goes on taking in the half-liberal journal for the sake of one corner in it, that corner the first read, and the last laid aside—all the while that he pays for this beloved corner, "which of all the earth (or *Globe* or *World*) smiles on him "the most,"—he must needs read the whole paper, which he and his family

"First endure, then pity, then embrace."

And there are many other channels by which the skilful newsmonger and political doctor finds access to his mind, and many means of retaining the hold once gained, and extending the influence half acquired. It may, indeed, in papers, be observed, that some of them, designed chiefly for country consumption, are expressly framed so as to shun extreme doctrines; to avoid strong and decided opinions of every kind; to mix much water in the political cup: and others adopt the clumsier expedient of having always three or four leading paragraphs of perfectly different and even opposite kinds; so that each of "our con-"stant readers" may find somewhat to his mind in "our varied "columns;" and if the liberal and decided tone of one sentence should give alarm to the robust-limbed and small-hearted lord of thousands, the feebleness and balancing, the truisms and candour, and congenial no-meaning of all the rest, may speedily lull his fears to congenial repose.

Such is the dominion of the Metropolitan Press over Country readers. But this is very far indeed from being the nature of its influence "*in town*." The London reader, be he minister or senator, is not under so fast a hold. It is far otherwise that he is to be approached; yet approached he is, and that each day of his life; aye, and seized fast hold of by both his heart and his head.

We by no means intend to assert that if the London newspapers were all in one voice, or all in one type, to declare for a certain opinion alien to the sentiments or the prejudices of their readers, and were to continue inculcating the same thing for a year at a time, any sensible effect would be pro-

duced; on the contrary, suspicion would be roused by such an apparent combination. So, if one or two papers were to reckon upon having much direct influence over public opinion, and to take a line of their own abruptly, no one would follow them. A morning paper of large circulation tried this experiment two or three times on the Reform Bill; called daily for vengeance on Lord Althorp, on account of one clause; required the heads of Lord Grey and others, on account of peers not being created, and the House of Lords being suffered to continue its existence; and afterwards denounced the authors of the Poor Law Bill as public criminals, and the measure as all but justifying resistance; and it turned out that no human being was ever in the least moved by such ravings; nay, that they had actually the effect of increasing the majority in favour of the latter measure. So, when a paper has been purchased by a party, and changes its principles, going over to the side it had for years been attacking with daily bitterness in every manner of way, the only effect produced was to lose its readers with its character, as might have easily been foreseen. Beyond a certain point, then, the press has no influence at all; once passing that, it loses all power together; but within such limits, and when conducted without any gross violations of honesty and decorum, it affects, even on the most important questions, the judgment of men exercising a great influence, because existing in great numbers; we mean the men of middling capacity and ordinary firmness, whether in office or in parliament. Some are afraid of attack; others take the London papers as the test of public opinion; they see certain things boldly asserted on a given subject day after day; they begin to think that "*there is* "*something in it;*" but at any rate they are persuaded the country thinks so; they meet their leaders, or their followers, or their colleagues; and though they will take special care, perhaps, not to whisper how they became convinced of such things, they speak that language either on the subject itself, or at all events on the "*feeling of the public;*" so that those they speak to, who have also read their Morning Paper, find it true, "*as they had suspected,*" that this is really the voice of the country, and all the while they have only been hearing the voices of a few men concerned in conducting one or two

newspapers. It is not, we repeat, that such mistakes will be committed, when those journals go in the teeth of public feeling, or when they go very far beyond it; in order to guide, they must follow; but by following a mile, they get their readers to "go with them twain." On things which the public cares little about, they may succeed in making an opinion pass for extremely prevalent; and on things where many of the people care a good deal, they may make it be supposed that all the people are bursting with indignation, or panting with hope, or quivering with alarm. There is a still more certain success for their efforts, if they ever should happen all to agree in any subject of common interest, on which the country has no other organ of communicating with the government or parliament.

The Newspaper Stamp is precisely such a subject, and observe how the Papers (the parties alone interested in preventing the repeal) have proceeded, with one or two most honourable exceptions, and how sure they were to succeed. They have not, in general, supported the stamp; but they have suppressed every thing against it. The gentlemen who form the bulk of senates, and fill some of the high offices, and who mix but little with any of the community except those few that are found in clubs and coteries, see nothing at all even mentioned on the question of the stamp. This is quite enough to make them at once conclude, that nobody cares a straw about the matter—"Else why do you never see it in the papers?" Nay, more—meetings are held, perhaps advertised, as one was at the Mechanics' Institution, another in the City, a third in Southwark. The announcement of the meeting is possibly seen, and then either the papers say nothing whatever about it, when holden, or a few lines make mention of "a respect-
"able meeting held on Monday last—question, the Taxes
"on Knowledge — when Dr. Birkbeck, and others, ad-
"dressed the assembly, and resolutions were passed unani-
"mously." So then, concludes the reader, this has been a failure; nothing at all of a meeting; or nothing to speak of. "Oh! the people don't care a farthing about it; nothing but "these vile fellows, the editors of slanderous papers." For with an ingratitude unparalleled and unpardonable, those politicians who let the papers make their opinions in a great degree for them, and are unable to move out of town, or dine in it,

without a "*fashionable announcement*," and are wholly incapable of passing their time without reading those productions, live in one continued abuse of all papers—an abuse shared pretty equally, though not quite, by both Whigs and Tories; the latter inveighing most bitterly against slander, and openly encouraging the most shamefully slanderous of all the productions of the periodical press. And so those readers of news, and rulers of the country, make up their minds that the meeting failed, and that no one wishes to have the stamp repealed; yet the fact was, that two thousand persons attended the meeting; that six or seven Members of Parliament addressed it, besides some men of great scientific attainments; that there was a degree of zeal exhibited for the object second only to the desire of Reform some years ago; and that a discussion of many hours took place infinitely more interesting, and far better supported, than almost any one of those with which the columns of the same prints are filled, as a matter of course, when the subject is any thing excepting the repeal of the stamp, and the destruction of the newspaper monopoly.

In accounting for the coldness of so many liberal men upon a subject so important to the success of their own principles, we have also stated the leading facts as to the influence of the press. We have not only shown that the careful stifling of all the public are saying and doing, upon the *Knowledge Tax*, has induced the belief that nobody cares for the subject, and thereby prevented the friends of the people among the upper classes from taking any interest in it; but we have also explained how the press generally operates upon those classes. We shall continue the subject, and postpone for the present any remarks upon the grossness, the extent of the delusion, which has thus been propagated.

Do we then, it may be asked, conclude that the newspapers, especially those in London, to which our remarks almost exclusively apply, that a few London papers, exercise a great and paramount influence over the conduct of public men, and the deliberations of the legislature? Certainly not a paramount, but as certainly a considerable influence. A few weeks dispel any illusion which they have succeeded in raising, and undeceive, above all, those who had for the moment been misled upon the point of how far the public

opinion set in towards one quarter rather than another. But while the delusion lasts, much real, and often irreparable mischief is done; they whom their morning studies over the breakfast table chiefly affect during the rest of the day, are persons who mix but little with any classes of the community, beyond a small circle of people very like themselves, subject to the same prejudices, of no greater capacity or information, and of habits so indolent, that they gladly avoid the trouble of inquiring, and of thinking for themselves. In a week or two they discover their error, certainly in a month or two, but unfortunately they have in the mean time, by their conduct, injured the cause they perhaps are well inclined to serve, and the course of the government and of parliament may have been seriously affected by their having been the dupes of unknown and designing men.

Thus we take it to be perfectly certain, that if any fifty members of the House of Commons, or any twelve men in the various offices of power and influence, under the crown, were at this moment asked what they thought of the newspaper stamp, forty of the former, and ten of the latter, would at once answer with a sneer, or an oath, against all newspapers, and a confident assertion that the tax was a thing the people cared nothing at all about. It is just as certain that in a month or two from this time, every one of both these classes of statesmen will sufficiently understand the subject to find out that the question is not one the newspapers are interested in promoting, but that the people, and, above all, those who are anxious for the security of our best institutions, and the furtherance of good principles and of good government, have and feel this interest; and also that a greater mistake never yet was committed, than those who imagine the country to be indifferent upon the subject, merely because some half-dozen papers, from interested motives, which naturally and necessarily sway them, as they do all men, have thought proper to say nothing upon the controversy, and to prevent the circulation of what all but themselves are at this moment saying all over the country. In proof of this, we need only add, that it formed the favourite topic at every one of the immense public meetings of the most respectable and best-informed parts of the people, lately holden in London and Westminster, for purposes connected

with liberty and general improvement. Therefore, in a very short time, the delusion will be dispelled: but the practical effect of it will have been to continue the odious impost in question a year longer; and this may serve as a sample of the Periodical Press's operation generally in all cases.

The influence of the periodical press upon the great body of the people, that is, the respectable and intelligent middle classes, is next to nothing; they read, but they think for themselves. In the country, too, the papers which alone they read are provincial ones, and accordingly they drink political information at a far less tainted source; for those country papers, generally, give extracts from all sides of the London press: this serves to put men on their guard against misrepresentation of facts; while as for the arguments and opinions of the writers, upon those the middle classes judge for themselves, giving up the paper if it goes astray: And thus the Provincial Press is, generally speaking, a more faithful representation of public opinion. But for the stamp, it would be more faithful still, and indeed would represent all shades and diversities of political and religious sentiments.

Little remains to be added in order to explain fully the first great evil wrought by the tax,—its enabling a few men in London to influence public opinion, and though only for the moment, yet with pernicious effects. It may be said, that there is safety notwithstanding the monopoly which the tax creates; because the papers, though in a few hands, yet espouse different parties; and truly so do they, if by parties we mention the different sections of the aristocracy, who constitute what is called, "*the parties in the state.*" One set of papers are Whig, and another Tory. We can hardly say, one set are liberal and another anti-reform; because, though the latter are sufficiently represented in the press, the former is so to a very moderate and very inadequate extent. The public — the interests of the country at large, independent of party—the cause of human improvement, without regard to political ambition, and without respect of persons, is really not represented at all, or only represented by accident, in so far as the views of one or other of the leading parties happen to espouse some measure beneficial to the interests of mankind, and to oppose some schemes prejudicial to the general weal.

There is a monopoly of the article of primary necessity to civilized and free men, political information and intelligence, and the case stands nearly thus, as to the injuries which this monopoly inflicts upon the community.

A way-faring man arrives outside some large town, and wants to know what inn he should go to where he may be civilly treated, at a moderate cost, and forwarded expeditiously on his journey. He finds near the gate two or three persons, any of whom he may ask for this information. The first risk he runs, is that none of them may really know which are the good inns; the next, that they may be in the pay of some bad inn to mislead him. But if a multitude are assembled, of various classes, and he asks his question before them all, nobody can doubt that he will speedily find which is the house he is in quest of. Just so it is with the purveyors of intelligence, and the commentators of passing events. If there be but a very few in the field, 'tis odds the reader is misled from ignorance, or through design. But he runs no such risk, if there be forty or fifty who devote their labours to the same pursuit.

There seems hardly any necessity for dwelling upon the extreme inconvenience, and, indeed, injury which the people sustain from the high price of newspapers; making it, indeed, an article of mere luxury. The price of a daily paper is an income to a poor man. Remove the stamp, and every three or four of the humblest classes could afford it. It is proved that six times as many newspapers are sold in the United States as in England, and fifteen times more in the Norman Islands of the Channel, there being no stamp in any of those countries. But without a free circulation of newspapers the things most important for the people to know are necessarily concealed from them; and the things which it most concerns the good government of the state, and the good conduct of the community that they should know. Thus, there can be nothing more wholesome for the state than that all classes should be familiar with whatever passes in the Houses of Parliament, and, above all, with proceedings in Courts of Justice, including those of Police. The detection of criminals is best prevented by the publicity of the proceedings which cuts off all chance of escape; and the prevention of

crimes by the force of example, the only justification of punishment, is mainly promoted by having the whole community present, as it were, at all trials of prisoners, and all executions of convicts. No court and no place of punishment can contain beyond a very few comparatively of spectators. But the newspapers might bring each trial and each punishment home to every man and woman and child in the kingdom. And the more we mitigate the severity of our criminal code, the more necessary is this universal publicity of trials; for the very knowledge which any, even the remotest, circles of the community can have of transportation or imprisonment having been inflicted on an offender, is derived from the accounts of the trial and sentence.

All this is independent of the events in the management of our own affairs, and of those of foreign nations, the knowledge of which nearly concerns every one of the community, and which can only become generally known through the press. It is, too, all independent of political discussion, and of information, more generally and permanently important, conveyed in almost all our journals. Yet, all this, as the law now stands, must be confined within the precincts of the wealthy; for among the poor, newspapers can have but little circulation.

That a repeal of the stamps would greatly increase the number of the London Papers is quite clear, because it would diminish the price, and increase the sale, beside removing a material obstacle to setting-up new Papers. But, in London, where the trade is a ready money one, this last consideration is of less moment, because the sum advanced for stamps on the Saturday is most of it repaid before the next Saturday. In London, therefore, this latter argument has far less force than in the country. There it operates powerfully indeed. The provincial newspapers are sold to regular customers at half-a-year's credit in general; and the proprietor must advance, out of a small capital, the whole stamps during this period, so that he is always greatly in advance, and cannot carry on his trade at all without a material addition to his small capital. Accordingly, beside the profit from a vast increase of circulation, without any loss in advertisements at all, but rather a gain by their increased

numbers, the provincial paper would gain exceedingly by the capital required for carrying it on, being much diminished. It is therefore the direct interest of all the country papers, that the stamp should cease. Let the London papers do what they will, or leave what duty they please undone, it is quite impossible that the voice of the public, and the efforts of the country press, should not speedily prevail.

Among the many mischiefs which the stamp produces, one is by no means to be overlooked; indeed, it is in some respects the most lamentable of all, — the communication of sound instruction to the poorer classes, and especially in the country, is entirely prevented by this tax. Those who have been most diligent in spreading among the people the blessings of general knowledge, constantly declare that their efforts are paralyzed by it. In the rural population, the love of reading is very feeble; it extends not beyond the news of the day, or rather, of the neighbourhood. Books, how cheap soever, and how attractive, never find access to the cottage—hardly to farm-houses. But couple useful knowledge with the intelligence which a newspaper deals in, and the doors of those humble dwellings, where so much remains to be done in teaching the inmates, fly open at once to the Schoolmaster. While the tax exists, this is utterly impracticable.

Against all those reasons what has ever been urged in favour of the tax? *First*, that it brings in four or five hundred thousand a year. *Secondly*, that its repeal would encourage the publication of base journals. But all the calculations show that the first reason is founded on a chimerical fear; and the second consideration, when examined ever so carelessly, operates exactly the contrary way. If the tax is repealed, the duty on advertisements will increase to a very large amount, and make up for the whole deficiency from the stamp. Indeed, there probably will be a clear gain upon the change; and the existence of the duty at present not only has no effect in preventing the wicked productions alluded to, but, in fact, is their greatest encouragement. No one can really suppose that more of those vile things would be published were the tax renewed. In fact, there would be far fewer. At present they come out without paying any stamps at all. They who defy the libel law every day may well defy the revenue laws, and accordingly they do so. None of the seditious, blasphemous, and obscene

papers have any stamp at all; nor have any of them the printer's name, so as to be exposed to prosecution. Thus the stamp, falling on the respectable publications alone, gives to the bad ones a complete monopoly. The noxious papers are sold for a penny, and two-pence, while the harmless paper cannot be sold under seven-pence or eight-pence. Destroy the tax, and a number of cheap and good works would immediately appear, and drive the bad ones out of the market. A few might continue to be produced, as there will also be a few readers of perverted appetites, by pandering for whom some disreputable persons will make a dishonest gain; but the number of such papers will be small indeed, compared with those that now owe their existence to the stamp.

This article has been confined to the discussion of the Newspaper tax. But the excise upon paper, of three-pence a pound (including all that is cut to waste), and the absurd duty on foreign books imported, are serious obstructions to the progress of knowledge, especially the former. It prevents many a cheap work from being undertaken, and has caused some excellent ones to be discontinued. It amounts to a heavy burthen upon all cheap books, falling infinitely lighter upon those of a high price. The admirable works, of which thousands are sold to the common people, pay, it is calculated, in the proportion of thirty to forty per cent. upon the prime cost; while the books bought by the rich do not pay above five or six per cent. Can any thing be more absurd, or more iniquitous, than such a duty? The repeal of one half of it would be an incalculable advantage to the community, and would certainly not diminish, probably would increase, the total amount of the receipts.

Article VII.

Lord Henley's Plan of Church Reform. London.
Letter to Lord Henley, on his Plan of Church Reform. By Henry Frederick Stephenson, late M.P. for Westbury. Second Edition. London.
What will the Bishops do? London.

Ecclesiastical affairs have, for some years past, occupied a large share of the attention both of Parliament and people, and given occasion to debates and discussions little calculated to

promote either the peace of society or the beneficial influence of religion. The prospect of a satisfactory termination to these dissensions still seems to be indefinitely remote; as the disputants, after all the breath and ink expended, have made no perceptible approach towards unanimity, and discover no tendency to come to an accommodation upon a principle of mutual concession. It is, indeed, the unhappy peculiarity of all disputes into which religion is introduced, that the partizans of the opposite opinions conceive themselves bound in honour and conscience to concede no principle, however unimportant, and modify no claim in order to conciliate an adversary. The questions, therefore, that have been mooted between churchmen and dissenters are not more difficult from their own intrinsic complexity and delicacy, than from the intractable tempers and unbending principles of the two parties. The assailants will be satisfied by nothing less than the entire subversion of the church, because nothing less, according to their views, comes up to the principles of perfect toleration and equal rights, while its defenders as stoutly contend for the retention of every existing immunity and privilege, as indispensably necessary for its permanent continuance. We need scarcely say that to neither of these extreme opinions do we assent. We see, or think we see, in the church *uses* sufficient to desire its continuance, and *abuses* enough to wish for its reformation. But even if we had formed an opposite opinion on the abstract question, we must have coincided and co-operated in practice with the great majority of the most influential and enlightened of our countrymen, who are desirous of devising the means of reforming, and by necessary inference, of upholding the establishment. When we speak of devising means for reforming and upholding the church, we imply that there is danger to be obviated, as well as there are evils to be remedied, to which we shall now with all possible brevity advert. We are almost afraid, however, to admit the existence of any danger, lest we should seem to countenance that hypocritical cry of "Church in danger," by the aid of which a certain party would be glad to maintain prevailing abuses, and inflame the prejudices of the people against the measures and persons of their political opponents. Yet it cannot be denied, that a degree of danger does exist, arising both from its external

relations and its internal defects, and not least from the obstinacy in error of its own most influential members.

The external relations of the church have been very materially, although gradually and almost imperceptibly, altered since its original establishment. The reformation was conducted and perpetuated under the auspices of the Tudors and Stuarts, who exercised a dominion all but absolute, in these realms. In whatever point they felt their prerogative weak, they had sufficient authority to fortify it by such Acts of Parliament as invested them with an arbitrary jurisdiction, and a dispensing power almost equal to a supreme legislative prerogative, independent of the two houses. This despotic power, which in temporal affairs was very high, seemed to be perfectly uncontrolled in spiritual matters, after the renunciation of the supremacy of the Pope. The monarch assumed the title of "Supreme head of the church under God," and together with the title, the entire authority (functions purely spiritual and sacerdotal only excepted), which had been exercised by the pretended successors of St. Peter. To deny and dispute the validity of this somewhat arrogant title, or the prerogative it implied, was constituted by statute high treason. "To the imperial crown," as it is expressed in one of the servile enactments in the time of Henry VIII., "the body politic, compact "of all sorts and degrees of people, divided in terms and by "names of spirituality and temporality, be bounden and holden "to bear a natural and humble obedience, he being furnished "by Almighty God with plenary and entire honour to render "justice and final determination in all cases, matters, debates, "and contentions." From this period, therefore, to that of the rebellion, the "spirituality and temporality" were considered as two independent states, connected together through the medium of their Supreme Head.

To the laws and ordinances of these two estates, as administered by the monarch and his subordinate officers, all the subjects of the empire were bound to conform. The fall of the church and the limits of the empire were coincident; and the very same individuals, namely, the entire population, were, in the purview of the law and the theory of the constitution, members of the one and of the other. They were all governed by one monarch; in their temporal concerns through the

instrumentality of parliament and the law courts; in their ecclesiastical relations, by the high commission and star chamber, or the more regular and legal courts spiritual. Dissent from the doctrines, and insubordination to the discipline of the church, were looked upon in the same light, and visited with the same penalties, as disaffection to the constitution, disloyalty to the king, or an infraction of the laws of the State, and not a few expiated with their lives the presumption of asserting the right of individual judgment in the choice of a creed. Toleration was unknown, except as prudent connivance or especial indulgence. Even Jeremy Taylor, among the earliest, if not the very first, champion of religious liberty in our church, in his immortal work, "Liberty of Prophesying," written as late as 1644, did not venture to contend for the right of private judgment in the "fundamentals of religion," but left the impugners of any article of the received creeds to the correction of the secular arm.

During this period, therefore, the church was as well secured as the royal prerogative itself, or any other principle of the constitution, or any other interest in the state. The inquisitive and innovating spirit which the reformation had awakened, was arrested and silenced, though not extinguished. The advocates of unrestrained freedom of conscience were secretly, yet actively and successfully engaged in propagating their own principles, and gaining converts to their own party. They represented the church of England as a mere modification of popery, and as bearing still many of the characteristics of the apocalyptic beast, from which she was separated in name, but not in spirit. They contended, and not without reason, that she had only exchanged an ecclesiastical for a lay Pope, and the persecution of the saints (for so they styled themselves) was as unrelenting as ever. The ill use which was made by the monarchs and their ministers of the power and patronage with which the Reformation had invested them, strengthened the cause and hands of the puritans, as it paralysed the influence of the established ministers. And although the efforts of the puritans were kept in check during the vigorous and popular reign of Elizabeth, and scarcely less by their own dread of the restoration of popery; yet they pushed forward with fresh vigour under the weaker sceptre of James and his immediate

successor, and then, combining with the puritans in politics, succeeded in subverting at once, both monarchy and episcopacy, and changing the whole face both of our civil and ecclesiastical polity.

Much and long as the puritans had groaned under the yoke of intolerance, they had not learned to exercise that moderation and forbearance, which adversity generally teaches. They had been discontented subjects, and proved imperious rulers. Retaliating upon their oppressors, they professed to hold papist and prelatist in equal abhorrence, and excluded both from their rule of toleration. Thus disgusting some by their hypocrisy, others by their enthusiasm, and all moderate men by their intolerance and tyranny; they prepared the way for the re-establishment both of church and monarchy. The prerogative was now much curtailed, and the church derived its strength chiefly from the returning favour of the people, as opposed both to popery and presbyterianism. Charles II. would have been glad to have conciliated these sects, but was resisted by the two houses of parliament, as well through jealousy of his principles and purposes, as attachment to church ascendancy. They therefore passed the Test Act, and other severe laws, against conventicles and masses. The *existence* of non-conformists was acknowledged, however, and they were permitted to enjoy their religious opinions in peace and security, provided they did not attempt to propagate them, or to assemble in congregations. But the church was again made coincident with the *active* members of the state. A fresh danger now arose, from a quarter that could have been least anticipated—from the monarch himself, whose mind had received a strong bias towards the Romish faith, during his residence abroad. This was still more strongly manifested by the second James, who was a professed papist, and threw off all pretences of impartiality; and having attempted in vain to conciliate the independents and presbyterians, by parliamentary concessions, made a desperate effort, by the force of his prerogative, to establish the Romish church. His attacks were, therefore, made upon that part of the establishment where he anticipated the feeblest resistance. In this, however, he was grievously disappointed; the hierarchy had partaken of the prevalent thirst of independence, and led

on by bold and enlightened, yet prudent leaders, bid defiance to the undue exertion of the prerogative, and the menaces of despotic vengeance. The bishops led the way, by a passive resistance to the bigotted tyrant, to his subsequent expulsion, and thus laid the foundation for an advantageous arrangement and position with the new government.

This opportunity was not lost; the bishops were enabled to stipulate in the convention parliament for the preservation of all their immunities, emoluments, and dignities, and thenceforth to hold them, independent of any dispensing power, or high commission court, to be erected by the authority of the crown. They also introduced into the new coronation oath, a clause, by which the monarch engaged himself "to main- "tain, to the utmost of his power, the protestant reformed "religion, as established by law, and to preserve to the "bishops and clergy of this realm all such rights and pri- "vileges as by law do or shall appertain unto them." It is at this point that the church assumes its present position of a constitutional and intimate union with the state, as the result of a mutual and almost formal compact. Hitherto it had been a kind of appanage to the imperial crown, and subject, both in its collective and individual capacity, to the arbitrary control of the king, either in his own person, or by the intervention of extraordinary courts of high commission. Now it was enabled to make terms with the parliament, and almost prescribe terms to the monarch, and stipulate for independent existence, together with high privileges, legislative and executive. It is true, that a tolerant and liberal spirit had made considerable progress; William himself was a dissenter, and although of an intolerant party in Holland, a sincere advocate of toleration in England. He had sufficient influence to prevail with the two houses of parliament to pass the Toleration Act, which conceded to the dissenters the free exercise of public worship, while he mitigated the severity of the anti-catholic laws, by discouraging their execution. The church, therefore, from this period, no longer rested upon the broad basis it had hitherto done; other sects were admitted to the protection of the laws, and some of the privileges of citizens; but by the sacramental test, sectarians were still kept out of parliament, and all offices of trust, in corporations

and under government. This system and policy have existed, though often eluded, up to a very recent period, when legislative and civil offices of every kind were thrown open to all denominations of christians, by the abolition of the tests and oaths that stood in their way.

We have given this brief summary of the *past* history of the established church, that our readers may more easily form a prognosis as to its future destiny. The history of the past presents us with three distinct eras—one, during which no adverse sect was tolerated, or supposed to exist; a second, during which opposing sects were legally tolerated, but not admitted to offices of trust; and a third and last, which now prevails, and in which dissenters, as subjects, are placed in every civil right and privilege, upon a perfect equality with the members of the church.

The question now to be decided is, shall this movement be pushed on to the extreme point of dissevering the church from the state, and confiscating its revenues. We have assumed, for we have not space to contend, that this subversion would not be safe, and if safe, not salutary. The problem next to be solved, therefore, is, by what means is it to be upheld in the new position in which it stands, and amidst the enemies by which it is assailed? It is quite evident that it can no longer be maintained as an appanage of the crown, under the protection of undefined and almost absolute prerogative; neither will an exclusive or orthodox parliament throw its ample shield over it, to cover both its excellencies and defects, on a principle of stipulated inviolability. Already the two legislative houses contain a large proportion of members adverse to its interests, and marshalled for its destruction. The principles of the constitution give to them the privilege of legislating to its detriment, and interfering both in its external circumstances and internal economy; to protestant dissenters this privilege is given without any restraint; to Roman catholics, under the restriction of an oath, which, like many other official oaths, is liable to be looked upon as a mere matter of routine. Its ultimate fall, therefore, must now rest with a majority of the members of parliament, among whom it has no specific representatives; rather, therefore, it must depend upon the majority of the electors of the united

empire, comprising catholic Ireland and presbyterian Scotland; before that popular tribunal it must stand or fall, on its own merits; it can no longer stand upon privilege or prerogative, or shelter itself under noble or regal patronage; it is no longer even necessary, or useful to an administration, as a source of influence or engine of government; its situation at this juncture is the more critical, as it has encountered no small degree of unpopularity by its opposition, strenuous but unavailing, to the grand measure of reform. The consequence is, that the new constituency, with the representative and the executive government based upon it, are, in political, whatever they may be in religious principle, hostile to it, and disposed to reduce its influence and weaken its power. Most clear, therefore, it is, that its preservation must now depend upon its own intrinsic excellence; its aptitude and efficiency to diffuse sound knowledge and good principles, intellectual, moral, and spiritual, and thus conciliate the good-will of the nation, by the blessings and benefits it confers. This can be accomplished only by removing its blemishes and defects, correcting its abuses, and removing every obstacle to the full development of its moral and religious energies. It is under this conviction, that we shall proceed to point out some of the more prominent defects, of its present economy, which we shall do with no hostile intention, but with something of the same purpose, for which a physician points out to his patient the diseased organ, that he may submit to the regimen which is to effect its cure.

The most pernicious and widely spread evil, then, is the inefficient exercise of the patronage of the church. The appointment to the bishoprics, the most valuable dignities and benefices, is vested in the crown, but exercised by its principal officers. The selection is almost universally made from the number of their political adherents, and generally with a view to reward or secure political subserviency in the person of the candidate himself, or in that of his connexions. We do not mean to allege that *no* respect is paid to the qualifications of the individuals to be advanced. But the *first* point looked to is their political usefulness, past, present, or to come. The consequence is, that the instances are extremely rare, of men being promoted to the higher situations in the church as a

reward for the faithful and unambitious discharge of the duties of an inferior, but not less arduous, condition. Theological and literary attainments, not below mediocrity, are held to be necessary qualifications; but, from the clergy so qualified, the bustling and pushing, and ambitious, and not the diligent, pious, and modest, are generally selected to preside over their brethren. The bishops so selected cannot be supposed to have, either by taste or habit, much sympathy, or to seek much intercourse with the parochial clergy. Their favour, therefore, and patronage, when exerted out of the limits of their own connexions, are extended principally to their chaplains, college and school acquaintance, or, at best, to some person distinguished for literary or scientific talents. Instances might be produced of a bishop presiding over dioceses, having ample preferment, for twenty years, and not collating one curate, except such as he himself had introduced into it, from private considerations. Of the disposal of the benefices in the patronage of lay and ecclesiastical corporations a better account cannot be given. They are generally made the reward of services performed to the corporation itself, or yielded to diligent canvassing or powerful solicitation. The majority in number, if not in value, of the livings, are in the hands of lay individuals. That they should be bestowed on sons, brothers, and relations, is not much to be wondered; but great indeed is the scandal that is given, and the prejudice that is excited, by the presentations being perpetually advertised to be sold to the best bidder. It is obvious that this mode of bestowing preferments must tend greatly to discourage professional exertion, and therefore to diminish the effectiveness of the clergy. It has also another consequence, extremely prejudicial to the reputation of the church. It furnishes its opponents with an inexhaustible fund of vituperation, and alienates its conscientious friends by the secularity and indecency of such transactions. The next serious defect we would mention in the internal economy of the church, is the laxity, or rather absence of discipline. The bishops live so short a time in their dioceses, and in a manner so excluded and distant, or, as they may suppose, dignified, that they see very little of the proceedings or character of their clergy. For the information they receive, they must be indebted to the com-

municativeness of the little band of courtiers that beset them. Consequently the highest merit, if unobtrusive, goes unrewarded, and great delinquency, if not notorious, unpunished, and even uncensured. The conduct of the working clergy, although often deficient in zeal and energy, is generally irreproachable and respectable. But there is, notwithstanding, in every district, some one or more who bring disrepute upon the whole profession, by the irregular discharge of their duties, or the immorality of their lives. In such cases it is a matter of general astonishment and regret that the bishop either does not interfere at all, or not with the desired effect. The bishops, indeed, excuse themselves, on the plea that ecclesiastical censures do not reach the offenders but through a very circuitous and expensive process in the spiritual courts. But many of these irregularities might be repressed at once by a friendly admonition or a verbal rebuke, or, at most, a temporary suspension, if the episcopal office were in fact what in terms it would imply, and in theory it is intended to be, an *inspecting* and *superintending* office. There hangs, however, a mystery and a suspicion over the spiritual courts altogether. The proceedings in them are so different from a process at the common law, and are in general so protracted and so little understood, that the defendant in such causes is generally considered as a victim singled out to perish either by lingering litigation, or by the arbitrary sentence of a secret and inquisitorial tribunal.

The state of our ecclesiastisal jurisdiction is not merely highly prejudicial to the church, but disgraceful to a civilized country. It has no parallel except in the conduct of the tyrant, who inscribed his penal laws in small characters upon tablets of brass, and fixed them in places so elevated, that his subjects could not distinguish them. The whole vast, heterogeneous mass of the canon and civil laws, as they existed previous to the Reformation, are still suffered to retain their authority in those courts, except in such particulars as they are contravened by our common and statute law. There is no department in which the Reformation was left so deficient as in retaining, unaltered, a code or rather an undigested mass of foreign laws, under a new system, to which they were in no

degree conformable. An Act was indeed passed, in the reign of Henry VIII., to empower the King to appoint commissioners for the purpose of making a digest of these laws. This Act was revived in the reign of Edward VI., in virtue of which a commission was actually appointed under the auspices of Cranmer. An excellent summary of ecclesiastical law, and rules of discipline, under the title of "Reformatio Rerum Ecclesiasticarum," was drawn up; but, in consequence of the premature death of the youthful monarch, was never confirmed in Parliament. The same statute was revived again in the reign of Elizabeth, but nothing was done. That politic and despotic princess thought it more convenient to keep those laws undefined and impracticable, and therefore her own dispensing power in church affairs unlimited, than to place the hierarchy under the power, and so under the protection, of the statute law. The consequence has been, that, since the reformation, neither have the bishops had any competent knowledge of the laws they had to administer, nor the clergy even a remote conception of the canons which prescribed their duties and regulated their interests in all matters subject to spiritual jurisdiction. Subsequently, however, a clumsy and abortive attempt was made to remedy this monstrous inconvenience, but it ended in making the matter worse—confusion worse confounded. A series of constitutions and canons were agreed upon in convocation in the year 1603, and ratified by the King, but never confirmed by Parliament. Consequently they have been decided in our courts to be invalid as to the laity, although obligatory upon the clergy—that is, so far as they are legal and practicable. They are, however, always printed and published with the Common Prayer Book, that all possible notoriety may be given to what is not law, or to show how law and practice may be at variance. The relaxation of discipline, and the confused state of the canon law, even at this hour, are in themselves conclusive proofs of the defectiveness, or rather suspension, of the ecclesiastical constitution. For, defective and unwieldy as it is, there can be no doubt, if the convocation had been permitted to assemble and act, that many of the anomalies, incongruities, and contradictions, with which the canon law

abounds would have been removed, and rules of conduct and discipline established and enforced among all degrees of the clerical order.

The great defect in the Anglican church, and of its other defects, the occasion is, the want of a representative synod, as an authorised organ of its opinions—a tribunal to which the whole ecclesiastical corps might be amenable in their spiritual capacity—a council in which obsolete and inconvenient observances might have been abolished, and new ones established, according to the exigency of the times—a conference in which measures might be concerted, either for extending the influence or averting the danger of the community, for punishing the slothful and vicious, and rewarding, were it only with the meed of public applause, the active and the good. To the absence of such an institution we ascribe much of that supineness of which we complain. In all communities a public voice, the index of public opinion, is necessary to create and keep alive public spirit. Another great defect, is the very unequal division of dioceses and parishes. Both clergy and laity complain grievously of the inability of bishops in extended dioceses, with their other avocations, parliamentary, official, and social, to hold visitations, confirmations, and ordinations, at convenient intervals of time and place. Is, then, confirmation an apostolic institution and an edifying, if not an indispensable, ordinance? If it is, then surely the opportunity should be afforded to the people of partaking of it, at intervals not longer than annual, and at no inconvenient distance from home. Triennial confirmations and visitations, while ordinations are held sometimes in London, sometimes in distant dioceses, would seem to imply that the functions of a bishop are not very essential. The inordinate extent and population of some dioceses probably render such a perfunctory discharge of episcopal duties inevitable. But the evil is a serious one.

A report has already been published by the church commissioners, having for its object to produce a scheme for correcting this evil. When the subject is brought before parliament, it will be found that they have accomplished their object so timidly and imperfectly, that they seem to have feared to commit themselves to such secular and profane guides as

geography and population. The commissioners, for instance, advise that the seat of one of the two new bishops should be fixed within twenty-five miles of York, at Ripon, on the extreme eastern verge of his projected diocese, and at the distance of sixty miles from its western limits. Why this allocation which outrages common sense? Because, forsooth, there is a "collegiate church at Ripon, well adapted for a cathedral." There are people who cannot get it out of their heads that a church consists of a pile of stones. We might ask which of his episcopal functions does a bishop discharge in his cathedral church, and how often in the year does a bishop appear there, either as minister or worshipper? In the meanwhile there are portions of Northumberland left to the diocese of Durham, at the distance of nearly eighty miles from that cathedral. We have no further space to devote to observations upon this well-intended, but very inefficient plan for assigning more convenient geographical limits to the several dioceses. We say, however,

Non defensoribus istis
Tempus eget.

Then as to parishes; some are so small as to encourage indolence, by the lightness of their duties; others so large as to set all diligence at defiance. The disproportionate allotment of ecclesiastical revenues is also a glaring and pernicious defect. Great masses of population have grown up under the encouragement of our manufacturing and commercial policy, for whom no church accommodation is provided. In consequence of the numerous appropriations, lay and ecclesiastical, important and populous parishes have no adequate endowments to support incumbents, much less to remunerate assistant ministers, by whom these parochial duties should be shared.

We shall not advert to the prejudice and opposition excited against the church by the present system of paying tithes and church rates, and the registrations of the births and marriages of dissenters, because these matters already have undergone ample discussion in parliament, and are likely to be brought, at no great distance of time (if the contentions for power and place will allow space for any thing but party questions), to a satisfactory conclusion. It is to rectifying the defect and disorders in the internal economy of the church that we are most

anxious to direct the attention of its reasonable and liberal friends.

Great objections are taken, and we think not unreasonably taken, to the matter and form of our liturgies and articles. We do not mean to uphold the opinions of those who would introduce any *fundamental* change into the doctrine and service of the church. We assume that her hierarchy is apostolical, her doctrines orthodox, and her service scriptural; and that her champions are fortified in argument against every assailant. But all things that are lawful, are not expedient. All her thirty-nine articles may be true to the letter; but as some of them are very mysterious, some of them much controverted, and some of them, as we humbly think, not very essential, it is not too much to infer, that they are not all very expedient. Indeed, we should almost be bold enough to aver, that all those articles that are mysterious and controversial, but not essential, even if true, are very inexpedient and very prejudicial; and for this plain reason, that they augment the number of dissentients from the church, and to its own members "minister questions rather than edifying." It may be very true, for instance, that "Christ went down into *hell*." What labour has been wasted, what ink and paper have been consumed, what tempers ruffled, what charity extinguished, what acrimony generated, in settling the meaning of the word "*hell*" in this phrase. Again; shall a man be excluded from the communion of the church of England, and the hopes of salvation, because he does not believe that we "have no power "to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without "the grace of God by Christ preventing us?" Is it necessary that he should declare his "assent and consent" to such definitions of original sin and predestination, as make the former "in every person born into this world deserve God's wrath "and indignation;" and the latter, "the everlasting purpose "of God, whereby he has constantly decreed to deliver from "curse and damnation those whom he has chosen in Christ "out of mankind," &c. Because, if these are not necessary articles of faith, they are more than inexpedient. They are a stumbling-block to thousands, who otherwise would avail themselves of the ministrations of the established church. Not to multiply instances out of the articles, we turn to the creed,

ascribed to Athanasius. We by no means question the truth of the doctrine of the trinity, even when enunciated in the somewhat paradoxical phraseology of this too much celebrated symbol. But is it necessary, or even edifying, that every worshipper in the national church, should, in his conscience, believe, and solemnly proclaim, that "except every one do "keep this faith," so enunciated, "without doubt he shall "perish everlastingly?" The Anglican liturgy is much celebrated, and justly celebrated, for the charitable, and therefore evangelical spirit which pervades it. This creed surely is a striking and offensive exception. By whomsoever composed, it bears internal marks of having been drawn up in the heat of controversy. There are also two occasional services *in*, though not *of* the common prayer book, which are liable to the same objections, and for the very same reason. We mean the forms of prayer for the fifth of November, and the twenty-ninth of May. The former of these abounds with severe reflections upon the Roman Catholics, and the other with no less bitter revilings against the puritans; which, however well-founded, were much better buried in oblivion, or at least not perpetuated in national systems of public worship.

We have already expressed our admiration of the pure spirit of devotion that distinguishes our liturgy; but when considered in reference to its inconvenient length, its repetitions, its perplexed arrangement, as being an unconformable congeries of three services compounded into one, we see much room for correction and improvement. Its language too, has, in many passages, become obsolete in the sense in which it is used. The selection of proper lessons is frequently injudicious, and the metrical version of the psalms below mediocrity, and beneath criticism.

We here again repeat, that we do not point out these defects with an invidious or hostile intention, but that they may be remedied before it is too late. The enemies of the church are active; its advocates ought to be vigilant and quick-sighted. Let the rulers of the church be told that the day is past for taking shelter under royal prerogative, parliamentary, orthodox, ancient prescription, and exclusive privilege. They must not look upwards, but downwards; and recruit their strength from the people. They must be reminded, too, that

the spirit of the times is anti-aristocratic, and little disposed to bow before usage, rank, or antiquity. There is an inquisitive, perhaps suspicious, spirit abroad. Every institution will have to undergo the most rigid scrutiny, both in the gross, and in detail. If, therefore, to any of them which are to be preserved, there adhere serious imperfections and abuses, remedies ought forthwith to be applied.

It will be said, that to discover disorders is much easier than to suggest cures. We are, nevertheless, well persuaded that the abuses we have pointed out, might be, if not perfectly corrected, yet most materially mitigated, if the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, who profess attachment to the church, would apply themselves diligently and seriously to the task. Commissioners have been appointed for all purposes, important or trifling; why should not a commission issue for introducing order and sense into our ecclesiastical law and its administrations? In the same commission instructions might be given for establishing rules of more strict discipline, and enforcing the punctual discharge of duties throughout the whole hierarchy; from the *highest* to the lowest. Plain and definite rules, as far as language can define complicated duties; and simple and direct modes of enforcing obedience to them, should be established. For undefined cases of delinquency among the clergy, a tribunal should be formed in every diocese, from among the resident incumbents, to be presided over by the bishop or the archdeacon. Temporary suspension, or even censure, inflicted by such a court—even the mere knowledge of its existence, would go far to repress the few cases that exist, of gross neglect, or scandalous immorality.

Sir Robert Peel, in his speech on bringing up the Address, promised to make "some provision which would enforce epis- "copal authority over the clergy." We hope the right honourable baronet did not contemplate an extension and enforcement of *arbitrary* authority. A rigid exertion of despotic power would come with an ill grace from men who show themselves to their clergy but once in three years, and live in elegant and splendid seclusion from their humbler brethren, whose parochial duties bring them, at least ought to bring them, into the daily discharge of the most painful and laborious duties. The government of the church is far too exclusively in the hands

of the bishops already. For decency's sake, as well as for the ends of justice, let the errors and vices of the clergy be reprimanded or punished, either by definite laws, or a tribunal formed from their own order. It is not perhaps known to Sir R. Peel, and other persons of his rank, that complaints are made quite as frequently of the remissness of bishops, as of the parochial clergy. Times and places for ordinations, confirmations, and visitations, ought to be fixed by law, in every diocese. The present irregularity, for we do not attribute it to indifference or negligence, in those high personages, occasions great inconvenience, and not less dissatisfaction, both among lay and clerical members of the church. Let the bishops set an example of strict discipline and diligent ministration, and they may interfere with more grace and effect to enforce the obedience of their inferiors. Their example will suffice: but if bishops are to exercise any salutary influence over their clergy, it must be by living among them, and with them; seeing their conduct with their own eyes, and not trusting to the partial representations of courtiers, or to the loose reports of common fame. They must first know, then discountenance, and reprove the indolent of *whatever rank;* encourage, and occasionally advance, the diligent—however humble and friendless. In order to provide for the better allocation of parishes, and distribution of the resources of the church, a committee of experienced clergymen, with the archdeacon at their head, might be appointed, to draw up a scheme of distribution in every diocese. Having before them a schedule of the extent, the population, and the revenues of the district, it would not be difficult to apportion the due quota to each parish, according to an accordance in a plan, to be carried into execution gradually, as the livings became vacant. Difficulties might arise in benefices under private patronage; but regarding them it would not be difficult, in most cases, to make equitable arrangement, either on the side of making, or of receiving, compensation. The revenues of the chapters are already in contemplation, assigned to parochial purposes, and it is well. They have survived their usefulness, and exist only as marks for envy to aim its shafts at, and as instruments for heaping odium upon the establishment. It is almost forgotten, that these chapters were originally councils of presbyters, to aid

the bishop in the government of his see, and that the dean was the arch-presbyter, or *presbyter decanus*. They hold the impropriation of many livings, which in consequence are very inadequately endowed, and it is a matter of congratulation, that as the prebends become vacant, they are likely now to revert to their original use—the support of active and useful presbyters in their several parishes.

The introduction of the requisite improvements into the liturgy and articles, is the most hopeless case. The bishops are so afraid of innovation, that they seem determined to let the whole system crumble to pieces, rather than replace a stone, or even remove the rubbish. They, like other sensible men, must be aware of the inconvenience and prejudice occasioned by the defects we have pointed out. Is there any difficulty or danger in their conferring together, to devise a plan for applying adequate remedies? We see none: we think all the danger lies on the side of pertinacity, in changing nothing, while all is changing around them. It is true that they must have the concurrence of the convocation, which is the "church of "England by representation," and the sanction of parliament to give their suggestions legal solidity. But can it be doubted, that at this day the representatives of the church, as well as of the people generally, would rejoice to give their sanction to improvements in the book of common prayer, both for the satisfaction and edification of their own constituents and for the edification of other nations, among whom this useful form of worship is spread by almost countless millions.

We should think it a great advantage to see the convocation, even as it is, assembled and put in action—employed in improving the order and discipline, and especially in infusing fresh animation and energy into the whole system. In these popular times, it is unfortunate that the whole government of the church should be based upon the narrow foundation of the episcopal order. In the apostolical, the primitive, and the best ages of christianity, the presbytery and laity had an influential voice in the councils of the church. To that principle the Anglican church must revert, if it is to maintain itself against the popular systems of religious communion by which it is on every side surrounded and assailed. A general convocation, composed of the dignitaries, the presbytery, and the

laity, in equal numbers, would give new spirit, and union, and vigour, to that inert mass which now shows no symptoms of social life, but that it exists and breathes.

We do not make these observations with any invidious feelings towards the hierarchy. We could bear willing testimony to the virtues and talents of many of them. We could dwell with pleasure, if this were the place, upon the theological erudition of Marsh, the scholarship of Blomfield, the active piety of the Bishop of Chester, and the unbounded munificence and charity of Van Mildert. But this is not our topic. It is the system with which we are dealing. This, too, we inculcate, not to abolish but to preserve it. We expose its defects, not to degrade, but to improve and exalt it. We should wish our church establishment to be made what we are sure it is capable, under prudent management, of becoming, the most efficient institution on the face of the earth for promoting virtue and repressing vice—for administering relief and comfort to the most distressing afflictions of our nature—for inculcating principles that render men useful and amiable in all their domestic, social, and political relations, and for infusing a confidence in those truths, which form the firmest stay in the storms and agitations of the world, and enable us to look with pious hope beyond "this visible diurnal "sphere."

Article VIII.

The Printing Machine. London: 1835.

The literature of the day in England cannot be easily or exactly characterised. It is humble, perishable, profuse, and non-descript. The ground is overrun with all sorts of underwood, encountering the student in one form as a nuisance, in another as produced for useful purposes;—the towering forest tree, and the plant of vigorous growth, and high promise, are wanting. It differs wholly from the literature of the early part of this century, which will survive, as that of our generation. There is some resemblance between it and that of France, during the undistinguished interval which separates the two

great literary ages of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. "Il faut observer," says the historian of those ages, "que le siècle passé "ayant instruit le présent, il est devenu si facile d'écrire des "choses médiocres qu'on a été inondé de livres frivoles, et ce "qui est encore pis, de livres sérieux inutiles. Mais parmi "cette multitude de médiocres écrits, mal devenu nécessaire, "dans une ville immense, où une partie des citoyens s'occupe "sans cesse à amuser l'autre, il se trouve de temps en temps," &c. We, perhaps, are in a state of transition, and may soon expect productions of a higher and a classic order.

The cultivation of metaphysics ceased with Dugald Stuart; that of morals still earlier, with Paley. Both these studies had become uncongenial to our age and country. They were not recommended by an immediate and palpable bearing upon social condition, individual or public wealth, or political power—the great stimulants of our time—and an unrestricted freedom of the press enables us to choose boldly, according to our tempers or our interests, throughout the boundless range of fiction, speculation, and discovery. It is quite as much owing to the restraints upon the German press, as to the character of the people, that the German mind expends so much of its powers upon mental and ethical philosophy in the abstract. In France, too, under the strong hand of Napoleon, mental science was cultivated as an approach to forbidden ground. The consideration of man, as an intellectual being, however abstract, could not fail to call up, by association, the notion of his duties and his rights; and Napoleon, who sought to execute the inspirations of his genius by the force of his single will, could not conceal his dislike of the *ideologues*. He, at the same time, applauded, decorated, and enriched the investigators of exact and natural science—the mathematicians, the chemists, and the astronomers. The two first gave new force to the sinews of his government, by the aids which they discovered for the useful arts, both of war and peace; and the last—wholly occupied with the laws, government, and boundaries of the universe—left him to deal as he pleased, or as he could, with those of the world.

We have had, indeed, one writer, who up to a recent period, and to the last moments of a long and studious life, employed himself upon what may be called ethics—the late

Mr. Bentham. Jurisprudence and government, to which Bentham devoted himself, are divisions, and very important divisions, of ethical philosophy. But they have, at the same time, a directly practical bearing upon the opinions, sentiments, passions, and interests of men. This gave him a certain hold upon the age. His hold was not great, especially in his own country; but had he moralized only in abstractions, it is doubtful whether the philosophic zeal with which he was endowed, beyond most men, would have sustained him against utter neglect.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to speak of Bentham fairly, without offending both his admirers and his adversaries. Much of the reputed originality of his views and genius may be ascribed to the hardihood with which he interrogated opinions and institutions, received, established, and reverenced, in the community; and to his use of a strange idiom, which bids defiance not only to the graces of style, but to the conventions of language. But if his doctrine—or its corollaries—be sometimes revolting, it must be confessed that he has launched bold truths, freely and fearlessly; that he was actuated by a disinterested zeal for promoting the happiness of the human species—retaining in advanced age the fresh feelings and benevolent enthusiasm of youth;—that his curious economy of words, however affected and grotesque, does not obscure his ideas; and that his compounds, however arbitrary and fantastic, manifest the vigour as well as the violence of his command over language. One of the standards by which to estimate a writer of the first pretension, is the extent to which he has left the impress of his mind upon the age in which he lived. Bentham is regarded as the founder of a school, or the chief of a sect. He lived surrounded by his scholars, comprising some few men of talent, wit, acquirement, and study; others, who had only that sort of cleverness which may be called empyricism; some again, whose adroit servility blinded the octogenarian philosopher to their being incapable and illiterate.

It was Bentham, we believe, who invented the barbarous word "Utilitarian;" but Utilitarianism (the thing) had another teacher. At the close of the last century, Robespierre professed that he—like nature—careless about the individual, but careful

of the species, thinned the community upon the principle of the greatest happiness of the greatest number of mankind. Fourcroy was refused a short respite from the guillotine to complete some experiments, on the ground that the Republic did not need philosophers. We mean not to assimilate the Benthamites with the Robespierrians in their views or temper, but simply to exhibit Utilitarianism in its susceptibilities and tendencies.

It affects to be republican, but it is wholly unimbued with that republican spirit of Athens and Rome, which produced the *chefs d'œuvre* of the ages of Pericles and Demosthenes—Augustus and Adrian;—which discomfited Xerxes, and demolished Carthage.

The Utilitarians may say, that they understand the word in a different sense, and reproach the uninitiated with ignorance. This rebuke of ignorance is the most easy and obvious of all replies to an opponent—it flatters the conceit of those who use it, imposes upon the vulgar, and costs nothing. Their watchword of "the useful," in its obvious acceptation,—without reference to the virtuous, the grand, the beautiful, in sentiment, in action, in the works of nature and in those of art,—if once received among the conventions of society, or the principles of science, would debase and inhumanize our species. Happily the system can never, from its nature, make way in a modern and civilised community. Virtue and humanity—the graces and accomplishments of life—works of taste and genius in science, literature, and the fine and useful arts—will be prized for themselves;—for the various pleasures which they impart;—not by the standard of the Utilitarians. What would be the Utilitarian value of those Homeric poems which Alexander enclosed in a golden casket—of the remains of the Acropolis—of the Transfiguration—of the Paradise Lost—of the Principia—of the Méchanique Celeste?

Bentham has the merit of throwing strong lights upon some parts of English jurisprudence; for instance, upon penal sanctions, the procedure by jury, and the usury laws. The title of his treatise on the subject last mentioned, "Defence of Usury," is characteristic of the man. Another writer would have employed a periphrasis to express the innocence of the

thing. Bentham adopted the obnoxious, branded term, and weakened, by startling at the very outset, the judgment or the prejudices of an adverse reader. His arguments against "bicamerism" are familiar to the studious at home, and to all liberals abroad; and the vote by ballot was first thrown down by him into the arena of popular discussion. A life of Bentham, that is, a history of his mind, and his productions, would be instructive and curious, if given by a competent observer, who knew him well—but not a Benthamite, within the strict limits of the sect.

Political economy had its vogue for a considerable period. The first renewed impulse since Adam Smith was given by Malthus's theory—or his discovery—of the delicate and perilous relations between population and subsistence;—between the claims of the unprovided few, and the superfluities of the many. His celebrated work gave rise to disputes exceeding in calumny and coarseness all but those of theology. A further and wider impulse was given to political economy by the circumstances of the country during that remarkable crisis, which the ministry of the time denominated a transition from war to peace. Commerce and manufactures were agitated and depressed; the currency, the corn laws, the poor laws, the customs and navigation laws, indicated disease, and demanded examination. Political economy was taken up by all the talent—and all the pretension—of the country: every Tyro, upon entering the House of Commons, to make a reputation and his fortune, started as a political economist. There was, doubtless, much of mere jargon, but there was also much of bold and sagacious investigation. Many errors and obliquities have been exposed and adjusted; new general principles have been established, not only by reasoning, but by legislative enactment; the fearless return to a metallic standard in the face of obstacles the most appalling, has shown the character of British counsels, and the temper and character of the nation, in a light which will appear to future observers more striking and instructive than to ourselves; the names of Huskisson and Ricardo have been associated with those of Turgot and Adam Smith; and political economy has descended to inferior teachers and comparative neglect.

The present epoch has produced no general history in the

English language, worthy to be placed in the same rank with the histories of Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon. It is become a sort of fashion to decry Hume. There is, it must be confessed, a great deal in his history of the Stuarts, which the lover of English freedom cannot read without a murmur; and there is something lamentable—something even humiliating to the dignity and pride of human reason—in what Mr. Fox has termed his childish admiration of kings. He also, perhaps, ascribes motives of action to historic personages, with too great an approach to dramatic licence; and descants somewhat too diffusely for the historian, whose chief business is narrative. But with respect to his bias in favour of the authority of princes, as opposed to the rights of the people, it may, in a great measure, be accounted for by his love of tranquil speculation and epicurean repose;—whilst no writer has rendered more eloquent homage to the antique virtue and republican freedom of Greece and Rome, and even to the virtues, principles and talents of those illustrious disciples of antiquity—the English patriots who questioned the tyranny of Charles I. He may sometimes assign to the actors upon the stage of public affairs, views of which they were ignorant or incapable;—but if he does not rightly interpret their motives, he still gives the reader his own admirable philosophy. There are few works which our literature could less afford to lose than Hume's History. When Voltaire visited England, in 1726, he found us without a national historian;—with only voluminous party pleadings, full of gross partiality and personal rancour. "Pour des bons historiens," says he, "je ne leur en "connais pas encore—peut-être le génie Anglais, qui est ou "froid ou impetueux, n'a pas encore saisi cette éloquence "naive et cet air noble et simple de l'histoire; peut-être aussi "l'esprit de parti, qui fait voir trouble, a decredité tous leurs "historiens. La moitié de la nation est toujours l'ennemie de "l'autre. J'ai trouvé des gens qui m'ont assuré que milord "Marlborough était un poltron, et que M. Pope était un "sot.....Marie Stuart est une sainte héroine pour les "Jacobites; pour les autres c'est une débauchée, une adultère, "une homicide; ainsi en Angleterre on a *des factums, et* "*point d'histoire.*" Hume, for the first time, invested the

annals of the nation with the calm temper, the comprehensive views, the noble and simple eloquence of history.

Mr. Godwin, the patriarch of our literature, has written a valuable work on a most interesting, but short period of English history—that of the Commonwealth. His narrative is more than commonly original and independent in its materials and views; with patient research, a careful examination of evidence, a sympathy which he does not conceal with the cause and the champions of freedom, and at the same time a scrupulous respect for truth and justice. It is yet, we believe, not popular—but popularity is a delusive criterion. Upon comparing it with the eloquent pages of Mr. Godwin, in some of his other writings, we are inclined to suspect that he discarded too studiously the artifices of composition and charms of style, in his adherence to the severe forms of historic truth.

It is the commonly received opinion, that Mr. Fox's historic fragment is unworthy of his fame. We happen to have given to it a recent and not cursory reading, and without meaning to propound our opinion for more than its value, we venture to submit that the introductory chapter, on the reign of Charles II., is a masterpiece of historic composition. Our strong impression is, that had Fox written the history of the Revolution, he would have disdained the beaten party track—risen above the paltry consideration of party interests—and been a quarter of a century in advance of his subaltern partisans in treating the transactions of 1688. We think we can discover the cause of what may be called the depreciation of this precious and unique fragment of English history, in his excessive care to separate the orator from the writer, and in his too strict adoption of the simplicity of the Greek model; so far even as to reject (we have been told) Thucydides for the more simple manner of Xenophon;—he thus became self-shorn of no small portion of his characteristic and practised vigour. His transition from a particular mode of intellectual exercise, in which he had formed himself, to a new style, out of scrupulous obedience to the canons of taste, could not fail to deprive him of many advantages.

A commission has been issued for investigating the records of the kingdom, in the public archives, and bringing to light

whatever, worth knowing, is buried in obscurity or oblivion. If the commissioners—or their pioneers—be judged by the bulk of their productions, their merit is great, and their labour gigantic. But upon a nearer view, it will be found that their exhumations are more cumbrous than useful, or even archaically curious; and that their march is slow, if not indolent. The country would not murmur at a liberal grant for the appointment of more than one set of commissioners, sufficiently active and numerous, to print, with rapidity and discernment, the treasures in our public archives; and also for defraying the cost of printing from private collections, where permission could be obtained. It were vain to look for such publications in the course of trading enterprise, between the alternatives of slow profits and eventual loss upon a large outlay; and it is unworthy of the government of a great nation to count on individual industry, liberality, and zeal, in a matter strictly of public concern. There are large manuscript collections of state letters and papers—some, we believe, never disturbed in their repose by one inquiring glance—possessed by the descendant families of those who have figured in the public affairs of the country. We will not suppose, that the materials of history would, in any case, be withheld, out of that churlish spirit which enjoys possession only because it is exclusive; and there is something equally repugnant in the supposition of Vandal indifference*. The manuscripts in the library of the British Museum are open to visitors, and have been frequently ransacked; but it should be remembered first, that almost every writer of a pamphlet or a book, supports a question, or vindicates a cause, avowedly or secretly, and cites authorities only for his purpose: next, that they are inaccessible to those who live beyond a certain distance from the capital. Sir Henry Ellis's "Original "Letters, illustrative of English History," selected from the collections in the Museum, form an interesting accession to the existing stock of historical materials. We cannot say so much for the learned editor's illustrative notes. He deals out trite

* We heard some time back that Mr. Croker was engaged in preparing for the press a selection of State papers from several private collections in MS.—Such a work by him would be truly valuable; but we do not find that there were any sufficient grounds for the rumour.

information, and discolours well-known facts, as if he supposed his readers had neither common acquirement, nor common understanding*.

Lord Byron made an epoch in the poetry of his time. The reputations of Scott, Moore, Campbell, and Rogers, were already earned; — their productions were compared, if not ranked with those of the wits and poets of the age of Anne — exception being made of the unique genius and productions of Swift. But notwithstanding the reputation and the merits of those poets, a sort of languor had come over our poetical literature, when the apparition of Childe Harold,—succeeded by other apparitions no less brilliant and eccentric,—fascinated the public gaze, and waked the public feeling to the influence of song. It is no longer the time for estimating or analyzing, in detail, the poetry of Lord Byron. No subject has been more frequently or variously discussed: his genius has been characterized through the most whimsical diversities of poetical metaphysics; and he has been judged in every tone of eulogy and defamation. The effect produced by him upon the poetry of his country has been less considered, and is here more to the point. It was not alone the stimulant of emulation, and those advantages which result from general excitement in favour of a particular class of intellectual productions, that he brought into the field. He brought also new sources of inspiration, new materials for imagery, new topics for fancy to range over.

* The following example will suffice—Frederick Prince Palatine, and nominal King of Bohemia, is described in one of those illustrative notes as "a man of "excellent character and amiable manners"...."defeated at Prague, after an "obstinate engagement"...."finding it impossible to rally the wreck of his army" ...."and retiring into Prague, whence he deserted the same night, &c." Any person taking the trouble to refer to the history of those transactions in (for instance) Carte, Roger Coke, or Nani, will find this "man of excellent "character and amiable manners" to have been a dull arrogant blockhead and bigot, so stupidly avaricious that the "battle and his crown were lost," through his starving the soldiers whilst he had chests filled with money,—who, so far from vainly attempting to rally, and then retiring into Prague, had left his two generals, the bastard of Mansfield, and Count Thurne, to fight the battle, whilst he shut himself up in the craven security of the Castle of Prague. The House of Hanover, it is true, as stated by the editor, owes the crown of England to its descent, from "a twelfth child" of this personage; and the editor, we believe, is a knight of some Hanoverian order; but these circumstances combined, do not warrant a licence with facts which belongs only to His Majesty's Poet Laureate.

From Greece he brought those enchantments of the grand and beautiful in nature which do not suffer change with the decay and vicissitudes of man, associated with her departed glories, and rendered more touching by the contrast of her fallen state;—from the Mahomedan east he brought new and rich varieties of character, passions, manners, customs, scenery, ordinary life, and extraordinary incident;—and all these, embellished by his own perception, at once so poetical and so faithful, of every modification of sublimity and beauty in the material and moral, the animate and inanimate creation. He brought, above all, the passions and feelings of the poetic temperament, fervid and electric beyond example. It will suffice, to give a single instance of the great impulse given by Lord Byron. No two poets of the first order differ more in cast of thought, imagination, and expression, than Lord Byron and Mr. Moore; and the latter is of the two the more scrupulously original. Before Byron appeared, Moore was already distinguished for his classic taste and fancy; his lyric spirit and tenderness. He, doubtless, would produce a standard poem, had Byron never appeared. But, it may be confidently asserted, that he would not have produced "Lalla Rookh," upon which his fame as a poet so conspicuously rests. He assuredly would not have produced the "Fire Worshippers," perhaps the most enchanting strain ever inspired, in common, by the muses of liberty and love.

Scott was not touched by the spirit of Byron;—he was already moulded as a poet, in career and manner, beyond the probability of advantageous change. The author of the Lay of the Last Minstrel, the Lady of the Lake, and Marmion, with his rare and happy union of good sense and imagination, saw that a poetical pilgrimage to the East might be a dangerous experiment. He however traversed the regions of the East as well as of the West, in another character. The Waverley Novels have had perhaps a still wider and more contagious influence—but an influence less powerful—over the range of works of fiction in prose, than the various poems of Byron, from Harold to Juan, upon those in verse. There was something in the character of Sir Walter Scott which, even beyond the circle of his personal

acquaintance, disarmed criticism in judging, or at least in speaking of his writings. He was a political partisan ; yet party spirit approached him with moderation and respect. We have, however, heard it thrown out as a problem, more than once, and by men of liberal minds and cultivated taste, whether the Waverley novels be destined to immortality. Without presuming to determine, we will merely record an accidental impression, which, to others, may appear not only unsatisfactory, but whimsical. We witnessed, in common with many hundreds, at one of the theatres, the pageant called, as well as we recollect, the Apotheosis of Sir Walter Scott. The curtain rose, and discovered (according to the play-bills), a fac-simile of the poet's study;—the table—the arm chair—the walls hung with some curious armour—death indicated by the empty chair, and a bust of the poet. After a short pause of theatrical suspense, there glided by—as if in a magician's laboratory—animated with scenic life—the visionary groups of personages created in that laboratory by a single imagination; until the resources of the theatre, and not the creations of the wizard, were exhausted. The groups glided in succession away, entrancing the mind, whilst awaking the memory of the beholder;—the curtain fell, the illusion ceased, and we reflected, not without melancholy and emotion, that the mould which had given out so many figures, so many groups, so various, and so enchanting—was broken for ever. The next reflection which suggested itself was, that whatever may be the relative intellectual station assigned by posterity to Sir Walter Scott, the volumes called the "Waverley Novels," are imperishable, as the language in which they are composed. The following is another criterion which may perhaps be regarded also as inconclusive:—let such as suffer under any of those casualties of health "which flesh "is heir to"—a slow fever or a fractured limb—when thinking is painful, and the mind must be occupied—let them take up the Waverley Novels: if the reading of these does not divert them for a moment from the sense of their ills, and make them forget the privation of freedom, the face of nature, and the voices and faces of those they love, we greatly deceive ourselves. If such be the effect, we seek no

better proof, that they will be read with pleasure, until human nature shall have undergone some change, or the art of reading shall have perished*.

There was something in Scott, both as a poet and novelist, which made him a subject of imitation, more safe and tempting to mediocrity than Byron. The facilities of his octosyllabic metre, irregular rhymes, and ballad style, were copied in a thousand forms of plausible common-place. The Pegasus of Byron was more difficult to be mounted, or at least more difficult to be managed by an inferior hand. The adventurous imitator, who wanted the requisite skill and power, provoked such marks of public derision as even vanity could not mistake.

Scott's poems were copied only in his own language. His prose romances were imitated in every language of the civilized world—but more especially in German, whence he had drawn his first inspirations; in Italian, and in French. Manzoni is perhaps the happiest of all his imitators, foreign or domestic. The *promessi sposi* have the characteristics of a school with the original capacity and skilful execution of a superior artist. He paints character and manners, as they existed in Italy at the date of his romance, with the force, and truth, and delicacy of touch, which belong only to one endowed by Nature with the rare talent—or instinct—of observation. The description of the plague is terrible—perhaps horrible—but not overcharged; and it is relieved by touching gleams of tenderness and humanity. Manzoni made a hazardous experiment in taking for his hero and heroine two young creatures, of such mean condition, that they subsisted by their labour as wool-spinners, and so ignorant, that they could not read; but he gave them youth, innocence, and affections, and they are interesting.

Victor Hugo is at the head of the romantic school, so called, in France. He is regarded as Scott's rival, rather than his imitator. His chief work, *Notre Dame*, shows a grasp of mind, of no ordinary compass. There is much originality, but in his single ideas, rather than in his general conceptions. He has borrowed a whole scene, very unscrupulously, from

* It appears from the recent publication, professing to be Coleridge's "Table "Talk," that the only reading he could endure in his moments of bad spirits or ill health, was Scott's novels.

Scott—that of the mummery of Notre Dame, in which his monstrously imperfect human formation, the bell-ringer, makes a figure. It is an enlarged and exaggerated picture, from a sketch in the Abbot or the Monastery (at this moment we forget which, but they are one story). He is indebted wholly for his heroine to Scott's early master, Goëthe. When the French adopt foreign models, they never know where to stop;—they out-German the Germans in their romances and melo-drames. Victor Hugo seems to mistake exaggeration for force. He does not spontaneously exhale horrors; he works them up—and out—elaborately, in cold blood. His is a coarse taste, moral and literary. He outrages shame, by unveiled libertinism; and presents objects and images of horror, which excite disgust to very loathing. We can suppose Scott sending forth the creations of his imagination with perfect facility and repose, and fancy how much more he could have done—how much intellectual power he kept in reserve. Victor Hugo presents himself, struggling and writhing in the toils and agonies of authorship. Repose, indeed, tends rather to heighten than lower our idea of power. When the Italian poet would give a notion of animal grandeur, he paints the lion in repose.

To notice or characterise the thousands of novels and tales, historical, romantic, and moral (using the last term in the sense of manners, or, what our neighbours call *mœurs*), would be an unprofitable, if not vain employment. Every clime, every class, every theatre of human action, even to the adventures of a Greenland whaler in search of blubber and the North Pole, have been pressed into the service. The most palpable and professed English imitator of the Waverley novels is a writer of known talent, who, in this instance, we think, misapplied it. He chose for his stage England, during a strongly marked period as to events, character, and manners, for two novels; and the Holy Land for a third. There was cleverness and industry; but the author was out of his element, and his volumes had the most fatal of all defects—the want of interest. There was no sustaining, animating soul of inward life and outward expression. The difference between him and Scott may be illustrated by two busts from Nature—the one taken from the living, the other from the dead.

Ireland presented a theatre of character, manners, and adventures, no less prolific than Scotland. That nation afforded all the stirring elements of imperfect civilization—fierce passions, ardent temperament, and the contrasts which present themselves under so many aspects of protestant and catholic, Saxon and native. Two writers only have emerged from the mob of Irish novelists. We of course exclude and exalt Lady Morgan, who is an *ens per se*, as the schoolmen expressed it, without prototype and without parallel. The authors of the "O'Hara Tales," and of "The Collegians," still continue their periodical or occasional appearances before the public. In the novels of the author of the former, there is force and energy; but he, like so many others, mistakes violence for strength, and thinks to impose factitious and laboured excitement for ebullition and power; and melodramatic agonies for strong situation. His Irish characters and his Irish dialect are, we believe, in general, faithful—when they are extremely vulgar; but his vulgarity becomes tiresome, and he places too prominently, on the stage, such personages as crippled, maimed, and blind beggars, until they become not only fatiguing, but disagreeable. They may be faithfully pourtrayed by him, but they are not the less worthless and disgusting personages, whether in real or fictitious life. He brings them also into closer contact with his fine gentlemen and fine ladies than the real state of society in Ireland will, we believe, admit. The author of "The Collegians" has, in appearance, less power or vigour of delineation—but only in appearance. His taste is more refined—his mind more cultivated—and the elegancies of life are more congenial to him. He imparts a certain grace, especially to his women, even in humble life. In general, he studies ease and simplicity—avoids violence and exaggeration—manifests a more delicate perception of the lights and shades of manners and character, and does not exhibit those violent contrasts, which, instead of being striking and effective, are but improbable and revolting. There is, in general, something curiously unhappy in his choice of the titles, and sometimes also of the subjects, of his books.

The fashionable novels, so called, soon inundated the field of fiction—but from what source or cause is uncertain. They were not professedly of the school of Scott, and they

bore it no marked resemblance. To him, however, they may perhaps be indirectly traced. From the characters and manners of the past, the transition was obvious to those of the present, in search of something new;—hence the deluge of novels and tales "of the day." The new class began, if we remember rightly, with persons conversant with the sphere of life which they professed to delineate;—"Lord," "Lady," or "Honourable," graced the title-page of the last new novel of high life—or, if not the title-page, the publisher's puff preliminary. The ambition of literary fame, in almost any department, is perhaps laudable among the scions of the aristocracy; but the concocting of frivolous sentimentalism, in the shape of a tale of the day, is not the most suitable or the most profitable study for a noble aspirant to the honours of parliament and the cabinet; and we are obliged to conclude, that the aristocracy can sometimes cease to be fastidious, when we have seen Lords, Ladies, and Honourables, bringing into the book-market their titles, with their manuscripts, to be puffed and placarded by a publisher—as a perfumer advertises his fashionable cosmetics.

The graceful imbecility of the novels really of high life, was soon overwhelmed by an irruption of barbarians. We have heard that many of the new brood issued originally from what is called "High life below stairs." There was, it is true, much parasite presumption, but the greater number, we believe, was the spurious production of "enterprising" publishers and their literary "operatives," speculating on the market price of fashionable novels. There was something really droll and entertaining in the pages of those new professors of fashionable erudition, which made them more endurable, if not amusing, whilst many a "gentle reader" from the proscribed domain of his Grace of Bedford, to Finsbury and Whitechapel, enjoyed the mock converse of lords and ladies, without the least suspicion of the imposture. The greatest offence in them (always excepting their dulness), was the impertinence with which they affected to despise and ridicule the class of tradesmen; their high contempt and fashionable derision of "Brummagem" ware, Manchester goods, mahogany, and molasses.

It might be supposed, that to concoct a fashionable

novel, with a total ignorance of the subject-matter, required at least some cleverness. The process, however, when narrowly looked into, appears easy. The concoctor made a man of fashion by simply cramming his personage with scraps of vile French, and the nomenclature of the art of cookery—(the bill of fare of a Parisian restaurateur lying before him as his chief work of reference), misusing the latter no less than the former—but that we leave to the critics of the almanac des gourmands. How such precious stuff could obtain readers, must appear extraordinary. But the process of sale was somewhat more ingenious than that of manufacture. It It must not be forgotten, that the English are, of all people in the world, the most accessible to quackery—in physic, in religion, in politics, and in books—which last have been, and, with some slight return of shame, continue to be puffed as unblushingly as quack medicines. We will give, by way of specimen, the history of the birth, life, and death of a fashionable novel, protesting that it is not invention, but our distinct recollection of a particular case—Puff the first, announced that the forthcoming novel in high life, entitled ————, had excited consternation in a certain quarter, which should be nameless; puff the second, that a certain titled lady, not a hundred miles from —— had first threatened an injunction from the lord chancellor, and then offered to buy up the impression at any price; but the independent publisher, &c. &c. &c.—puff the third, branded the book with honest reprobation, as a scandalous invasion of the privacies of domestic life; puff the fourth, deprecated in a letter from the publisher to the editor, those grievous mis-statements, originating, doubtless, in the prodigious sensation, &c. &c. &c. All is uncertainty, when out comes the puff final, declaring, "from authority, "that the question of literary affiliation, so much disputed, "lies between a certain countess celebrated for her talents "and *faux pas*, and his Grace the A—— of ——." This cheat, clumsy as it was, went down with the many; the book meanwhile was talked of, bought, looked into, and thrown aside; and the same enlightened public was ready to be gulled the next day by the same means, put forth with the same effrontery. The evil, at length, in some degree corrected itself—evenings at Almack's, became hackneyed and vulgarised to the level of

mornings at Bow-street—but without the fidelity and humour of the latter very edifying theatre of incident and character—novels of high life became a drug, and the supply diminished with the diminution of the demand.

One writer of fashionable novels has survived, and is distinguished from the class by a certain supremacy—which, by the way, he assumes, with no ordinary degree of self-complacent exaggeration. Mr. Bulwer chooses, we know not why, to be designated as "the author of Pelham." This is we think by no means the best of his novels. It is assuredly a clever work; but the general design, the incidents, the characters, and the ethical remarks, which the author may be supposed to put forth in his own person, are uncommon, or out of the way, rather than original. A certain sort of talent produces the uncommon —the *recherché*—but to be original, and spontaneous, requires capacity of another kind. He employs his fancy and ingenuity upon a world of his own imagining, and composes from it in laborious detail, instead of painting from nature and society. There is nothing natural and simple—there are no felicities of observation, humour, or character—none of those pointed and portable apophthegms, which are easily remembered and often repeated. The author offends, not only by a constant tone of affectation and *nonchalance*, but by a more offensive mixture of pretension and solecism. There is gaiety and humour, and even satire, in Grammont's allusion to his mother's having nearly procured him the honour of ranking with the *Cæsars de Vendôme;* but when Mr. Bulwer's fine gentleman talks with apathetic levity of his mother's shame and his father's ruin, he disgusts. We venture to suggest, that in "Adventures," which profess, emphatically, to be those of "a Gentleman," the prodigal use of "my lady," and "your ladyship," is a punctilious solecism in dialogue worthy only of the professors of fashionable erudition, whom we have just dismissed; and that "*ma belle*," and "*mon mignon*," are gallant familiarities interchanged only among the promenaders of the Palais Royal,—before its recent epuration—not between an English gentleman and a French lady in the accomplished circles of the Chaussée d' Antin. "Eugene Aram" appears to us a work greatly superior; it is altogether in a different strain of intellectual power and feeling. There is,

as usual in Mr. Bulwer's books, something forced, exaggerated, and pretending; but there is a deep and curious sounding of human motives, and an able exposition of human nature and character. He sought inspiration—or his materials—among the ruins of Pompeii, in a fortunate hour. This novel is not quite the splendid production which it appears to the author's friends, and doubtless also to himself; but it is gorgeous, imposing, and eloquent—in its way,—with an advantage precious and peculiar in the author's case, *viz.*—exemption from the inconvenient criterion of real life. Had he laid his scene at the same period in ancient Rome, he would be judged, and judged severely, by the abundant records of Roman life, manners, and character. It does not occur to the reader—or it occurs only to the thinking few—to apply the standard of Rome to his dramatic representation of the inhabitants of Pompeii, and the eye goes over page after page without being shocked by anything unfaithful, mistaken, or absurd.

Mr. Bulwer has also appeared as a professed essayist. There are the same efforts as in his novels, to impose something out of the way, or some forced combination of heterogeneous truisms, for novelty and depth, or to conceal penury of ideas by the glitter of words. His recent book, *de omnibus rebus*, entitled "The Student," consists, we have understood, partly of reprints of his fugitive contributions to the Magazines—partly of rejected miscellanies of which he wished to empty his portfolio. The publication bears decisive marks of crudeness, conceit, and rashness; we have seldom looked into a book containing so little that a reader of ordinary information, correct taste, and sober mind, could assent to, or indeed comprehend. He has treated of all imaginable, and, we had almost said, of some unimaginable things—

> "Quicquid agunt homines————
> "————nostri est farrago libelli—"

and pronounces upon all, *ex cathedrâ*. We will not attempt to divine the probable reception which would be given by those who know anything of the matter, to such writing as the following upon the character of Tacitus—"Every slave that fell graved "in his (Tacitus's) heart a warning—every horror he experi- "enced, animated and armed his genius—saturate with the spirit "of his age, he has made that age incarnate to posterity—

" actual, vivified, consummate, and entire—if, indeed, it be " dread and ghastly, it is the dread and ghastliness of unna- " tural life," &c. &c.—This we take to be what the French call *galimathias*. Tacitus, of all writers, has the least affinity to inflated melodrame—or that sort of fine writing which is denominated fustian. Polybius fares little better. He escapes with some distended common places, which might be written by any expert maker of phrases, who knew little more than the name. Mr. Bulwer has doubtless read Polybius, or he would not have told the world, in a tone of discovery, who and what that writer was—and yet, the real characteristics of " The Megalopolitan" (Mr. Bulwer's term), have strangely escaped him. Few, we believe, read Polybius, at least in the original; Livy, in a great measure, supersedes him. Hampton's Polybius, or the French translation, with the commentary of the Chevalier Folard, may be found in the quarters of some ensign or aide-de-camp aspiring to be one day a field-marshal; but we venture to say, the book is very rarely opened by an amateur student—always excepting Mr. Bulwer. He concludes his summary of " The Megalopolitan," by pronouncing his remains " an inestimable manual for the statesman and " the *civilian*"—does he mean counsel learned in the civil law—or the cant term which passes current only in the mess-room? To suppose the former, would be too absurd—supposing the latter, it is not easy to determine between vulgarism and the unmeaning, which predominates.

To return to novels—we look around us in vain for any thing in the manner of the old school. English and French novelists mutually imitate, copy, and translate; but where shall we find a trace or touch of the ease, truth, wit, humour, and admirable ethics of Jonathan Wild the Great, and the seigneur de Santillane. The author of " Sayings and Doings," is perhaps the nearest in spirit, if not in the letter and form, to the good old school. He possesses wit, pleasantry, perception of manners and character, and experience of society, with, it is said, the rare talent of English improvisation. One critic accords to him what is called genius; another subjoins that it is the genius of buffoonery; but both agree that it is genius still. There is something curious and anomalous in his writings. He is the most strenuous champion of the church

and state; he pathetically deplores the want of proper religious instruction among young ladies; and he combines his politics and piety with broad jokes, and equivocal situations. We have heard, by way of solution of the enigma, that his writings should be read with a key supplied by his conversation;—the reader would then find that leaven of the present times, which is called cant, blended in his pages, with a certain under-current of humorously-malicious good faith; and the author laughing inwardly at the church, the state, the young ladies whose parents had neglected their religious education, the reader, and himself.

The few novels of the day which excite any sensation, as the advertisements express it, are written by ladies around whose names there is a halo of fashion, aristocracy, or beauty. From what motives and influences they condescend to stain their pretty fingers with Japan ink, we will not now inquire. Half a dozen noble, honourable, fashionable, and fair novel writers might be named, all of whom have produced, in turn, or together, *chefs d'œuvre* of imagination, passion, tenderness, and character, such as were till then unknown to the English language. For this the reading public has the word of daily, weekly, and monthly critics. We have not space to notice those *chefs d'œuvre* and their fair authors; but we shall probably, on a future occasion, bestow a separate article on the satire and sentiment, the fancy and feeling, the discrimination of character, and finesse of observation, which respectively distinguish the lady-novelists. Some speculators have pretended that individual character might be discovered even in the hand writing. There is something in every work of fiction written by a woman constantly indicative of herself—"*Maxima est pars ipsa——sui.*"—One might divine from the novels of Lady ———, or Mrs. ———, not only her party politics or personal tastes, but the section of "the world" in which she moves, and the quarter of the town in which she resides. Those novels are not quite so perfect in design and execution, or quite so secure against oblivion, as the critical certificates appended to the advertisements would persuade us; but they assuredly form at this moment the grace and ornament of our literature of fiction. There is indeed scarcely such a thing as a dull novel written by a woman.

Among those written by men, dulness is the rule—vivacity the exception. With women it is otherwise. They know not only their own secret but our's—especially in our weaknesses—which they exhibit in a more indulgent or more winning tone of satire and pleasantry than men employ upon each other. Their delineations of character want force; but their *beau ideal* is more graceful—more interesting—more imaginative. The sex is not formed for robust literature; the more light and delicate is it's proper sphere. In the former women have rarely, if ever, excelled;—we see no necessity of excepting the hermaphrodite books of Madame de Staël. In the latter they have seldom wholly failed.

The present epoch is unfavourable to the production of works of imagination. We have already alluded to the exclusive bias of the age towards practical knowledge, and the application of scientific power to the purposes of society. Hence it is that poetry has almost vanished from our literature. It may be said, that the poetical character itself has been renounced. Mr. Wordsworth alone seems faithful to his vocation —and his admirers are no less faithful to him. He possesses some attributes of a moral poet; but it is in vain that his panegyrists strive to persuade the public, or that he would persuade himself, that he is either a moral or lyric poet of the first order. The very fact of his being cried up by a clique, is itself evidence against him. No man of genius was ever the *Magnus Apollo* of a coterie; and the coterie of Mr. Wordsworth is so intolerant and exclusive as to have the effect of provoking the rest of the world to depreciate him, perhaps below his level. He certainly can look around him upon man, and nature, with the eye and heart of a poet. But he unhappily labours under the strange conceit, that whatever he writes must be received as poetical inspiration; that whatever he touches, is turned into gold; he exalts a prosaic common-place by pompous language, or he descends to minute and mean objects, which no art could render picturesque; or he imposes silliness and puerility for simple nature. He seems to reject the obvious truth in criticism, that there are words and things essentially and immutably unpoetical—the association of which with the sordid pursuits or humble business of life cannot be overcome. When put forth under the name of poetry, they are only the

more prosaic, or they become ridiculous. There is as much of perverse vanity as of perverse taste in this attempt to pass worthless realities which abound to the common eye, for the riches of fancy and observation which spring up only to a true genius. Conceit and egotism are the besetting sins of the school; the pronouns personal and possessive, *I*, *me*, *my*, *mine*, are put forward prominently on every occasion, and in every company. We remember an instance of a sonneteer of this school, who began some congratulatory verses to a popular artist upon one of his works,—and employed more than half the compliment,—with telling the artist and the world, that he (the poet) was turned, we forget whether a stock-broker, or an exciseman.

The school, however, is on the wane; death has recently deprived it of Coleridge, who may be regarded as its great ornament, though not its acknowledged chief. He mistook wildly incoherent fancies for poetical imagination; but in the shapeless visionary fumes of his brain, there was a total absence of artifice or conceit; he had a certain faith in his *ægri somnia*, which won upon the reader. If Coleridge has left the Christabels and Kubla Kans, he has left also the "Rime of the Ancient Mariner," one of the most remarkable instances in which horror is carried to the extreme, and becomes the more poetical. We have heard it said that he borrowed the terrors of the German muse, with which he was familiar. Viewed merely as an English poem, it appears not only original, but unique. Milton and Dante have employed each his peculiar and transcendant powers upon the supernatural. We doubt whether the frightful images in some particular and well-known scenes of "Paradise Lost," and the "Divina Comedia," exercise a spell of terror so profound, mysterious, and overpowering, as the strange adventures of the Ancient Mariner. There is too much of Coleridge's metaphysics in his poetry for the mass of readers, and too little of his poetry in his metaphysics, to admit of the latter being read at all. Of his "Table-Talk," so called, which has been recently published, it is unnecessary, and would be scarcely fair, to speak, as part of those remains by which his intellect should be judged. This publishing of the conversations of eminent men is, in almost all cases, a wrong to their fame. The

more reflecting and better informed will of course throw them out of the scale. It is true the conversations of Socrates will be read and admired, until men lose all taste for moral wisdom and Greek literature. But they are recorded by Xenophon and Plato; and we know, that if we have not the genuine conversations of the master, we have conversations worthy of him, because they are those of his illustrious scholars.

The school of Wordsworth and Coleridge has lost another of its supports in "Charles Lamb", as he appears to have been habitually called, in verse and prose, by his friends. This writer had a pleasing and original vein, both of pathos and humour, especially in his prose, which, if we may take upon us to decide, we should much prefer to his verse. The recent endeavour to raise him, upon the strength of his small remains, into an English classic, is vain and absurd; his will never be more than a name occasionally remembered among the minor poets and minor essayists.

We have said, that the school, of which Mr. Wordsworth is the reputed head, appears on the wane. It may, perhaps, suggest itself to the reader that there is a general extinction of the poetic faculty. This, however, as it strikes us, would be a mistaken conclusion from the almost total absence of poetry, which cannot be denied. The simple fact is, that the talent previously employed upon works of imagination, in verse, is now turned into another channel. Knowledge, strictly so called, is become the chief want of the age, and prose is the proper vehicle for the diffusion of knowledge. The demand for prose has increased almost to a prodigy, because the new consumer, who has come into the market, is the giant people. It would require an article of no ordinary length to take even a cursory view of the smallest branch of the vast streams of knowledge actually in process of popular diffusion, from the weekly and monthly sheets which are put forth anonymously, but under the direction of individuals eminent for their social and intellectual station, to the monthly volumes, some of which bear the most distinguished names in European science and literature,—such, for instance, as Herschel and Sismondi—if it be not invidious to particularise them. The productive capacity of those men of letters, who seek profit as well as fame by the employment of their time,

is turned to this new supply. Moore and Southey have devoted themselves to "the severer muses," almost exclusively, for some time. Their success as prose writers proves more than the versatility of individual talents. It shows that real and superior talent is not bounded by narrow and exclusive aptitudes, and that much of what is regarded as the work of genius is the produce of extrinsic stimulus and inward resolution. We have heard that Sir Walter Scott reduced genius to a resolute and sustained application of the intellectual faculties. It is recorded of Buffon that he defined it to the same effect. The unfortunate Herault de Sechelles, who perished during the reign of terror in France, relates, in his account of a visit to Buffon at Montbar, that the great naturalist, then near his eightieth year, said to him, "Le génie n'est qu'une "plus grande aptitude à la patience."

Poetry, however, cannot always, and we think will not long continue in abeyance. The popular appetite for knowledge will be satiated, or it will call into existence an increased supply, and the poetic capacity will be turned back to its proper use. In a country where there is so much wealth, vanity, cultivated taste, idleness, and ennui, the luxury of poetical literature cannot long be dispensed with. It is the prevalent opinion, that a new poem, of original character and first-rate merit, would not find readers at the present day. We do not share in this belief. It is our conviction, that such another poem as Byron's Childe Harold, would renew the impulse given by that splendid work; that if Moore, or Southey, produced such poems as "Lalla Rookh," and "Roderick;"—or if Campbell, refreshed by his travels, and re-warmed by an African sun, produced a worthy pendant to the "Pleasures of Hope," and "Gertrude of Wyoming,"—not to his degenerate "Theodoric,"—the public sensibility to the charms of poetry would be manifested as warmly and widely as ever. Of this there is decisive proof in the republication of standard English poets. Burns, Cowper, Pope, Milton, are in progress of republication, or have been republished. We do not know to what extent the new edition of Burns has become popular, but we should look upon any neglect of that great poet, as an impeachment of the public judgment and taste. Burns, in our opinion, has not yet

attained the eminence to which he is entitled. His character, also, has, we think, been mistaken, and his acquirements overlooked. He is ranked with uneducated poets, in spite of the clear evidence of cultivation and knowledge, in his letters. Burns was well acquainted with the classic models, both modern and ancient. What difference does it make, whether education has been obtained from a public tutor, in a college—a private tutor in a mansion—or in a cottage, from the most efficient of all tutors, self? The universities can boast of a Milton, and a Newton—but the cottage and the workshop have produced a Burns, and a Watt. It is to be lamented, also, that Burns frittered away his genius upon short or occasional pieces; and still more lamentable, that he should have clothed his thoughts in the barbarous dialect of the common people of a province. He had at his command every tone, from tragic pathos, to "heart-easing mirth;" every style, from the most grave to the most gay;—eloquence and imagination varied and exhaustless;—had he produced a poem worthy of his genius, in subject, character, and magnitude, he would be the Ariosto of England. There is one abuse, which the editors of some of those re-publications are disposed to commit, that of charging the text with note and comment. This practice, it is true, dates from time immemorial. There is, however, a distinction in favour of the *notæ variorum* on the ancient classics. The labours of those *indagatores diligentissimi* are sometimes useful, if not indispensable; and there is the relief of diversity. The reader does not proceed under the infliction of the dogmatism and dulness of one and the same oracle.

We draw a favourable omen from this revived taste for the standard English classics,—it promises a return to sounder theories of criticism, and to superior models of composition in prose and verse; this will be best understood from a glance once more in retrospect. The English reading public, towards the close of the last century, became satiated with perfection — Pope had not enough of excitement, and was at last, we believe, refused by the new school the title of poet. The classic literature of the age of Anne was called the French school, and the national prejudice thus ranged against those names of which the nation has most reason to be

proud. It became necessary to stimulate the palled appetite by something new and strange—Germanism came with its curious and corrupting mixture of the feudal barbarism of the middle age, and depraved sentimentalism of modern society,—recommended, at the same time, by a certain originality and vigour. This Germanism was further recommended by an undiscriminating, extravagant, and affected admiration of Shakspeare—it is the curious fortune of that immortal name to be the rallying cry of the most insufferable cant. The Germans affect to sound the depths of human nature, mental and moral, with a plumb-line which has no limit. Plato reduced man to an *animal bipes implume* — the Germans exalt and expand him into an universe—and examine him accordingly. They discovered in Shakspeare depths of which he was innocent as childhood; they extracted a profound meaning out of the corruptions of text to which his fatal carelessness has subjected his glorious remains—they found beauties in the trash foisted in by the players (a practice recorded and rebuked by himself); and they thus came into alliance and sympathy with the tasteless conceit and stilted melodrame, which cover themselves with the ægis of Shakspeare amongst ourselves. There are, doubtless, obscurities in his text, where his allusions are no longer understood; but it has always struck us, that every idea and image, in such minds as Milton's and Shakspeare's, must have been too clear and distinct to be obscurely expressed. We cannot in fine bring ourselves to believe that the base scene, for instance, in which Henry the Fifth courts his Queen, comes from him who had

> ——— A muse of fire, that could ascend
> The brightest heaven of invention ———

who wrote Hamlet's monologues and Clarence's dream. It strikes us, that where Shakspeare is genuine and himself, he is bright as the sun; but we can easily conceive that Goëthe's meaning should sometimes be unfathomable; for this good reason, that he had no meaning distinct or intelligible even to himself. In the effort to be profound and imaginative, he tried and tortured his faculties on every side, and enveloped himself at last in a cloud of words presenting nothing but a

chaos of images and abstractions*. It is well known that tourists and other amateurs of German poetry, frequently requested Goëthe to tell them his meaning, in various passages of his writings, and that he constantly refused or evaded their requests. The reason is obvious.

As a consequence of all this, the Lake school, and its twin rival, the cockney school, grew up excrescences upon our poetical literature. But their day is nearly past. We have suffered something like the same depravation, which may be observed to have grown gradually in Roman literature, by a comparison of Virgil and Horace with Lucan and Claudian. The art of printing did not exist for the Romans and the tide of barbarism could not be resisted; with us it is different; our master-pieces may be neglected for a time out of satiety, the love of novelty, the various influences and phantasies which govern or constitute what may be called the public humour, rather than the public opinion; but they are multiplied and diffused beyond the possibility of even scarcity, and they will be sure, in time, to recover their proper empire. We would not, at the same time, be intolerant or exclusive—no enlightened and comprehensive system of literature or criticism can exclude such productions as Southey's "Roderick," or Wordsworth's "Lyrical Ballads "and Sonnets," due selection being made. But we can imagine no canon of taste which would admit the laureate hexameters, *e tutti quanti* of the former—the "Excursions," "Sketches," and "Tours," the "Peter Bells," and the "Waggoners" of the latter. The literature of the French has suffered an incursion and devastation some what similar to our own; and there is, we think, among them, a tendency to return to their classics. The conquest of northern barbarism was not, indeed, so complete in France as in England. Both nations may, perhaps, purify their literature at the same time, and each profit by the classic models and masterpieces of the other. French literature is depreciated amongst us, whilst

* We appeal to the prose translation of Faust, by Mr. Hayward, an accomplished German scholar, and to the poetical translation by Doctor Anster. Both translations are excellent, each in its way, and should perhaps be read together for the sake of the combined and complete light which they throw upon the original.

we render justice to French science; the reason is obvious; the merits and reputation of a man of science are pronounced upon only by men of science, who are alone competent—ignorance, presumptuous as it may be, does not venture on that sacred ground—but persons may be constantly heard repeating the ignorant cant about the tragedies of Voltaire and Racine, who could not discover the difference between French prose and verse, if the former were but printed so as to present to the eye a resemblance of the latter*. The circumstances are favourable for this literary communion; both nations are now linked by the mutual respect and sympathy of a community of free institutions, and the humanizing influences of peace.

One branch of literature remains, upon which we have not touched, and which is at the lowest ebb of any—the dramatic. Nothing is more common than the complaint, that the national stage is vulgarised and debased, by vulgar management. The management may be vulgar, but that we believe is not the cause of the debasement of the stage. The great deficiency is that of dramatic writing;—but upon this topic we will not, for the present, enter.

Article IX.

Treaty between His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, the Queen Regent of Spain, the King of the French, and the Duke of Braganza, Regent of Portugal, signed at London, April 22nd, 1834.

Additional Article, August 18th, 1834.

Perhaps there is no physical circumstance that has so powerfully acted on the fortunes of the human race as the insular position of England. The tides of war which, for several centuries, have swept backwards and forward over the arena of Europe, and in which generally the best of that which was contended for was destroyed, expired on

* We remember having opened some lucubrations of a critic and philosopher of one of the excrescent schools, in which the tragedies of Racine were treated as below contempt, with the exception of "his *Philoctete*, for the merits of which he was indebted to Euripides." It is hardly necessary to add, that the French *Philoctete* is the production of Laharpe, and the Greek Philoctetes of Sophocles.

the southern shores of our channel. From the circumscribed limits of this island springs an influence that pervades the globe. The wealth, the moral power, the navies of England give her in every land an incessant and a present action which the greatest territorial dominion could never obtain alone. She possesses colonial empires in each hemisphere; She occupies citadels that watch and threaten every coast; she has arsenals and places of refuge in every sea; we quote not these as elements of British might, but as distinguishing features of the position of England, which give her power of a wholly different character from that of her continental neighbours. That power has sprung from her insular position, which rendered her unattackable and inviolable, so long as no one state preponderated in Europe. Our policy has, therefore, been directed with invariable success to prevent the preponderance of any one state: fortunately success, from the same geographical cause, has never led us into schemes of incorporation, or foreign European dominion.

This permanent connexion of a great nation's interests, with the well being of mankind, has hitherto maintained the European balance—that is, justice among nations. That nation's weight has been permanently placed against aggression; its activity and intelligence have overawed it; and when these have not sufficed, its arms have interposed to redress, as far as circumstances would permit, and to restore the equilibrium, even though the weights had shifted to different scales. To England, therefore, Europe and the world owe a great proportion of the good which has grown up with the progress of man during three centuries. During this space of time (previous to the great struggle with France) England has never undertaken an aggressive war, her whole power has been exerted for conservative purposes, she has acted as the moderator and peacemaker of the world, and has thus laid the foundation of her own greatness, while seeking only to preserve her own place.

But England's separation from the continent has conferred on it other benefits. The mere struggle of a few thousand men on a field of battle, among the varied chances to which life and humanity are subject, is a matter of little importance; the evils of war are not the effusion of blood, or the trampling

down of harvests; they are, foreign dominion, and internal despotism. The horrors of war are not the groans of the dying thousands, but the sighs of the oppressed millions; not the agony of hours, but the endurance of centuries; not the untimely fate of some numbered lives, but the obliteration of protecting institutions, of beneficent custom, of immediate and local control. Could a village, cut off from the rest of the world, lose its independence? Could a province, remaining distinct from the vortex of a national administration, and not subject to the political contingencies of a great nation, that is to say, never subdued by arms—never overrun—never having invasion to dread—furnishing no contingents to a victorious leader—could such a province lose its natural rights and habits of self administration? Certainly not; and what is true as applied to the village or the province, is also true as applied to the nation. England, from the moment that she was powerful enough to prevent descent on her coast, occupied among nations such a position—a position which has been her's alone among all the empires of the old or new world; and consequently, have we seen results springing from causes which, under other circumstances, would have been wholly inadequate to produce them.

She has preserved her customs, her institutions, her habits of self government; she has had severe and continual struggles, but they have all been of a national kind; they have been domestic quarrels; the name of the race, the arms, the features, the traditions of the family, have been preserved; the indigenous character has been more deeply impressed even by those contests. She has had foreign wars, but they have not been wars of invasion; she has lost her sons on the land and on the deep, but she has known war only by its excitement, its condensing and nationalising character, its enobling influences, its discipline, and its honour, not (except debt) by its after consequences; while the clay of her children covers every battle field of Europe, no monument of her enemies, or rather her antagonists, for enemies she had none, cast their shadow on her plains. She has in these struggles never had to contend for any domestic principle; they have led to the obliteration of no right at home, to the imposition of no yoke abroad.

We may glory in the institutions of our great Alfred—we may boast of the beauty and perfection of that simple system

then consolidated, and which, for a thousand years, has proceeded in honour, and grown in strength; which has given to England the command of the ocean, the dominion of the richest provinces of the east and west; which has made her the first in arms, in arts, in science, and in power; which has raised up new populations out of her loins. We may attribute all these stupendous results to our old Teutonic principles and institutions, vital, and active, and youthful, with an antiquity of fourteen centuries. Yet it is idle, it is unphilosophical to assert that we do possess these things solely because these institutions existed 1400 years ago, among our race, and in our country. Did they not equally exist in those countries *whence* our forefathers came? Did they not exist among all the German stock? Were not the very identical habits of government common to Germans, Celts, Arabs, Hindoos—in fact, to every race on the surface of the globe. The superior fruits which they bear in England are owing to the absence of aggressive wars, of foreign conquest—in a word, to her insular position, which has allowed them by natural developements to grow upwards. Had a belt of land united this island to the main, how often, in the midst of our internal feuds, might not a conqueror have walked across, told our parliaments that their services were no longer required, dispensed with grand and petty juries, county sessions, hundred courts, vestries, and circuits, effaced, without a blow, the lion from our escutcheon, and taken quietly our trident into his hands? How often might not we have profited by the dissentions and weakness of other powers, and stepped over with the prowess and ability that have ever allured victory to our banners; not as we have done, to maintain, as it has been the distinguishing pride and honour of England to maintain, but to disturb for a time, the European balance, and to see a constitutional king return a military monarch.

Our sea-girt island having thus maintained its existence and its institutions, under continental circumstances which would have allowed neither to exist, was still not less interested than any other member of the European community in the public interests of that community. Its commerce, its influence on the continent, were, in reality, not less vital questions than invasion or subjugation; its possessions in the East and West not less

contingent on the events of the Low Countries, on the disposition of the cabinets of St. Cloud, of Potsdam, and Vienna, than if its own territory had been bounded by France and Germany; but the difficulty of intervention made its decisions more thoughtful, and the result more certain. Besides, inviolate at home, we sent forth our troops without uncovering our frontiers, without compromising our existence; we alarmed no state by projects of conquest, our declared and recognised object was, the prevention of any European preponderance able to combine Europe in one, so as to exclude our influence and commerce, or menace our existence. England has, therefore, been the shield of European international liberty; but this is not all, her free government, and the independent character of the people, had a constant tendency to oppose the extension and intensity of domestic despotism abroad; she encouraged, by the evidences of her strength and prosperity, aspirations for constitutional liberty, and conciliated allies to her own fortunes in the admirers of her principles.

But there are other benefits which have been conferred by England on Europe and the world, far more important than these, and which give to them their chief value—England, offered a refuge to arts from warfare, to science, to freedom of thought and conscience, from the persecution of bigotry, and the violence of power.

England has exercised over the continent a species of planetary influence;—without touching she has steadied its gravitation, rectified its errors, equalized its action, and preserved its existence, by fixing its position. England, moreover, has collected the rays driven off from the neighbouring mass, and which but for her had been lost for ever, benefitting herself by the light she thus received, she has restored it with increased vividness.

At the period to which we allude, foreign policy regarded merely the relative position and strength of state and state, our efforts were directed to preventing one state from swallowing up another, or one from becoming too powerful for the repose of the rest—this was a simple question—and even removed, as England was, from immediate contact with the continent, the whole population (as every successive administration) felt it, and acted upon it; at times we may have acted erroneously: we may

have deceived ourselves, and been deceived by others; still the principle was uncontroverted, and public opinion, we affirm, then better comprehending a simpler question, exercised a more salutary control over the executive, than to-day, with all its increased means of influence, but with its increased confusion and uncertainty of ideas. This position is proved by our foreign policy during the Commonwealth, then the democratic principle was supreme, and then were the rights of England asserted with a vigour never at any period equalled, and our foreign influence elevated from the lowest pitch of degradation to the most commanding station in Europe.

Since that period, a principle of confusion (if we may be pardoned the expression), unknown in former ages, has been introduced into the European relations, and that, we regret to confess it, through the instrumentality of England—this new principle is to be studied in commercial treaties.

The arbitrary disposal, by the interference of a government, of the conditions on which man should labour, eat, drink, and be clothed, has led to consequences — administrative, moral, financial, and political—which though they may baffle the grasp of the most comprehending mind, have only to be stated, to bring home to every individual the conviction, that this interference with the daily and hourly existence of each member of the European nations, is capable of producing, and must produce, great and extensive results, which are most difficult to observe and calculate, because, interwoven with our daily habits. We look on them as a portion of human nature, or as a condition of free or despotic governments, as the instance may fall; we have not yet classified governments by their most important character—their finances; we have, indeed, no terms of comparison within our memory, or our reach. We must, for the present, content ourselves with pointing out the effects on international policy of causes—of evils that certainly did not exist, and were not known throughout all the ages that men have lived in regularly constituted societies, until governments did adopt the system by which so great a proportion of all European revenues has been raised since the commencement, more especially of the present century. To this cause, therefore, a large proportion of existing things must be attributable—a great proportion of existing

evil, of that evil which was not known when such a cause was not in activity, must be attributable to it; notably, the struggle between executives and people, which had no existence formerly.

The commerce of Rome was immense, that of the Califat not less so; the commercial prosperity of various ages and nations has nearly approached, if it has not equalled, our own—yet we find no trace of those complications which now occupy all the thoughts, and time, and powers of modern governments. These complications cannot be necessary results of prosperity, since we find them wanting, since we find the very words that designate them, unknown at former periods, when prosperity was colossal, and when we find them present to-day not only in great and progressive states, but in insignificant provinces, and in the midst of decay. We therefore assume, for the present, reserving the proof for future speculation, that the transfer of taxation from the public fortune, to the sources of that fortune which, has, more or less, been now effected in Europe, has produced internal opposition and struggle in every nation—has perverted even the admirable principle of representation, which, called into existence for the purpose of controlling the expenditure, has been converted into a warfare of ways and means—so that, the supreme tribunal of financial justice has become an arena for the strife of sectional interest. While government has been rendered difficult, the time of the executive is uselessly wasted, if not injuriously employed, to the neglect of those national and foreign objects which the greatest despots of England have never so mismanaged, as our free constitution has, since these changes have occurred. This internal state of all the great powers of Europe, except one, has affected their international relations; commercial treaties, or rather commercial warfare has become the groundwork of peace, and men have been led to conceive their national prosperity protected and fostered by home regulations and foreign conventions, which neutralise the bounty of nature, reject the advantages of position, and render difficult the processes of industry, by which alone wealth is created. A distinguished Russian writer, and the preceptor of the present Emperor, with great truth observes, "Commercial

" treaties, where they have been least injurious, have arrested " prosperity, well being, and science; elsewhere, they have " spread desolation, and deluged the world with blood."

Hence two new sources of confusion and perplexity have arisen in modern times, and whatever may be their origin, the fact of their existence we think no one that looks dispassionately on the question will deny. These are an internal opposition In every state that has substituted a union and an opposition of principle, and of party, for the ancient distinctions of nation and of government; and secondly, an international opposition of commercial to political interests. The first putting at variance the feelings of a section or sections of people as a party with their feelings as a nation; the second converting into commercial rivals and enemies, nations which have every political interest in common.

The recent discovery of a new science, which classifies facts of the greatest importance, fully bears out our position. If such facts as are classed and arranged by Political Economy had had existence before, the science would not be new. Could men in Chaldea, in Egypt, in Greece, in Rome, or even under Clovis, Charlemagne, Alfred, or William the Conqueror, have been engaged in tracing the effects of discriminating duties, of protections, of drawbacks, of the exclusion of the means of subsistence, of prohibition of foreign manufactures, of the opposition of shipping, of manufacturing, of commercial, of agricultural interests? A simpler, a more rational mode of taxation, prevented the commencement of these evils, and the science that investigates them had no existence; this pathology of a morbid political state was unknown, because the malady did not exist.

What a chaos of contradictions does not Europe present? Are those contradictions explained by the vague and senseless words " complications of civilization?" Must not they flow from some very powerful and very practical causes? Are the causes we have stated, groundless suppositions? Are they not realities, capable of producing great results—those, in fact, which we see?

These politico-commercial complications have placed the interests of each nation in constant jeopardy; they have opened an arena of unceasing struggle, where the ablest must win, and

the negligent, or pre-occupied, be losers. Formerly, war was war, and peace, peace; now we have war of a most insidious description under the garb of peace; and no power can say it can remain neuter or indifferent. We have had twenty years of peace. Under former circumstances—that is, a watchful attention of this empire to the balance of European power—that peace would have been several times interrupted, or the events which stand the most prominent in the history of our times, would never have occurred; the known principles of England would have prevented hostile attempts from being made, or a sudden demonstration of her alertness (as indeed once occurred in the case of Portugal), would have brought back other powers to a sense of the impossibility of encroachment, while England and France were at peace, and both or either prepared to resist any act of aggression or usurpation. During these twenty years, and in consequence of not preventing—and of the encouragement given to various designs by our negligence, we see Europe not only suffering under the accumulation of public wrongs, but also under the accumulation of the preparations for attack and defence: so that while the balance of power is silently disturbed, and international injustice becomes a thing familiar to men, we have also added to these the worst consequences of defeat, the greater portion of the immediate effects of war, enormous military establishments, and a continual state of insecurity and alarm. The daily wonder is, from one extremity of Europe to the other, that the explosion has not yet taken place.

To whichever side we turn our eyes, a picture presents itself which is not that of peace. The Peninsula and Italy have only to be named, to call up ideas of convulsion, of struggling opinions, of opposing influences, of insecurity, and even war—the suspension of hostilities in Holland and Belgium, the existence of Greece, the independence of Sweden, are contingent only on the policy of the five great powers. These powers are all in a state of opposition—all having separate objects, distinct projects, alarms, and secrets. Prussia is making a peaceable conquest of all the small states of Germany—France dismembering in the South the Ottoman Empire, combining with Russia to overthrow it, combining

with England to support certain principles in Spain—Austria, united in interests to England, is united by principles to Russia. Austria is opposed to Prussia's incorporations in Germany; she agrees with her in Holland, Belgium, and the Peninsula; she agrees with England in Germany and the East, but disagrees with her in Holland, Belgium, and the Peninsula. Austria and Prussia seem to unite against England and France, yet Austria and Prussia are opposed in their most vital interests; and perhaps the action of the policy of England and France is not less at variance, whatever their principles or interests may be. Prussia, the most democratic of powers in her administration, the most despotic and legitimate in her policy, swallows up Germany by her apparent liberality, and throws into the scale of legitimacy nearly twenty millions (by acquisition in 1815 and 1835) of the most enlightened population of Europe, and our natural and commercial allies.

Is this one of the results of our boasted modern civilisation? The people who, while called barbarians, and uncivilised, for three hundred years, waged not unequal war with Rome in its pride; the people who, having combined monarchy with their municipal organisation (but still denominated barbarians), entered in triumph the capital of the world; this people, after twelve centuries of decidedly superior comfort, light, and even strength (though divided), to the rest of Europe, is now, with its vast literature, its high intellectuality, its refined civilisation—so emasculated by the centralised military, financial, and commercial system of the day, that, without a blow, without a feeling of resistance, without consciousness of the change, it has allowed the chains of the Prussian Zollferband to be wound around it, its *local* nationality to be lost, the spring of its energies to be repressed, and its muscle and mind tamed by the administrative tact of Prussia to be harnessed to the political chariot of Russia. Is this condition of the German stock *civilisation*, and its former condition—*barbarism?* It is well to understand the meaning of the words; but it is afflicting to think that individual instruction and ability have of late, in so many instances, coincided with national characteristics precisely the reverse.

All substantial power has passed away from the southern

and western extremities of Europe — power has migrated to the East and North, and, there concentrated, prepares for the practical subjugation of those countries that have hitherto figured in the history of the world. Spain and Portugal are null; in the political scale, their weight is great, but it tells negatively: so does Italy—so Turkey and Greece. Switzerland has lost even that importance which it had. Saxony is as if it did not exist. The minor states of Germany lie in their winding sheet—Poland in its tomb. The kingdom of the Netherlands is disrupted and neutralised; Denmark and Sweden have no strength in themselves. There remain, therefore, but the five powers — England, France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria—who have occupied the positions of defence, incorporated in part, or in whole, or exert a domineering influence, either absolute or balanced by each other, over the other countries above enumerated.

England and France appear arrayed against Russia, Prussia, and Austria, and the opposing principles of the two alliances appear to maintain the political equilibrium. Let us examine how the case stands.

During the twenty years of peace, France and England not only have made no acquisitions, but have been constantly and anxiously on the defensive. They have managed, latterly, to retard and to prevent some objects which the Northern Courts had in view; but on the other hand, they have both powerfully contributed, by armies, fleets, and treasure, to further the objects of the Northern Courts. France was compelled, by the threat of a war on the Rhine, to march an army into Spain to put down constitutional liberty—the fleets of England and France in the harbour of Navarin secured to Russia the treaty of Adrianople, and all its consequences—the enthusiasm and the money of England and France dismembered Turkey, to the benefit of Russia in the separation of Greece; and France was the willing and unconscious tool of Russia, in raising up Mehemet Ali against his sovereign. The political union of France and England has been sterile in commercial and practical benefits. Commercial hostility exists between them, and 60,000,000 of the most industrious people in the world, living within sight of each other, and mutually requiring what they

can reciprocally supply, carry on less traffic with each other than England carries on with the remote and so termed barbarous dominions of the Porte. Moreover, even that political union may be said to be dissolved. The power of the French nation, as a conservative weight, is withdrawn from the principle of peace and from the policy of England, and the means at the disposal of the Government of France, are added to the power of aggression, and to the policy of Russia.

Of the three states forming the northern alliance, we have already shown that Prussia and Austria are at variance between themselves: besides, their power by no means corresponds with their geographical extent, their military establishment, or the amount of their population. They are both, emphatically, governments, not nations—they are both entangled in those custom-house chains which weaken and distract a government, while they exasperate a people—they are both weighed down by an enormous military establishment, which increases the difficulties and dangers that have called it into existence—they are both so insecure, that they feel war in Europe would be fatal to them; they have therefore, in fact, already lost their independence.

Austria, during the twenty years of peace, has made no acquisitions; she has indeed—and if not as France, by dread of Russia—at least by desire of Russia, prevented the establishment of a free constitution in Naples; she does maintain a precarious influence in Italy, but she is involved in daily increasing difficulties in her general government, in her foreign policy, and in her provincial administration. She has attempted to thwart the views of Russia, and to arrest her progress, and she has invariably failed; she attempted to reduce Greece without success; she was the means of forcing the Porte to declare against Russia in 1828, in the hope of seeing Russia beaten—Russia was victorious. From her dread of the power and principles of France, she was, subsequently to July 1830, led to support Russia in Turkey, and elsewhere, and to act in concert with her on the government of France. She is now startled with the fearful consequence of the prostration of France before Russia; the entire predominance of Russia in Turkey; the absolute sway of Russia over Prussia

and western Germany. France before was the only *point d'appui* —Austria assisted in subverting it—she now remains with the consciousness at once of her danger and her helplessness.

Prussia has made acquisitions during these twenty years, but it has been under the shadow of Russia, and for her ends. Prussia is the created creature of Russian policy, her subservient instrument, her delegated representative: through Prussia, Russia plays a separate game; through her she acts by principles apparently the reverse of her own; but Russia has ends, not principles, and it suits her to have a German dominion under a second name.

Russia has then been the sole acquirer;—she is at present the sole aggressor. During this long peace—by wars, by treaties, by intimidation, by enterprise, has this single power gone on, extending her frontiers, augmenting her population, territory, and resources, elevating her own influence, sowing dissentions among others, and what has been added to her strength and influence, has been abstracted from the means that formerly existed, and which have proved ineffectual for opposing her. She has been treated by other nations as a judge is by individuals—her acts have been considered decrees; to oppose which would be turbulence, and to support them meritorious. Peace has consisted in acquiescence in her designs. It is now an insult to the Emperor to talk of the independence of Poland; it will soon be also treated as an insult to talk of the independence of Turkey, Persia, and Austria.

But she is the only power relieved from the complications we have pointed out; her military or diplomatic superiority never could have secured her constant and successive acquisitions at the expense of all other powers, had it not been from the clear-sightedness resulting from this simplicity, while all other governments have been bewildered by complications, injurious indeed in themselves, but far more so by the intellectual superiority they have given to Russia.

We have first reduced to five the number of states that compose the republic of nations, and that curb and control, or dispute, by their influence, Europe and the world. We have then divided those states into two opposing federations; on looking more narrowly into their position, we have found that two, France and Austria, are neutralized; that Prussia is

a dependency of Russia; there therefore remain but Russia and England, which are really substantial powers*. If opposition exists, it must be between them, and if one of them does not wholly predominate, it is because the other opposes her.

Russia is a great military system, formed for conquest, made up of incorporations, under the necessity of conquering, her whole thoughts and energies bent on extension; dreaded by all men, but influencing, by a powerful agency, all governments, having daily increasing means at her disposal, to act on decreasing elements of resistance. England is a free and balanced government, without military means and without projects;—she is absorbed by the care of her vast commercial system. Her influence, by her commerce, her navies, her principle, is all-pervading—but it is influence on the people of the earth, not on the governments; she has no favour with any government; she has no organization for external action. But the progress of principles that men dislike—the progress of designs that nations dread—make the millions of Europe, and more particularly of the East, look to her with a low respect and fond hope, and place at her disposal the resources of the earth for conservative purposes, if she chooses to combine them; but these resources are passive, not active, and, uncombined by her intelligence, must gradually sink before the active principle of Russia.

What is Russia, so fortified, now aiming at?—Of course the Ottoman empire; and until this conquest is secured, she will veil from our eyes what the extent of her actual acquisitions are elsewhere. Until her buckler is placed at the entrance of the Dardanelles, she will be moderate in Europe—moderate in Asia—she will speak mildly, and walk softly; she will consent to argue and discuss, at Paris, London, Madrid, and Brussels,—even to admit and consent; she will foment no insurrections in Austria; she will allow Persia the semblance of independence. We, for the past, will not too curiously seek to penetrate her thoughts, to ascertain our own real position; and, disbelieving what we dread, hoping what we wish, will be lulled with the kindliness of her speech, and justify our confidence with the supposed certainty of her

* The Caimacam of Persia recently used this expression, "There are but two "flags in the world, that of England and Russia—we cannot be under both."

extension leading to weakness, and the occupation of Constantinople being the prelude to dismemberment.

But a treaty has been entered into between France and England for maintaining their influence and principles in Spain. Strong as these governments are, especially when united, by the moral authority they possess everywhere, except among the Muscovite race itself, it was to be expected, had the alliance been productive of immediate and beneficial effects, that England and France would get a taste for acting in concert; that they would feel their own strength; and that having settled the Peninsula, they would then proceed to settle the East. It was therefore the policy of Russia to frustrate the objects of the Quadruple Alliance, to cause it to linger, and to produce difference of opinion between the governments themselves; and, as heretofore, to turn to her own account the measures indistinctly taken with the view of opposing her.

She has done this.

The union of France and England was death to the projects of Russia, if that union had been intelligent and effective; that is to say, if it prevented the conquest of the half hostile, half submissive empire that Russia is now effecting by a process cheaper, and more rapid than by armies. The union of France and England, if not directed to this end, is to her a matter of moonshine; and if it is to be, she is rejoiced that it should be directed to that Peninsula the struggles of which have in reality raised up Russia to the rank of a first rate power. She will no doubt speak loudly of her principles compromised, of social order, of her determination to maintain the rights of legitimacy, and to resist the spirit of revolution and convulsion. Now, let us see what Russia gains by holding such language? (That her *feelings*, that *her* principles, are involved in the question, is a supposition that can only call forth a smile from him who has traced the agency by which Russian policy is conducted.) She establishes an important and European discussion on the question of Spain, that is, on the *West* of Germany, a discussion which touches nearly as one of principles—the factions, the people, and the governments of England, France, Austria, and Prussia, and puts them all at variance; men's minds become occupied—public interest absorbed in the affairs of Spain; she is, therefore, left to play

her game unmolested in the East. England and France, seeing this opposition of the North, will think they have gained a triumph if they carry their views into operation; they will congratulate themselves with exerting some influence, with saving some prisoners in a civil broil, in a distracted country, while Russia is acquiring—let the word be weighed—ACQUIRING a kingdom equal to two Spains; or they will be frustrated in their objects, disappointed in their expectations, overawed in their policy; and not only beaten by the dexterity of Russia, but humbled before her power.

Austria, taking alarm at the progress of Russia in the East, is on the point, not only of escaping from the influence of Russia, and of throwing her weight into the scale of England, but also of awakening England to the importance of the question, and to the danger of Europe; but by this discussion, she is again brought to the side of Russia, and placed in opposition to England. The King of the French, by mismanagement now at home, and by the line of foreign policy he has adopted, has his personal feelings engaged with Russia, and though forced to appear in the eyes of France to co-operate with England, will secretly be acting against us, seeking to frustrate the objects he seems to desire, and making Nicolas, now his connexion, his confidant.

All this while Russia, carbonaro and absolutist in Italy, at once—Carlist and republican in France—whiteboy and orange in Ireland — will she not be favourer of the niece and the uncle in Spain, as the cards may turn up? Yet while ostensibly supporting despotic principles, the party to which that ostensible Russian support is given, is strong merely in its respect for the traditionary predilections of northern Spain for the municipal institutions transmitted from the earliest ages, which are proscribed by the liberalism of modern legislative doctrines. The government, which England anxiously supports as the organ of freedom, is endangered, chiefly by its imitation of the centralised customs of France, which annihilates the freedom of commerce of the insurgent provinces; this they feel to be injurious without knowing why, and seek support in any system opposed to that government which, by whatever names or epithets adorned, encroaches on their local customs, and interferes with their free markets. In fact, Russia becomes the

advocate of national custom—England, the champion of commercial despotism.

Russia, obtaining all these ends, and calling forth this confusion, need little care how things turn, so that confusion is prolonged; she therefore gains every way: but, beyond this success, she has achieved another—she has overawed the quadruple alliance—the governments of England and France shrink from interfering—they confess their dread of Russia, and the danger and difficulty of the dilemma in which they are placed, by authorising armaments for the maintenance, by the sword, of private individuals, of the public interest, which the national government does not venture to protect. The opposition of party interest to national interest, which we have above indicated, has become organised; now, at length, it is armed—it displays its banner—it has an executive. Does not the sanction of Government, given to such a precedent, open the door to consequences of the most alarming nature—does it not confess an actual state of things, scarcely less alarming? Even the treaty of the 6th of July bore no such fruits as this.

We recollect, when the treaty of the 6th of July was signed, between England, France, and Russia, the sounds of gratulation that resounded through liberal Europe—the satisfaction of all well wishers of their race, to see an act drawn up between the great powers to put an end to war and convulsion in the East, and to restrain the projects of Russia, by forcing her, as we then imagined, to co-operate with us. The results are now matter of lamentable history—that act has proved in its consequences the most direful on record; it has been the means of putting an end to all contest between Turkey and Russia, and leaves Turkey to fall a prey, without the chance even of a struggle. The quadruple alliance, now lauded and admired, may, five years hence, be looked back to as having afforded to Russia the means of sowing dissentions between the powers who had been sufficiently awakened to be on the point of concerting measures against her—of creating a confusion in the West that diverted men's thoughts from the East—that furnished, opportunely, a subject of the deepest interest in another quarter, so as to calm the alarms that were beginning to be felt for the state of Turkey.

Far be it from us to breathe a wish, to express a thought,

that has not for its object the pacification and the re-organisation of Spain. It is not the object we impugn, but, as in the treaty of the 6th of July, the means. Nor do we underrate the value, or neglect the well being of Spain, by rating infinitely higher the projects of the only aggressive power in Europe, whose conquests and success would instantly destroy the best results it is possible to obtain in the Peninsula—whose preponderance is incompatible with the prosperity and tranquillity of Spain, as of the rest of Europe. While the fate of the whole of Europe hangs on the disposal of the Dardanelles, and while that position stands in imminent peril, is it not madness to talk of settlement or tranquillity any where? It is adorning a chamber while the house is on fire. Until that great point is settled, what matters peace; and peace you will never have till it is settled.

The acquisition of the Ottoman dominion by Russia, when it presents itself as an event about to assume the character of reality, cannot be contemplated without feelings of dismay. This practical demonstration of such immense power, by whatever means acquired, the consequence of such an accession as this to that power, terrifies the mind with its own conclusions; on such a subject, to reason is, as it were, to dream—and he who knows, is a visionary.

It is impossible to grasp this subject; its mighty results, if indeed the event we dread does take place, will be unrolled by time. In endeavouring to anticipate them, the mind takes refuge in detail, in objections, in comparisons, and turns away unsatisfied. What, in fine, can we compare it to? In contemporary history it stands alone, and swallows up all other interest; in past times no event had ever occurred, no precedent, no parallel, can be found for the possession of Constantinople by the Government that rules supremely the hordes that encircle the Pole.

We will not venture to grapple with the question; but, anxious to dwell on it for a moment, we will select for refutation the fallacy, that the possession of Constantinople will have on Russia the effect the transfer of the metropolis from Rome to Byzantium had on the Roman Empire. If so false a position could be at all admitted, the comparison must be drawn between Rome when she was bounded by the Adriatic

on the East and struggling with Carthage, and Russia now. What would then have been said of the same argument, held at Carthage, when *her* influence predominated in the East—her commerce connected her dearest interests with the Euxine and the Levant—and gave her the means of coping with Rome? Could any madman then have ventured to assert in a Carthagenian senate that the Roman power would be broken up by permitting Rome to possess Constantinople and the East. It was only when Carthage had perished, that Rome was able to push her conquests eastward; when she did remove her court to the Bosphorus, the East was her own; it was a transfer of internal administration, not the annexation of a hostile empire. She made that transfer to resist those very hordes, and that very pressure from the North, that now is rolling downwards, as then, but not as then undisciplined and uncombined, yet which had succeeded in breaking the power of the eastern empire before the Turks stepped in. After the transfer itself, the superior advantages of that position, upheld her dominion for ten centuries, and until all that had co-existed with the change had disappeared from the face of the earth. Yet, then, that position, not defended by batteries and gunpowder, did not possess the impregnability which to-day is its chief importance.

Now, it is to the very danger that we look for salvation—some great necessity alone can arouse us from our inaction, ignorance, and security. The question now presents itself, as one from which there is no escape, and it is saved from the moment that England has decided. While Russia continues playing for so high a stake, and while a chance of success is open to her, no art, no expense, nor means, will be spared to convulse, to perplex Europe, to irritate principle against principle, interest against interest, government against people, nation against nation—has she not succeeded? How fearfully efficient for such ends is the power, the diplomacy, the position, and the gold of Russia—*what considerations has she it not in her power to offer to the few who may perceive, or have the means of thwarting her objects?* These are mighty evils in themselves, independently of the end to which they are the means. By arresting her projects, you at once frustrate the end, and take from her the object for which those means are resorted to.

It is said, that the increase of the popular element prevents attention to foreign policy. It did not do so during the commonwealth; but the subject has been so encumbered, that the public does not understand it: it is, then, most essential to simplify it as much as possible. England, less than any nation, understands Foreign policy by her position and pre-occupation; yet she is more interested than any other state in foreign combinations. We have hitherto generally neglected our foreign interests, under the belief that we had nothing to do with the continent, until the misfortune to be guarded against has occurred, and made us practically feel the connexion. Our former history proves at every page this truth; and though we have been successful, we might generally have obtained success at a cheaper rate. During the present peace, we have allowed misfortune to accumulate on misfortune; and if the crowning disaster does take place, it will be out of our power, in all probability, to repair it. We have, however, within the last few months, gained a signal victory over the public apathy—and that is in the association of the word WAR with our foreign relations. This is an incontrovertible recognition of their importance; the very expression "we must "not go to war," confesses the importance of the question in the speaker's mind—proves interest, alarm, and the disposition to inquiry—though it admits that that inquiry has not yet been undertaken, or has not been very happy. Peace is the mutual respect of two, who, conscious of each other's power and intelligence, venture not to provoke the resentment of each other; if either shows weakness or incapacity, the state of peace has ceased. The threat of war, or preparation for war, by a State not aggressive, is a guarantee of peace; but the threat of war on the lips of a Power actively aggressive, is the declaration it can only be supposed of perfect prostration of power or intelligence in those to whom the threat is addressed. If this position is the result of relative strength and weakness, or relative intelligence and ignorance, the consequences are the same, as the phantom to him who fears is as dreadful as the reality. The latter is the case with England. If the preponderance of the North were the result of real strength, then, indeed, would our case be hopeless. But, believing, as we do, that the danger will become real only in the event of this country's alarm at words, and indif-

ference to realities, we look with confidence to the result, and with pride on the commencement of our own humble labours, in the hope of being in some degree conducive to that result, if indeed there is yet time—not the prevention of war, but something far greater—the preservation of peace, on those conditions which alone make peace desirable.

Article X.

Address of Sir Robert Peel to the Electors of Tamworth. London: 1834.

It was the general conviction, after the appearance of Sir Robert Peel's Address, that it conveyed very little distinct information respecting his future policy, or intended measures. We shall not attempt to decide if this were a correct decision. The title of this address has been prefixed to the following observations, on account of the strong light it throws upon the state of Parties, and the increased force of Public Opinion. In this view it acquires an importance that would not belong to the manifesto of a Party or their Leader. We turn with far greater interest to this Address, as a striking indication of the new control the public mind has acquired over the ambition of a Minister, than if we intended to criticise the principles it sets forth, or the candour with which they are explained. Whatever may be the curiosity to understand the designs of a Conservative Leader, it yields to the gratification of discovering they can do no mischief. There can be no satisfaction paramount to the knowledge, that Tory projects have become totally harmless, and that Reform must go on steadily and widely, in defiance of the threats or the opposition of any portion of the Aristocracy.

When we separate politics from the consideration of personal qualifications, we consider that we are attempting to render a considerable benefit to the public service. The prejudice that connects itself with political discussion, into which the merit of an individual is introduced, prevents the mind from arriving at a sound and impartial conclusion. Favor or attachment is able to insert a bias, which turns the attention from its

true object, and substitutes selfishness for the public good. Thus we confound the investigation of truth with an inquiry into the talents of a statesman, and pursue an argument respecting the merits of a leader, instead of examining a principle upon which the safety of the Constitution or of the State depends. How frequently is it asserted, more with reference to his abilities than his principles, that a particular statesman is the only person capable of maintaining the integrity of the Constitution, or governing the country! Personal merit lies more within the reach of ordinary observation than measures or principles. The statesmanlike capacity of the late Premier could not withstand the distrust of the House of Commons. The Representatives of the Nation looked for political consistency, as an indispensable qualification in the first Minister of the Crown. Public confidence could not attach itself where insincerity was suspected.

It is our wish to speak of public men with entire impartiality. We hope to discuss their competency for directing the course of the nation through her present embarrassments, without acrimony or exaggerated praise; but we shall not shrink from the performance of our duty to the Public, with boldness, and we trust with discrimination. The characters of public men are public property; they shall be watched with vigilance, and scrutinized with firmness. The honor and the welfare of the nation depend, in a great measure, upon the integrity of its rulers. Its influence abroad is connected with their consistency; its comfort and peace at home are interwoven with the confidence which they inspire. It is therefore impossible to be too scrupulous in our regard for the honesty of our statesmen. A wise and prudent community, an educated and enlightened people, will place their character under the most strict observance. Neither ability, or disinterestedness, should be held equivalent to political consistency, if integrity be the true character of the British nation. The example of the Minister influences the conduct of society—penetrates the abodes of the wealthy and the poor—encourages honesty—discourages immorality. We seek not an imaginary standard of political virtue, but we give a reluctant obedience to rulers who accommodate their principles to circumstances, and fashion them to the public taste for change.

Sir Robert Peel and his late colleagues had been among the most formidable enemies of the Reform Bill. They had denounced it, as pregnant with danger to the constitution, and as the source of unforeseen evils to the interests it was intended to protect. It was predicted that the King's government could not be carried on, if that bill should pass into a law. Treachery, or folly, was imputed to its authors, without any expressed dissent on the part of the Conservatives who heard the remark. The Tories claimed to themselves wisdom and patriotism, in resisting the encroachment of popular power beyond the limits where existing privileges had stopped it. The Liberals, on the contrary, insisted that such a check was inconsistent with the improvement of the age, and that the possession of a better Education entitled the Democracy to an extension of their rights. The issue was so simple, that the least intelligent could easily comprehend it. The Conservatives resolved to keep the representation unaltered, and made the most strenuous exertions to prevent its being thrown more open. But the Liberals saw that the principles of the Tories had made them odious to the people, and supposed they acted under an apprehension of their power being curtailed, if popular opinions gained ground in Parliament. Having this impression, they could not look upon them as fair judges of the question, and treated their arguments, as proceeding from fear, rather than constitutional love and patriotism.

All honest Reformers were delighted to see the Conservatives coming round, even in appearance, to their opinions; such a change tended to lessen the difficulties which retarded the progress of liberal principles. Many immediately perceived, that a return to their former ways became from that moment next to impossible. It was seen, that although their conversion was not intended as an acknowledgment and recantation of past error, it would almost have the same effect. The chasm, which had opened between two portions of the Aristocracy, seemed ready to close by the Conservatives flinging their opinions into the gulf. A continuance of civil discord was rendered less probable by the recognition of the Tories, that the government could not be conducted on any other than Reform principles.

It would have been unwise in any sincere Reformer to

attempt to cast discredit upon the sincerity of the Conservatives, but that party arrogated to itself the honour of carrying Reform into effect. This materially altered the case. The Liberals prudently considered, that by possibility the Tories might not be sincere; and having ridden into power upon the gale of popular support, they might afterwards take a new departure upon another tack. They thought it safer to exclude them from power than to confide in their ability to remove them, after they had gained a firm footing. Conservative tactics are known to be so excellent, that although Reformers cannot consent to share Tory principles, they are never more likely to maintain their own successfully, than when they take a lesson from their opponents, in some of the arts necessary for their security.

We would not, however, mention Ipswich as an instance of Conservative skill. It seems that corruption had there been the only weapon used by them; for as soon as that failed, they were defeated. We have no doubt that in other places, as the Conservatives are reduced to honest practices, their influence will become less formidable. But in the management of the routine of government, by encouraging political friends and removing doubtful followers, their diligence and caution are equally admirable. They never harbour an ally whose fidelity is suspected, or rely on assistance which has not been purchased or proved. All their calculations are made from the most rigidly-examined data. However disposed they may be to use flattery, in order to disarm hostility or stimulate friendship, they never employ it upon its most treacherous purpose—self-deception. Each exerts himself as if he believed that the success of the cause depended upon his energy; by these means a tottering edifice almost acquires the strength of a new building. Reformers had sufficient reason to distrust such adversaries, when they saw them in possession of the political citadel. What difficulty might there not be in expelling Toryism, if it were once more allowed to obtain a permanent ascendancy in the state? How bigotry would triumph, and intolerance vaunt its inseparability from rational government, if the Conservatives could display their real principles, and indulge their inveterate habits without restraint! A recent proof of the unchangeableness of their nature has been afforded

by the readiness to assume any form for the attainment of their political ends. The Public never applaud rapid changes of character in high stations. Such transformations are better adapted to comedy or farce. The metamorphoses of outward appearance are exempt from dangerous consequences; but a change of political character forfeits the confidence of the public, and establishes a bad precedent for future statesmen. It discourages the prospects of all who aspire to power and eminence by a consistent course. It brings public morality and immorality upon a level, by holding out the most tempting honours as the indiscriminate reward of each.

Should any objection be felt to the abstract character of the preceding observations, it is our duty to ask the indulgence of the reader to the nature of the first political essay in a new publication. Principles must be laid down, from which our future conduct may be inferred. Impartiality must be substantiated by an unwillingness to rush headlong into the turbid waters of party contention. It should rather be our desire to win applause by the humble demeanour of our entrance, than to provoke opposition by a bold assertion of political dogmas. Our opposition to Conservative opinions has been shown in our distrust of Conservative measures for effecting the principle of Reform. The approach of a Tory to the task, would be hailed with joy by every abettor of corruption, who would behold the advance of a Liberal with dismay. We desire the essence, not merely the name of Reform—its substance with its spirit. Does any man in his senses imagine, that the Conservatives ardently desire to reduce corruption to its minimum of existence, to banish intolerance from the haunts of education, and to detach politics from religion, by ceasing to make secular preferment the reward of party zeal? Is there, on the other hand, a doubt, that Reformers see these things with disgust, and permit their continuance with reluctance?

We witness the increased power of public opinion with the greatest pleasure. Its tendency is to correct the selfishness of party spirit, and to subdue the fury of heedless innovation. The politician, who, relying on his ability and his judgment, practised in theoretical speculation, disclaims the necessity of ancient landmarks, and would launch into the ocean of political navigation, guided only by the stars, will be checked in it by his ambitious

career. The cautious statesman, who would measure the demand for improvement by the languor of his own feelings, and plods his tedious way, like the hour-hand of a clock, to the end of time, without perceptible progress, will be stimulated to active exertion by indications of popular impatience. The steady reformer, who, with veneration for the constitution on his right hand, and love for equal rights on the left, desires to promote virtue by honest reward, and industry by peace, will be upheld and supported by its influence. Should there be any who, enjoying the privileges of the constitution, seek its destruction, and from ignorance, disappointment, or perverted pride, would stake the liberty we possess under existing institutions, against that which might be derived from untried ones, public opinion would not hesitate to denounce such unsafe reformers, and array against them the suffrages of an independent community. Such power has been given to public opinion by the amended representation of the people. We have no doubt of the immense benefit which reform will confer upon the country, if its integrity and confidence in the spirit of publicity, as the radical cure of political evils, induce it to rest satisfied with the kind of improvement sound principles sanction, and past experience and just analogy approve, as wholesome and safe.

If we were required to name the three principal expedients for rendering a people contented and industrious, and an aristocracy enlightened and liberal, we should say, Educate! Educate! Educate! Shall we then be told by any one, who does not consider logic merely as a name, and reason as a chain of wilful sentences, that the result of education is to be the extinction of publicity in the most important act of political life? Education is justly supposed to bring in its train every possible improvement. The reputation of a man, which rests on the pedestal of having encouraged national education, is based on the pillars of the world. Its foundation is deeper than the sea, for it is in the designs of eternity. Publicity is the basis of virtue, in all cases where conscience has lost its power; and even in its presence, it must be allowed to be an useful coadjutor against the temptations of selfish gratification. But the rich oppress,—the titled are intolerant,—and therefore the advocates of ballot contend that

secret voting must be taken as a protection. The principle of protection, however, must not be adverse to social virtue. If defence against oppression is not consistent with the first motive to morality, the fabric of society is endangered by the want of a connecting principle. We offer publicity as an effectual remedy against political tyranny. By unsparing exposure, bribers and intimidators would be made to tremble at the bar of public opinion. It is the proof of wisdom, to act upon large principles, embracing the true interests of humanity, and not to abandon them for a partial advantage, or under the pressure of a temporary evil. We have entered into this examination of the principle of secret voting, on account of the favour it has lately found among Reformers.

We are unconnected with Party—Whig, Conservative, or Radical. But we wish to be considered the allies of common sense, and the advocates of liberality, founded on prudence, wisdom, and justice. We discard hypocrisy, as the fruitful source of mischief; and if we do not absolutely condemn suspicious conversions, it is in the hope of their being conducive to a good purpose. We shall close our observations upon the principle of the Ballot, by remarking that secret voting, if not a mockery, would eventually prove the enemy of independence, by undermining its foundation in honesty. We are not, however, free from apprehension that the continued and increasing oppressions of landlords in the country, and aristocracies in towns, will make it extremely difficult to resist this scheme. We have frankly stated the inclination of our opinion. But the country will not consider this a concluded question, until oppression has found an effectual check, and unjust and illegal interference of superiors with the votes of their dependants is an exception instead of a rule.

We now proceed to other topics, and turn from the discussion of an expedient to the consideration of parties. Parliament is at present divided into two powerful sections, the Liberal and the Conservative, or the Voluntary and the Compelled Reformers. Among the latter, a schism is said to be at hand; but the public take no interest in it, beyond a curiosity to discover into whose guardianship the sacred ark of Ultra-Toryism is to be entrusted. The Liberal Party consists of an union of Reformers, who desire to extend popular liberty to different

bounds. All are agreed that it should go beyond its present limit, but there exists a considerable difference of opinion, where it should stop. Some contend, that a Church Establishment acts injuriously upon the interests of true religion, and, consequently, there should be no interposition of the state in affairs of conscience. They consider a Clerical Aristocracy an anomaly in a Religion of Peace. They would dismiss the prelates from the House of Lords; and the prebendaries, whose original use is obsolete, from the cathedrals, where they are only an ornament. They desire to introduce the Voluntary Principle into religion, and allow every man to choose his pastor, according to his conscience or his taste. These zealous church Reformers belong to what is called the Radical Party. Others, who are more moderate in their views, by equalizing incomes, would remove preferment, as a temptation to political intrigue. Believing in the advantage of example to practical morality, they do not seek to strip churchmen of temporal dignity, or depose them from their high station. While affluence and title secure outward respect, those whose duty it is to inculcate morality, should be upheld by secular honors.

There is another class of Reformers, who, impatient of the continuance of an abuse, grasp eagerly at the first remedy which presents itself. These, in their hurry to escape from political oppression, would endanger the equilibrium of the Constitution, by placing too much weight in one scale. They are careless of the fate of Institutions, which they regard only as a protection for individual liberty and right. They do not look beyond the confines of their own country, or inquire what sort of government is consistent with the harmony of others. It matters little to them, if British liberty, under a monarchy, would be more acceptable to foreign powers, than under a republic; or be more likely to spread its blessings among distant countries in its present form, than if it appeared under a new name. Utilitarianism is too limited in its views of time and space. It seeks the good of a nation, instead of studying the happiness of the world.

Another, and a smaller section of the political world, may be found in the House of Commons, suspended, as it were, between the two principal parties. Its movements are watched with attention, because, by the shifting of its posi-

tion, an important question is occasionally decided. It sees danger, where reformers advance with boldness, and it has lately manifested an alarm not easy to be reconciled with its former intrepidity. The contemplated appropriation of the revenues of the Irish Church, after the demands for the spiritual instruction of the Protestants had been satisfied, filled this party with terror. They were inattentive to the conclusion, that truth is promoted by the diffusion of education, and that those who believe in the superior purity of the Protestant religion, need not apprehend danger from the better education of the Catholics.

It was confidently expected, by Reformers, that this party must soon fall into the section of the Liberals. But it seems anxious rather to assist the designs of the Conservatives, than to unite itself with those who are more nearly allied to it in principle. It is unable to throw any considerable impediment in the way of a deep and searching reform of Church abuses, because the opinion of the Public has determined upon their destruction. Its humble efforts to lessen the rapidity with which political Reform is carried forward, will tend rather to hasten than retard its motion. Earnest Reformers are anxious to preserve a good cause from injury through the desertion of its friends, and do not hesitate to supply an unexpected chasm by recruits from those with whom heretofore they have been less closely connected. This united Liberal party will be aided by the good wishes of the Public.

The attempts of those who would rouse the country to collect all its strength for an approaching struggle, have in them more of inconsiderate violence and party spirit, than may be manifest to their authors. Lord Stanley, in an able reply to a letter, in which his adherence to a Conservative Association was solicited, has forcibly stated his opinion upon the subject. He enlarged with distinctness on the danger of such proceedings, and justly awarded blame, according to his impression of the peril. But we cannot conceive that any serious mischief is likely to result from the struggle which he deprecates. The steady progress of Reform may continue under the direction of the Liberal party, if they pursue the public good, steadily and fearlessly. The influence of their enemies in the Lords, and at court, is very great,

but ought not to create much surprise. Sovereigns can only hear one side of a question. It must be long before Toryism can be cast out from the palace of a monarch. But if the Ministers show themselves to be the friends of the people, by strenuously supporting popular rights; if they shall at length learn the policy as well as the honesty of leaning towards their friends, rather than trying to disarm and to please their enemies; if they maintain in office the principles they professed in opposition—they may be indifferent to the frowns of the Court, or the clamours of the Peers. The designs of the Conservatives may be obviated, and their manœuvres successfully resisted, if the Liberals continue united, are willing to give up opinions which obstruct the attainment of their common purpose, and are resolved to rule by fair means, and scorn alike time-serving, timidity, and intrigue.

We have avowed explicitly our entire disconnection with faction, and professed that our party is the People. We cannot better show our sincerity, than by at once stating, that although we disapprove of indiscriminate abuse, lavished for factious purposes, Sir R. Peel and his colleagues, of all men, were the last to be taken as fit for working out the Reform Bill, and gathering in its fruits; and that we consider their removal from the offices, upon the assumption of which their new-born professions of liberality had been made, a just and necessary measure. Our desire is to see the fruits of the Reform Bill secured to the people, by such men as the people can, from past experience, safely rely on. They may continue to trust the present Ministers, if they shall prove themselves possessed of the moral firmness, and the political courage, becoming those who would rule on popular grounds.

It would be far too large a chapter here to enter upon, were we to inquire what those further benefits are, which the people have an undoubted right to expect, as giving any real value to the Reform of 1831 and 1832. No statesmen have any right to pretend that they have done more for the country than their adversaries, solely on the ground of passing a measure which has laid those adversaries prostrate at their feet. But the time is fast approaching, when the test will be applied to their motives. The Municipal Reform is no such test; for the opening of the Corporations is almost as beneficial to the Whigs,

as was the destruction of the rotten boroughs. Will they, after both Parliament and the Corporations are reformed, cut off all useless expenses? Will they carry an unflinching Reform into our Courts of Law, and, by the establishment of local jurisdictions, bring justice to every man's door? Will they fairly and fearlessly look at our financial difficulties, and resolutely grapple the great question of taxation? Will they, regardless of the effect upon themselves, make an earnest attempt to eradicate the deep-rooted abuses of the Church in England and Ireland? Will they apply themselves to this work in such a manner that the majority in the Upper House of Parliament shall feel the danger of offering further resistance to the united wishes of the People and their Representatives? This is what the country looks for, and has an indefeasible right to. Not unwilling to confide in the present administration, we look with hope to their making Reform really and surely felt by the Country; but if they truckle to the Court and the Peers, when both the People and their Representatives would effectually back them in doing their duty, their days are assuredly numbered, and their weight in the State will kick the beam of the balance, wherein they will "have been weighed and found wanting."

POSTSCRIPT.

After the preceding sheets were printed, we learnt, from what passed in the House of Lords, that the French journals had fallen into a serious error respecting a passage of Lord Brougham's Speech on Education, in the House of Lords, on the 23rd of last May. We therefore extract the passage from a corrected copy of the Speech, together with a French version, and it will at once appear that the Noble and Learned Lord alluded to the system of Education established by some of the despotic Governments of the Continent, and that he expressly excepted France. To the conductors of this journal the intent of the passage is rendered peculiarly great, by its marked allusion to the execrable conduct of the despotic powers towards Poland.

"I have inquired of well-informed foreigners—not, cer-
"tainly, in France—if, in addition to a little natural history
"and mineralogy, the children were not allowed to learn
"civil history also? The answer was, No; that is for-
"bidden; and in certain countries, seats of legitimacy, it may
"not, without risk, be taught.—So that the pupils learn the
"history of a stone, of a moss, of a rush, of a weed; but
"the history of their own country, the deeds of their fore-
"fathers, the annals of neighbouring nations, they may not
"read. They are not to gain the knowledge most valuable
"to the members of a rational and civilized community.
"History—the school of Princes, where philosophy teaches
"by example—must present closed doors to their subjects;
"the great book of civil wisdom must to them be sealed.
"For why? There are some of its chapters, and near the
"latter end of the volume, which it is convenient they should
"not peruse. Civil History, indeed!—the History of Rulers!
"Why that would tell of rights usurped,—of privileges

" outraged, — of faith plighted and broken, — of promises " made under the pressure of foreign invasion, and for " gaining the people's aid to drive back the invading usurper " and tyrant; but made to be broken, when, by the arm of " that deluded people, that conqueror had been repelled, the " old dynasty restored, and its members only remembered " the invader and the tyrant to change places with him, and " far out-do his worst deeds of oppressing their subjects and " plundering their neighbours! History, indeed! That " would tell of scenes enacted at their own doors—an ancient, " independent, inoffensive people, overcome, pillaged, mas- " sacred, and enslaved, by the conspiracy of those govern- " ments, which are now teaching their subjects the history of " the grasses, and the mosses, and the weeds;—tell them that " the Bible and the Liturgy were profaned which they are " now commanded to read, and the Christian temples, where " they are weekly led to worship, were desecrated by blas- " phemous thanksgivings for the success of massacre and " pillage! It would tell them of monarchs who live but to " tyrannize at home and usurp abroad—who hold themselves " unsafe as long as a free man is suffered to exist—who count " the years of their reign by just rights outraged, and solemn " pledges forfeited—monarchs who, if ever, by strange acci- " dent, the sun goes not down upon their wrath, exclaim that " they have lost a day—monarchs who wear a human form, " and think nothing inhuman alien to their nature! No " wonder, indeed, that Civil History is forbidden in the " schools of those countries! The tyrant cannot tear from " the book the page that records his own crimes and the " world's sufferings, and he seals it up from the people! Let " us be thankful that despotism is, for the wisest purposes, " made as capricious as it is hateful, and that those scourges " of the earth who dare not have their deeds told, yet teach " men the knowledge which must, in the end, extirpate their " own hateful race."

TRADUCTION.

" J'ai demandé à des étrangers bien informés, — il est " entendu qu'il ne s'agit pas ici de la France,—si dans leur

" pays, outre un peu d'histoire naturelle et de minéralogie,
" il n'était pas permis d'enseigner aux enfans l'histoire poli-
" tique. On m'a répondu que non, et que dans certaines
" contrées, siéges de la légitimité, cet enseignement ne pourrait
" être entrepris sans danger; de sorte que les élèves ap-
" prennent l'histoire d'une pierre, d'une mousse, d'une herbe,
" ou d'un jonc; mais ils ne peuvent lire l'histoire de leur
" propre pays, les actions de leurs ancêtres, et les annales
" des nations voisines. On les prive de la connaissance la plus
" utile aux membres d'une communauté raisonnable et civilisée.
" L'histoire, cette grande école des princes, où la philosophie
" enseigne par l'exemple, doit tenir ses portes fermées à leurs
" sujets. Ce grand livre de la sagesse politique est scellé
" pour eux. Et pourquoi? parce qu'il convient qu'ils ne
" lisent pas quelques chapîtres, surtout vers la fin du livre.
" En effet, l'histoire politique, l'histoire de ceux qui gou-
" vernent, que pourrait-elle leur raconter, si ce n'est les droits
" usurpés, les priviléges outragés, la foi jurée et violée, les
" promesses données sous le poids de l'invasion étrangère,
" et pour obtenir l'assistance du peuple contre l'aggression
" d'un usurpateur et d'un tyran, promesses faites pour être
" rompues, lorsque par le bras de ce peuple abusé le con-
" quérant aura été repoussé, la vieille dynastie restaurée, et
" que ses princes ne se souviendront du tyran envahisseur que
" pour prendre sa place, et surpasser ses actes les plus coupables
" en opprimant leurs sujets, et en dépouillant leurs voisins.
" Oui, l'histoire leur redirait ces scènes passées à leur porte,
" une nation ancienne, indépendante, inoffensive, subjuguée,
" pillée, massacrée, réduite en esclavage par la conspiration
" de ces mêmes gouvernemens, qui maintenant enseignent à
" leurs sujets l'histoire pastorale des plantes et des mousses.
" L'histoire leur apprendrait que la Bible et la liturgie qu'on
" leur commande de lire aujourd'hui, ont été profanées; que
" les temples chrétiens, où on les conduit chaque semaine
" pour adorer Dieu, ont été souillés par des actions de grâce
" sacriléges en l'honneur du massacre et du pillage! L'histoire
" leur parlerait de monarques qui ne vivent que pour la
" tyrannie au dédans et l'usurpation au déhors, qui tremblent
" pour leur sûreté tant qu'il existe un homme libre, qui
" comptent les années de leur règne par autant de droits

" sacrés violés, et d'engagemens solennels méprisés, de mo-
" narques qui, si par quelque hasard le soleil s'est couché
" sans avoir éclairé la satisfaction de leur colère, s'écrient
" qu'ils ont perdu un jour, monarques revêtus d'une forme
" humaine, mais qui cependant ne regardent rien d'inhumain
" comme étranger à leur nature !

" Pourquoi s'étonner que l'histoire politique soit proscrite
" des écoles de ces contrées ? le tyran ne peut effacer du
" livre la page qui raconte ses propres crimes et les souf-
" frances du monde, aussi ce livre reste scellé pour le
" peuple.

" Rendons grâce à cette providence qui dans ses sages
" desseins a fait le despotisme aussi capricieux qu'il est
" odieux, et par laquelle ces fléaux de l'humanité qui ne
" veulent même pas que leur histoire soit lue, sont cependant
" forcés de laisser au peuple l'accès de cette science qui doit
" extirper un jour la race de ses tyrans."

END OF N° I.

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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN REVIEW.

Article I.

The Designs of Russia. By Lieut.-Colonel De Lacy Evans. London: 1828.

This essay was put forth at a period when the existence of Turkey, endangered not less by the ignorant and insensate pertinacity of her own monarch, than by the insidious policy and ambition of her imperial adversary, seemed likely to be extinguished by the blow of the mighty arm that was lifted to crush her; and when those powers of Europe, who had sought to avert the collision, but whose intervention she had rejected, had withdrawn, and awaited the issue with anxiety.

The struggle in question was immediately consequent upon a war between Russia and Persia, brought about by much the same causes; which had terminated in the acquisition, by the former, of a very considerable and important addition of territory, at the expense of the latter; and a demand upon that country, enforced at the point of the bayonet, and a march upon the capital itself, of more than four millions of sterling money, as indemnity for the expenses of a war which had assuredly been provoked in great measure by the aggressions of the Court of St. Petersburgh, or its delegated authorities on the frontier.

It was a juncture, beyond all question, of the most pressing importance; and Colonel Evans, in this powerful effort to rouse the attention of his countrymen, has placed before them a collection of facts, and a series of deductions, so strikingly illustrative of the designs of Russia, of the nature of her political objects, so long, so indefatigably, so unswervingly pursued—

of the crafty and unprincipled character of the policy by which she has sought to attain them—and of the consequences that must result to Great Britain, and all civilized Europe, should her schemes be successful; and has brought to bear upon the subject such a mass of information, detailed and digested with so much clearness and ability, that nothing, we conceive, but that judicial blindness which seems to seal the mental eyes of men in this country to all remote, and peculiarly to Oriental interests, and which limits their attention to home questions, and matters of comparatively petty policy, can account for the fact, that his views have not made their due impression on the public mind, nor influenced the policy of England in her conduct towards Russia, and the countries which that power then, and still threatens to make her victims.

To prove the justice of Colonel Evans's views, we need only appeal to the events which have taken place subsequent to the publication of this pamphlet; and if the whole of his predictions have not been fulfilled, nor the course of events been so rapid as he may appear to have anticipated, it is rather owing to the manifestation of feeling, and to actual intervention, on the part of the British government, tardy and imperfect as it was, and to the cautious policy of the conqueror, than any disinterested forbearance on his part. The campaigns of 1828 and 9, which terminated in the peace of Adrianople, delivered over to Russia the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia—placed in her hands the fortress of Silistria as a pledge for the balance of six millions of ducats indemnity money (!!) —swept from Turkish Armenia many thousands of families, who were driven, like herds of cattle, to Nakchiwan, Alkhalzic, and the Russian districts on the shores of the Black Sea, acquired by the same course of military conquest; and inflicted a blow on the *morale* of the Ottoman Empire, more fatal than any it had ever received. Subsequent to these events came the revolt of the Poles, excited by the intrigues, as much as the oppression of that government, which made the revolt an excuse for crushing to death the miserable remains of that basely used and noble people—then the *friendly* visit of nine thousand Russians to the Bosphorus, terminating in the public treaty of 1833, with its secret and pithy appendage—the war of extermination, waged during the

two last years, against the Abassians and other Caucasian tribes—the less obvious, but not less rapid and substantial progress of influence in Persia, where a further cession of territory was threatened to be demanded, as security for payment of the remaining indemnity money, and only averted by the prompt interference of the English cabinet; and where Russian intrigue is even now at work, to effect a disunion between the government and the people, that the Shah may be forced to call in Russian troops to put down insurrection, excited by their own agency—and finally, the settlement, which there are but too good grounds for believing they have made, upon the eastern bank of the Caspian sea, with the declared intention of subduing the Khanate of Khyvah. Let us remember all this, and a thousand minor acts, all perpetrated or conceived in the same spirit, and we shall find Colonel Evans tolerably well justified in his conclusions regarding the designs of Russia, and his opinions regarding her progress towards completing them.

We would now ask—is the present juncture less momentous than that which Colonel Evans has so emphatically described? Have the dangers pointed out by him become more trivial, or less pressing? Have the storms brewing in the North, of which that gentlemen and others have so earnestly and so faithfully warned us, broken and dispersed, and left the horizon clear; or are they still mustering, and blackening, and approaching? and if they are, why does England still slumber in the deceitful calm? Why does she not rouse herself to meet the coming shock, or, rather, to use the powerful means she possesses to avert it?

Colonel Evans, in the essay before us, undertakes to prove, first, that the acquisition of Constantinople, and the straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, with, eventually, that of the whole Turkish empire, in Europe and in Asia, together with a system of general Asiatic conquest, and a monopoly of the commerce of the East, has been, and continues to be, the great object of the Russian Cabinet, from the days of the Czar Peter, down to the present hour. The pursuit of this object, he maintains, is not, and has never been, dependent on the policy of this or that emperor or empress, but results from an original impulse, imparted by the earliest founders of the empire,

which has become a ruling and inseparable, and almost a sacred principle of the constitution by which every succeeding sovereign has, with more or less ability it may be, but still religiously, shaped his measures, and which actuates the mind of every thinking individual of the original Russian empire. Secondly, that this principle, which sets in motion immense physical means, under strict military organization, all directed to one great object, by a far-seeing and remorseless, but indomitably patient, and persevering, and crafty system of diplomacy, will not only, in the long run, undoubtedly accomplish its ends, unless vigorously and immediately opposed by suitable means; but that the very accomplishment of these ends will place the power that wields this mighty engine, in a condition to overrun and enslave the whole of civilised Europe. Thirdly, Colonel Evans contends, that, great as is the apparent moral and physical power of Russia, as opposed to the neighbouring states which she has absorbed, or is in progress of absorbing; and formidable as it may appear, even to those better qualified to cope with her, she is still, *as yet*, far more calculated to wage a defensive than offensive warfare; and that it is yet within the power of France, or England, separately, and *a fortiori*, conjointly, to exhaust her resources, and paralyse her operations, so as to check her progress, and even make her recoil upon her own frontier line.

These may be stated as the three leading points which it is the design of Colonel Evans's essay to establish; and in following these up, he gives succinct, but powerful sketches of the relative conditions of Russia and Turkey, and the events that have placed them in these conditions; and of the operations of the campaign, and the situation of the belligerents, at the time when his book was written. He takes a view of the conduct of the several influential cabinets of Europe with regard to the growing power of Russia, examines the motives of those of England and France, clearly indicates their errors, and shows how completely, in spite of the more penetrating views, and greater foresight of some master minds (that of Mr. Pitt in particular), they have at all times been cajoled and overreached by the fair words, the solemn, but false asseverations, and unprincipled, but uniform and sustained policy of the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh.

Colonel Evans goes on to dispel the illusion which those labour under who would persuade themselves that Russia must soon fall to pieces by her own weight—that accumulation of territory must bring but increase of weakness, and hasten the disruption of what are supposed to be her discordant materials. In the course of this argument, he takes occasion to point out some of the causes of that progress and accumulation of power which render her so formidable; and to show that they consist not, like those out of which many great empires have arisen, merely in favourable combinations of circumstance and person, which produce, for the most part, but temporary greatness, but rather in a sustained and well-organized system, originating in national necessity, and which therefore receives no check from change of person or dynasty. That the power and conquests of Russia, in short, are not personal, but national, like those of the Romans; and like these, and the empires of the Goths, the Scythians, the Arabs, Huns, Normans, Saxons, &c. &c., are likely to be proportionally permanent. The Colonel does not, indeed, predict for it perpetuity, but merely long duration. "We do not," he says, "hesitate to admit, that the "'vast autocratic empire,' and the formidable autocratic "armies, and military colonies, will, like all other institutions "that have preceded them, sink, lose their force, consistency, "and energy: but the great question in this case is, *when* "will that event come to pass?" And it is this view of the case we would press upon our readers, and for this purpose we earnestly recommend Colonel Evans's reasoning to their attention.

In commenting upon the "present international relations "of Europe," (p. 143) Colonel Evans observes (quoting from the Quarterly Review), although "the inconvenient prepon- "derance (of Russia) is acknowledged, and also the clear neces- "sity of looking forward to the combination of means for "counteracting its pressure and operation, yet the amount "and character of that preponderancy, as well as the degree "of urgency for proceeding to the adoption of these measures, "are very vaguely felt. . . . . The diplomacy of Europe, "conformable to this state of things, is yet in embryo, un- "formed—chaotic: No treaties have as yet been entered into "which bear upon the point, or afford the least promise of

" refuge against the clouds and storms impending in the " North, over the horizon." And he contends, that not only are France and England, from their geographical situation, as well as their moral and political condition, the powers that should place themselves in the van, for the protection of civilization against barbarism, but that they are of themselves capable of doing it effectually: that, if in earnest, they can move the whole continent to effect this object—that, if the effort be made *now*, it will be successful; but that the consequence of delay will give to Russia so monstrous an accession of power, particularly naval, from the exclusive possession of the Black Sea, and that of Marmora, with the two straits that command them, that the inevitable contest will then become inexpressibly onerous, if not vain. And then he goes on reasoning analogically, to speculate on what will probably be the nature of "The Commercial, Foreign, and Maritime policy " of Russia, after gaining Constantinople."

In treating of this part of the subject, he takes a rapid view of the local advantages of Constantinople—of the importance of such advantages to the capital of a country aspiring at extensive dominion, whether of a political or commercial description—of the original want of any such site in Russia—of the sense of this deficiency, which induced the Czar Peter to remove the seat of government to the shores of the Baltic at the extremity of his empire; and to contemplate, and lay down as a fixed political object, the acquisition of Constantinople and the Dardanelles. After a glance at the surpassing excellence of this position as an emporium of trade, and a throne of universal dominion, he proceeds to sketch out what may be expected as the course to be pursued by the Russian Cabinet for promoting the advance of its naval, military, and commercial career; the patient, insidious, and almost imperceptible steps by which it will habituate the nations of Europe to its gradual acquisitions, until it becomes too powerful for resistance: the effect which this system must eventually produce upon the condition of these nations—the necessity to which they will be reduced, of maintaining increased armaments with decreasing revenues, these effects being particularly remarkable in Great Britain and her Indian possessions; until, by a covert and intangible mode of warfare, never committing itself by an act of

open hostility, and constantly maintaining a pacific and disclamatory tone in reply to remonstrance and complaint, the Russian government shall have succeeded in so embarrassing our finances, undermining our sources of prosperity, and involving our political system, that we shall find "the British power, "maritime, commercial, and revenual," in a state of *relative* "decline." We should conceive that the word *actual* would have more correctly expressed the truth.

On this subject, too painful to contemplate with calmness even in speculation, and on the progress of a decay and disorder which we not only fervently hope, but confidently trust, never to witness, Colonel Evans dwells with a faithful accuracy of induction, and goes on to paint, with a more graphic spirit of prediction than may be pleasant to some of our short-sighted matter-of-fact countrymen, the struggles, late and ineffectual, likely to be made by the roused lion, when he finds himself in the toils; and indicates the various quarters from whence the danger may reach us, with a judgment and uncompromising fidelity, which we think ought to win him the gratitude of his country.—"Is IT," he asks, "by VAINLY AT-"TEMPTING TO CONCEAL THESE MATTERS, THAT THEY ARE "TO BE GUARDED AGAINST?" Assuredly not, we reply; the worst danger lies in concealing these things from ourselves. We may rest assured that *to our subtle and far-sighted rival, we can teach* NOTHING *by such revealments.* Let us not, then, act the part of the stupid and timid ostrich, which thrusts its head into a bush, and fancies that by blinding herself she can escape from the hunter that presses close upon her steps.

The rest of the essay is devoted chiefly to an explanation of the means which yet remain of averting the threatened evils, to demonstrating the *present* weakness of Russia, its openness to attack, and its most vulnerable points; and to an inquiry into the causes which produced the failure of the two great invasions of Russia by Charles XII. of Sweden, and Napoleon. On these points we cannot afford to bestow so much time as they merit, and must content ourselves with pressing very earnestly on our readers, and on that part of the public who profess themselves interested in the well-being of their country, the propriety of perusing this essay, with a serious consideration of the facts it contains, and the able, we may venture

to say incontrovertible, deductions drawn from them; and we repeat the important question, "What has happened since "1828, to make us regard the danger as inferior, or less "pressing now?"—And if satisfied that the danger does still and pressingly exist, has the character of the British nation undergone so total a change, that they will tamely submit to the reiterated and premeditated insults of Russia?—That rather than rouse themselves to an effort, they will consent even to incur the risk of succumbing to barbarism?—We cannot believe it.—England will awake; all Englishmen will now, as on other great emergencies, "do their duty," and stand forth, as of yore, the avengers of their country's wrongs, and the asserters of the cause of freedom and justice.

The considerations arising out of the matter of this pamphlet (which is in truth a sort of text book upon a most deeply interesting subject) are so numerous and important, that we scarcely know how to deal with them; for each topic it treats of would afford matter for a separate treatise longer than this article can be; we shall limit our attention, therefore, at present, to one branch of this subject; and it is that which principally affects our Asiatic interests.

Colonel Evans, in several parts of this essay, has adverted to the dangers to which our Indian possessions might be exposed, from even a demonstration of attack by Russia, and which they are even now subjected to by the mere progress of that influence which she is gaining, and seeks to increase, in central Asia. He has pointed out succinctly the value of these possessions to Great Britain, and adverted in a general way to the manner in which the attack of Russia upon them is likely to be conducted; and there are some notes at the end of the volume which tend considerably to illustrate the latter part of the subject. But the whole is treated in a very concise and summary way; nor in truth could Colonel Evans, consistently with the plan of his work, which is rather to stimulate than to satisfy inquiry, have conceded to it a greater space. The subject, however, is one of so great and increasing interest, that it ought to be well and widely understood; and we trust that the task of making it fully known may be undertaken by some competent pen.

Russia, besides prosecuting her general views of territorial

aggrandizement, has of late years devoted a great share of her attention and resources, with increased energy and perseverance, to Asiatic conquest. Her objects in this course have been twofold, *viz.* that of directly benefitting herself, and that of securing the means of distressing her rival, Great Britain. We say her rival, emphatically, because Russia herself desires to become the great maritime, commercial, and manufacturing nation which Great Britain now is. She has felt, and feels, that while England continues paramount at sea, Russia can only have commerce except by her consent—that "every particle of "their external trade lies completely at our mercy:—a stroke "of the pen in the King's council at Windsor, or Downing "Street, at once puts an end to it, and deprives them of every "kind of sale or market for their surplus produce, which "would be the more felt, as it has been of late so greatly and "lucratively augmented." (Page 198.)—Yet "of late years "the Russian government has had the audacity to issue the "most rigorous prohibitions, in effect, against our trade."—(Page 197.)

Now it is by no means wonderful that the cabinet of St. Petersburgh, aware how vulnerable it is in the Baltic and Black Sea, should seek for some countercheck by which to attack the resources of Great Britain, and create an important diversion, while inflicting a dangerous wound upon that dreaded rival. Nor is it at all more extraordinary, that so well instructed a power should have discerned the weak point of her adversary, and felt that to threaten our Indian possessions was likely to be the severest blow she could deal us. She was well aware that our maritime superiority was derived from our commerce, and that both were in great measure dependent on our Indian trade. She knew that the great and increasing* revenue we derived from our territorial possessions there, was principally dependent upon the maintenance of tranquillity, and consequently that to disturb that tranquillity was to injure that revenue in a double shape and degree; because not only would discontent or insurrection demand an increased military

* Colonel Evans quotes the Marquess of Hastings' summary in support of this assertion. Circumstances may or may not have occasioned a defalcation lately; but that has been the result of bad administration, and does not bear on the reasoning in this pamphlet.

force to preserve good order, thereby adding directly to the amount of expenditure, but would render the collection of revenue more difficult and deficient. No other means, therefore, which Russia could devise, promised to work her will so well, and accordingly to this object she has of late directed all her energies in that quarter.

Moreover, Russia, in her anxiety for commerce, looked back to the days when the trade of India and of Eastern Asia made its way through Central Asia to Europe, and when that of Central Asia itself was better worth having. She was aware that this trade could only be brought back into these ancient channels, and thus rendered profitable to herself, by making them secure. This object was only to be effected by means of all others the most congenial to her own principles of policy —conquest,—occupation of the countries through which they lay. Accordingly, it was resolved that every state and realm, from the Dardanelles to the Indus—from the Euphrates to the North Sea—from the Volga to the wall of China, should in due season pass under the mild, paternal, and ameliorating sway of the Czar.

The ground-work of this system of conquest was laid by Peter and Elizabeth; and though interrupted in Persia by the sagacity and military talent of Aga Mahomed Shah, the founder of the present dynasty in that country, the ground so lost was regained from his nephew and successor, the late Futeh Allee Shah; and the treaty of Goolistan, concluded in 1814, consigned in perpetuity to Russia the whole country, from the Caucasus to the Araxes, with the exception of Erivan and Nakhchiwan.

The treacherous intrigues and aggressions of Russia, and the imprudence of the Prince Royal, goaded on by the religious fanaticism of the priesthood, produced a war, which, as we have already observed, stripped Persia of some fair territory, and her king of much of his cherished treasure; and the treaty of Toorkomanchai advanced the Russian frontier to the Arras, taking in also a further slice of Talish and Moghan. Nor were these the only advantages that remained with Russia, after this unequal struggle. The spirit of the Persian troops were even more broken than the military resources of the kingdom. The one might be restored, but the moral effect of

successive defeats was not so easily repaired; and the Persian serbauz, although they felt and feel themselves superior to any native force that may be brought against them, regard the sustained fire and bayonets of the Russian battalions with dread and dismay. The success of the Russian arms too, and the hard terms they imposed upon Persia, created a general dread of the Russian name, which, though assuredly coupled with no kindly feeling, operated powerfully to increase that influence which it was the object of the cabinet of St. Petersburgh to extend over all Asia.

During the occurrence of these events, several demonstrations had been made, principally in the shape of missions, on various pretexts, to Khyvah and Bockhara, preparatory, there is no doubt, to an attempt at acquiring some permanent footing on the eastern bank of the Caspian sea. These, however, were attended with no success, beyond a small amount of information, already, probably, in the possession of government from other sources: and enterprises of greater moment prevented the court of St. Petersburgh from precipitating a measure which they were not prepared to sustain, and which would have prematurely unmasked their designs. But it is now well known that an arrangement was in progress between the late Prince Royal of Persia, and the Consul of St. Petersburgh, by which a combined attack should have been made upon Khyvah. In case of success, the possession of that most important point would no doubt have rested with Russia,—for when had she less than the lion's share?—while the Persian Prince might have been gratified with a share of the plunder, and the abolition of a system of predatory incursion, which has long drained Khorasan of its inhabitants, and occasioned incalculable damage.

The Polish insurrection, which compelled Russia to summon all her disposable force to the westward, put a stop, on her part, to the execution of this scheme; and the Prince Royal found enough to do with his troops in Khorasan, where he soon after died, and Khyvah for the time was saved. Indeed, the Khan of that place turned the tables on the Prince so far as to invade the border districts of Khorasan with some 15,000 followers. But the expedition was disastrous, the greater part of the men dying of cholera, and their camels and horses

by thirst, in the precipitate retreat which their leader was thus forced to make.

Since that period, within these twelve months, there is the greatest reason to believe that Russia has commenced in earnest her operations to the east of the Caspian in the descent of an armed force, which has entrenched itself on the bay of Mangishluc, with the avowed intention, as report declares, of seizing upon Khyvah, and putting down the trade in captives, both Russian and Persian, that has so long existed there. This was to have been expected, and, so far as the avowed object goes, to have been desired.

At present, therefore, the attitude of Russia eastward is as follows. The shores of the Black Sea, she possesses from the mouths of the Danube to Batoon-Kaleh, within some eighty or hundred miles of Trebizond; but virtually, by means of her naval superiority in that sea, she possesses the whole. From that point, a line passing southward and eastward to the top of Ararat, down the Arras to Yeddy Belook, and thence cutting Talish, and descending to the Caspian at Lankeroon, describes her new boundaries as fixed by the treaty of Adrianople and Toorkomanchai. The shores of that sea she possesses from that point proceeding round by the West and North, to the river Oural, or rather to the Emba, as the steppe of the Kirgeesh is virtually her's. But here again, Russia having arrogated the exclusive right of navigating this sea with armed vessels to herself, becomes actual mistress of the whole, coasts and all,—so that every part of it becomes available for her operations. Let us inquire what the value of this position is, and what are the countries which she threatens from this base.

In the first place, should Russia project an advance eastward of the Caspian, it is plain that with Orenbrugh as a point on her left, where magazines may be formed and troops and means of carriage collected,—with the Caspian to navigate and the Volga to supply, she may (with the command of money) move whenever she pleases, and occupy whatever positions she may think fit on the eastern shore of the Caspian (Asterabad, or its vicinity inclusive), subject only to such resistance as the inhabitants of the country, or natural obstacles, may oppose.

From the banks of the Arras, she can at any time throw into the West, North, and central districts of Persia such bodies of troops as may be collected there for that purpose.

From her ports in the Black Sea, she may at any time possess herself, by a coup-de-main, of Trebizond and all other ports and places on the southern shore of the Euxine; from whence she can march troops, without much difficulty, to Erzeroom, and thence spread with ease in whatever direction she may see fit. Erzeroom may in fact be occupied at any time, and even with greater ease, from any point of her present possessions in Armenia.

The consideration of the facilities, or obstacles, which these several fields of enterprise present to Russian progress, involves that of an often-agitated question: — namely, the feasibility of their invading India, with the probable consequences of such an attempt; and on this subject it is our intention to offer a few observations; but, in the first place, we shall endeavour, as succinctly as possible, to give our readers some general idea of the nature and condition of the countries through which a Russian force would, in that case, have to make its way.

Persia is sufficiently well known to be an elevated plateau, divided into plains of greater or lesser extent by ridges of mountains. In some places the former, in some the latter predominate. The character of the country in general is bare, arid, and rocky; the plains frequently mere sheets of gravel, with a strip of alluvial loam skirting the stream that runs in their centre; the mountains, little better than bare rocky cliffs, fit only to give shelter to the wild goats and sheep that frequent them, or a scanty pasturage to the flocks of the neighbouring villagers. There are, however, some districts where the plains are more fertile, and afford excellent subjects to the agriculturist; and others where the mountains yield an abundant supply of food to the numerous flocks and herds of a nomade population. Thus the province of Azerbijan, the central districts of Irak, some districts of Fars, and others in the north of Khorasan, exhibit large tracts of rich cultivatible soil, rendered available to the inhabitants by numerous running streams, or subterraneous aqueducts. Thus, too, much of these very provinces, with the high lands bordering

on the Caspian shores, the mountains of Koordistan, Hamadan, Louristan, and those in the north of Khorasan, are almost entirely occupied by nomade tribes, or those in the transition state, who, tempted by the luxuriant pastures, pitch their tents in summer, and retire in the winter into villages surrounded by their cultivated land. There are no roads through these vast countries, except the tracts which the traffic of ages, conducted by beasts of burthen, has gradually formed, and each district is, for the most part, connected with its neighbours by passes, often of great height and difficulty, leading over the mountains by which they are surrounded. These passes must, to a certain extent, form impediments to the passage of armies; but still, as there are no forests, except on the southern shore of the Caspian, and very few swamps, or formidable streams, to cross, the country can scarcely be regarded as difficult in a military point of view; and the great plains sometimes run so much into one another, or are connected by passes so easy, that the march of an army would suffer very little interruption. Thus, for instance, between the river Arras and Herat, a distance of fourteen to fifteen hundred miles, there is, positively, no material obstacle which might not be removed by the labour of the usual pioneers. The same might be said of the line of road from Tehran, by Ispahan to Sheerauz,—from the same place to Kermanshah, and of many others. On the contrary, there are some lines of road so mountainous and rocky, that no regular army, with its guns and military stores, could proceed without infinite labour, and difficulty, and delay. Such are all those leading from the shores of the Caspian sea to any part of upper Persia; or from the Dushtistan and valley of the Tigris, and low lands of the Pashalic of Bagdad to the higher regions above them. Of this nature, too, must be all marching in Koordistan, and the southern and western districts of Irak.

The country of Persia therefore, although in many places easily pervious to an armed force, if unopposed, is very capable of being stoutly defended against an invader. It is also a country in which, at present, an invading force would find it difficult to subsist itself long, particularly if unwelcome to the inhabitants. For, as there is little export of grain, except-

ing from the province of Azerbijan, which, as we have said, comprehends many fruitful and well-cultivated districts, and occasionally from Kermanshah, and as the insecurity of property, from oppression and bad government, prevents the peasantry from increasing their produce beyond the usual rate of demand in the neighbourhood, there are seldom any hoards of grain, excepting those occasionally formed by some chieftain, purposing to rebel or resist the government in his fortress. Thus, bread would soon fail; and unless the invader could afford to pay the Eeliauts extravagantly for their cattle, his troops would be without food, while the retreating population, by destroying the forage, would leave his cattle to starve.

Nor let it be supposed that the people of Persia would be slow to make the most of their natural means of resistance, if suitably instructed. Give them but a stake to defend, a motive for exertion, and show them how to use their own resources, and the country will need no other defenders. There can be no greater mistake than to undervalue the national qualities of the Persian people. We are accustomed to regard them only as a deceitful, truthless, cowardly, degraded people, without faith, or principle, or spirit, or courage. Now, were all this so, we ask what has made them thus? If man is the creature of education and circumstance, let us recollect the atrocious system of misrule and tyranny to which the Persian nation has for centuries been subjected, and ask ourselves by what miracle they could have been better than they are? But change the system—extend protection to them—give them the impulse of motive, under a well-regulated government,—and probably a finer nation than the Persians will not be found to exist. And as to their courage and gallantry, and all those qualities that fit men for soldiers, let us just call to mind what they effected under Nader-shah, and Aga Mahomed Khan, when the Russians, these same Russians now so formidable, were driven beyond the Caucasus, and let us cease to talk of Persian cowardice as a national defect. The Persians, in point of fact, make admirable soldiers — they are in many respects peculiarly calculated for a military people; and the late campaigns of the Prince Royal in Khorasan, furnished a proof, not only of

their courage, in the storm and capture of several well-defended fortresses, but of their moral and physical powers of endurance, in sustaining a succession of fatigue and labour, under privations that amounted almost to famine, and exposed to all the inclemency of a northern winter with most imperfect clothes and shelter, in a manner that few European troops would, or could have done.

The population of Persia is composed, as is well known, of two classes—fixed, and nomade—a large portion of both are from their birth considered as enrolled among the military order, either to constitute the immediate followers of the king, or princes, or governors of provinces, or to form the militia of the country, liable to be called out at the monarch's pleasure, and receiving (often only nominally, it is true) a certain yearly pay for their services. Thus, a large body of the nation may be regarded as under the influence of a military education and bent. But, in fact, almost every Persian carries arms, and knows how to use them, and all the youth, at least, are capable of being instructed. Every Persian can ride too, and rides well. The genius of the nation is decidedly equestrian, so that the chief strength of their military force has generally consisted in cavalry, an arm particularly well adapted for the defence of their country, and admirable, under good direction, for perplexing and harassing an invading foe. But the exploits of the regular army of the late Prince Royal, and the degree of discipline under which it was brought in spite of many disadvantages, have sufficed to prove, that under suitable guidance and authority, and if well paid, and clothed, and cared for, the Persian serbauz, or infantry, would be any thing but inferior to the foe with whom he is likely to have to cope. We shall only add here, that the whole Persian people, of all ranks and classes, for reasons that are easily explained, entertain a most perfect and wholesome detestation of Russia and the Russians; and therefore, if left to their own feelings, uninfluenced by adventitious considerations, and assured of even moderate but sustained support, would vigorously oppose a Russian invading force.

The country on the east bank of the Caspian, from the foot of the mountainous chain that forms the northern districts of Khorasan, all the way to the Russian territories, presents a

succession of flat or sandy desert, interspersed with, rather than intersected by, a few ridges of rocky hills, all very ill-supplied with water, and in many parts totally destitute of it. It is inhabited by tribes of Toorkomans, who maintain themselves, and feed great flocks of camels, horses, and cattle, in those places where water is found, and where the want of cultivatible land has induced them to encroach so much on the border districts of Khorasan, once well inhabited and covered with towns and villages, as to have driven away the peaceable peasantry, while they themselves very scantily occupy their places. For ages past these Toorkomans have maintained a predatory warfare with the nearer districts of Persia, and making annually a vast number of captives in these inroads, sell them to the Oozbecks of Khyvah and Bockhara, by which traffic they have acquired considerable riches. Such is the character of all the thinly scattered population of this country, even to the banks of the Oxus itself; and they, intent only on plunder, dread and deprecate the idea of foreign interference, especially that of the Russians, who have made no secret of their design to put down the trade in captives, by which their own subjects suffer; nor do we believe that any distant prospect of the plunder of Hindostan would tempt these savage hordes to receive, or refrain from opposing, an invading force of Russians.

The two principal Oozbeck states of Khyvah and Bockhara are connected with this tract—and form very important objects. The former is a rich oasis, created by the facilities of irrigation derived from the river Oxus, on whose banks it is situated, and containing a considerable extent of fine and populous country. Its fixed population, according to recent accounts, has been stated at five hundred thousand families, who pay a sort of capitation tax, amounting to an average of about 30*s*. to 40*s*. a year. It has also a large number of tributary nomade tribes, Toorkomans and others, who pay a tax, estimated by the worth of a camel, of about one in forty, and levied in money or kind; and the collection, we are told, is made without difficulty or oppression, which, if true, would argue the agency of a well-organised system of government. In addition to these sources, the treasury of the Khan derives a considerable revenue from the custom levied upon commerce,

of which there is a great deal, particularly with the Russian dominions. With all these means of wealth, the Khan's outlay is stated to be comparatively small; so that he must have, and has, according to report, accumulated a considerable treasure. His means of defence, however, are far from so efficient as might be expected from the flourishing state of his revenue. His army, numerically, indeed, amounts to forty thousand men, who are understood to be in constant readiness, though they only receive pay when ordered on service. Ten pieces of gold (tillas, about 10*s*. to 11*s*. each) are given to every man when he goes on an expedition; but these expeditions are seldom of great duration, and the force is spoken of as contemptible. Comparative security from external attack, has probably rendered the ruler of Khyvah little attentive to the organization of his army; and there can be little doubt that it would fall a rich and easy prey to Russia, if attacked.

The affairs of the kingdom of Bockhara are, it appears, carried on with much ability by the Kooshbeggee, or ruling minister of the present nominal sovereign. Its power is no doubt greater than that of Khyvah, and the country is at present completely in subordination to the law. But here also a freedom from contact with any formidable foe has begot a carelessness of military organization, and even its civil prosperity depends, most probably, on the life of an individual. A considerable booty would no doubt await a powerful invader, but the fair fabric would as certainly crumble to pieces at his touch. The environs of the city, and the valley of the Kohick, are no doubt richly cultivated, as well as the fertile spots or tract that extends towards Samarcand, Ferghana, Kokaun, &c.; but all these are only so many oases in a surrounding desert; and we should doubt if they would afford many permanently-available resources to an invading force bent on a march to India.

The extensive tract which lies between Bockhara on the North, Affghanistan on the South, and the mountains of Hindoocoosh, and Budukshan on the East, and which includes Balkh, Ankhoui, Mymuna, Khoolm, Khoondooz, Balai Moorghab, &c., is chiefly tenanted by tribes of nomades; Hazarahs, Jumshedees, Tymoonees, Timoorees, Feerozecoees, and others, whose habits nearly resemble those of the Toorkomans, and

have a similar abhorrence of restraint. They would probably resist an invading force, if they could; but if not, and if the invader could find means to inspire them with a confident hope of plunder, or gain, they might follow in that hope. But it must be held in mind that such allies, either here or any where else, would always do a regular force more harm than good; for they would forage far and wide, under no control, exhausting the country of all resources, securing maintenance for themselves at all events, whether at the expense of the enemy, the country, or their employers, and rendering no better service in the field, than they do as collectors of supplies; as, at the first prospect of serious work, they would probably disappear.

There are, in the above-described wide district, a few petty Oozbeck and other states, under their own chiefs; and in the course of the rivers there are rich and well-cultivated tracts, with numerous villages. But by far the greater portion is mountainous and pastoral, or barren; and in the richer districts, although the amount of grain produced be large in proportion to the population, we should doubt if the produce of this or any other ill-organized country, however fertile, when a surplus is not demanded for foreign consumption, could be relied upon as a certain or sufficient source of supply for an invading force, so considerable as that which would be required on a distant and arduous enterprise.

We shall encroach no further on our space, or on the reader's patience, by adverting to the obstacles which would avail an invading force in Affghanistan, as the object we have in view will be fully answered by applying what we have said, and examining the prospects of success which a Russian force would have in an attempt to approach our Indian territories.

It must be obvious to all, who have paid the slightest attention to the subject, that there are several routes by which such an attempt might be made. A Russian force, assembled at the Arras, might advance from thence, step by step, seizing and occupying Azerbijan; and taking the route by Tehran, Semnaun and Damghan, Subzawar, Neshapour, and Mushed, form a new frontier, and establish themselves at Herat. This would imply the complete subjugation, or conciliation, of Persia, and a total abandonment of her interests by England—

indeed, of all our interests in Central Asia—but it is one way, and must be considered.

Another and more obvious mode of approach, perhaps, is that of conveying, by a flotilla, fitted out at Astracan, a body of troops, who should establish themselves at Astrabad, or some point in its vicinity; from whence, after receiving sufficient reinforcements and supplies, they might ascend by some one of the various passes that lead to the Table land, between that point and Mushed: and having formed a depôt at that city, they might proceed, as before, to Herat, Kandahar, &c.

A third, and probably the most feasible of all, is that of making a descent, and securing a footing on the eastern shore of the Caspian sea, either in the bay of Maugishlac, or of Balcan; reducing and occupying Khyvah, and possibly Bockhara; ascending the Oxus, partly in boats, partly marching in concert with the flotilla, to some convenient point where the river ceases to be navigable, above Balkh; and from thence, proceeding to Caubul by one of the known passes.

A fourth way has been suggested as practicable; but must be rather regarded as a branch of the last, than as separate and independent from it; and that is, the concentration of a force at Orenburgh, from whence it might march by the common caravan route, and occupy both Khyvah and Bockhara, and then proceed as in the last route.

From what has been said of the condition of Persia, and the temper of its people, it must be obvious that, in our opinion, it contains the elements of great and effective, because hearty, resistance against Russian aggression, and might, if suitably managed and supported, oppose a most powerful barrier to her advance. But the degree of efficiency will depend precisely on that of the support and countenance she may receive from great Britain; for Persia in herself presents but a stock of valuable raw material for the use of a skilful artist. Let Persia have proofs that she has the hearty support of England—establish her confidence in that fact—and she will be all we can require, as a firm barrier to our Indian dominions. The nature of that support, and these proofs, we shall explain anon,—and in the mean time we repeat, that, they being granted, Russia cannot advance another foot; refuse them, and Persia falls unresistingly into her hands.

Russia once in possession of the resources of Persia, with her frontier advanced from the Arras to Herat, what, we ask, becomes of the security of our Indian dominions? But let us consider the next mode of approach.

The outfit of an expedition upon the Arras, would require a length and extent of preparation, which could not fail of attracting a degree of notice both in Persia and in England, that would be inconvenient, if not fatal to its success, in case opposition were determined on,—not so, were they to take place upon the Volga. We might indeed hear of flotillas being built, and steamers being constructed; of troops marching towards the mouth of that river; but military movements in quarters far less remote, meet with too little attention in England, busied with her own internal objects, to render it probable that alarm should be taken at events occurring in an obscure Asiatic province. Yet it would require no trifling naval equipment, to transport such a body of troops, with their guns and military stores and horses, as might be sufficient to form a secure establishment upon an enemy's coast, when, for a time at least, they would require to rely upon their own resources: for we are not of those who think, with Lieutenant Burnes, that supplies of cattle and provisions might be obtained from the Toorkoman tribes—that these savages would be glad of so good a market for their produce. We do not, in the first place, believe that they would be readily induced to try the market at all; and we are doubtful if the supply, when secured, would prove so plentiful as to be of material importance. But supposing the position gained, and a supply for a moderate body of troops secured; this, even, would be but a small step towards success; and the time requisite for concentrating a force sufficient for advancing and maintaining a strong line of communication with the sea coast, would surely enable their opponents to organize some efficient system of opposition: for it is to be observed, that the flank of such an invading force would be exposed to attack from Upper Persia, during the whole of their march from Asterabad to Mushed.

The mountainous range from Asterabad to Serrakhs, which must be ascended, in order to get to Mushed and the productive districts round it, would present very formidable obstacles

to the advance of an army ; for the passes are long, and lofty, and difficult ; and though labour and perseverance will always serve to effect the passage of artillery through the worst defiles, and over the steepest mountains, yet, to force them in the face of active opposition, would inevitably cost the invaders dear in men and materials, as well as precious time. The ascent once effected, the army might march to Mushed without much further difficulty.

The same armament which would suffice for securing a footing at Asterabad, might with equal and greater facility be directed to either of the bays of Mangishluc or Balcan. In fact, were that an object, a smaller naval equipment might answer, as the transit is shorter ; and the coast in these quarters being thinly inhabited, and less within reach of assistance, would present less difficulty to the establishment of a sufficient force. The passage of the waterless desert, intervening between the landing place and the oasis of Khyvah, would be the most arduous part of the expedition : for it is to be feared that the city of Khyvah itself could make little opposition. To pass this desert, in summer or autumn, would require the aid of many thousand camels for carrying water ; and notwithstanding the multitudes of these animals that are reared in the country, it may be doubted whether an invading force would profit much by them ; as, unless the Toorkoman tribes were conciliated and well paid, all these would be driven away. A winter-march, with the snow on the ground, might obviate the difficulty of want of water, but the inconveniences of a march in that season would probably more than compensate for that single advantage. The obstacle of this desert once conquered, Khyvah and all its resources would fall into the hands of the invader, and form the most convenient possible depôt in which to concert measures, and prepare for further operations.

The facilities of transport afforded by the river Oxus, navigable at all events to Kilif, that is for some six hundred miles, would assuredly be taken advantage of when the advance of the army was resolved upon. Wood enough for boats might doubtless be had upon its banks, and in the orchards of the oasis ; or boats ready constructed to take to pieces, might be provided at the depôt on the Caspian. The country

once in their hands, camels in abundance would be at their disposal, with probably a sufficient supply of food to enable the army to reach Balkh. In fact, the capture of Khyvah would have so powerful a moral effect upon the minds of the people, especially if the victors had the wisdom to conciliate the conquered by leniency and moderation—a course they have quite sagacity enough to pursue—that the rest of their progress towards the passes of the Hindoocoosh would in all probability be unopposed—the inhabitants would ostensibly submit, in order to be well used, or fly,—retire without an attempt at resistance.

The difficulty of passing the defiles of the Hindoocoosh at Baumean, or elsewhere, may easily be estimated, as it would depend on the power, and skill, and inclination of the Affghans, Hazarahs, and other tribes, through whose countries the passes lead, to annoy or resist the invaders; and the facilities and rapidity of their further progress may, in like manner, be computed; keeping always in view, the immense accumulation of *moral power* they would acquire by success; for what sustained or well-directed resistance is to be expected under adverse circumstances, from the subjects of petty tyrants, who have little to lose, or from a nomade population, ignorant and savage in the extreme, robbers by education, from their birth, whom a few severe checks, and a few presents and promises from the invaders, would probably awe or conciliate into forbearance, if not persuade to follow in their train. Terror, opinion, would soon begin to work for the conquerors, and if, then, affairs were managed with tolerable prudence, would not only assist, but press them on towards the goal.

It must also be had in mind that some of the passes, and the most practicable too, lie far to the eastward; so that an invading army using them, would have to proceed further up the Oxus, or Amoo, into Budukshan, where no doubt they would encounter more mountainous country, but would avoid, in great measure, all contact with the fiercer tribes of Hazara and the Affghans, and debouch into the valley of the Caubul river, at a point much lower down its stream, and consequently so much nearer the frontiers of India.

Such is a sketch of the principal routes by which Russia, if inclined to make the attempt, might seek to invade our

Indian territories; for that from Orenburgh we regard as but a co-operating branch of that from Khyvah, and liable to all the difficulties of transit through a long tract of desert, scantily supplied with water. It will be obvious that we consider this plan of operations, which sets out with the acquisition of Khyvah, completing preparatives there, and proceeding from thence, as the most advantageous of all for Russia to attempt: nor do we see any thing either chimerical or extravagant in the idea that such an enterprise, if unopposed by foreign means, and well and judiciously carried into execution, might enable Russia to convey an army within a very dangerous proximity of our Indian frontier. But is it imaginable that so gigantic a plan of operations as all this would require, could be permitted to proceed unopposed? England must be sunk indeed, if she did not arouse to energy and activity, long ere a force so formidable could be concentrated at Khyvah!

In fact, we have taken this rapid view of the subject, rather because it is one that has attracted great attention and discussion, than that we think any of the plans we have sketched likely to be speedily carried into execution. Daring and ambitious as the Russian cabinet is—and far be it from us to affect to fathom the full depth of its ambition—we believe it to be much too sagacious and well informed to contemplate at present, or even fix a time for attempting, the *conquest* of British India. We acquit it of such insanity. Its aim, as we have already observed, is two-fold; to deflect as much as possible of the commerce of Eastern Asia into its own over-land channels; and to win the power of disturbing the tranquillity of our eastern dominions, and thus at once increasing our actual burthens, and crippling our means of bearing them—and to the attainment of this object they are assuredly fast approaching.

Our Indian empire has often, and with perfect justice, been called an "Empire of opinion"—"brought," as Colonel Evans "observes (p. 20), by some able and heroic men within the "last seventy or eighty years under the dominion of the British "crown," and maintained under its authority, by a wise system of government, wielding a gigantic military establishment, principally formed out of materials furnished by the country. It cannot be denied, that it is our character for invincibility, so

long and firmly established, still more than the equity of our rule, and the security afforded to all classes of our Asiatic subjects, that has given us the power and influence we possess in India. How important then, of what vital consequence must it be, to maintain, undiminished, that reputation on which our power depends! Now have we striven to do this?—Undoubtedly NO. Have we not, on the other hand, permitted that of others to increase, as our's has diminished?—Undoubtedly YES. If it be asked, how? We reply;—Do we imagine that with a view to the preservation of India, it is there alone our reputation for power must be maintained? Can we, ought we to hope that the tidings of our discomfiture and disgrace in other quarters, will not penetrate thither? Are we to suppose, that events which occur in Persia and in Turkey, will not be known in Caubul, and Lahore, in Dehlee, in Oude, in Rajepootana—in Sinde—over all India: and when men in those quarters hear that the Russians have conquered provinces from our allies and friends—when they hear of enormous sums of money wrested from them—of their being forced into treaties, as directly inimical to us as unfavorable to themselves—when they hear of the rapid advance of Russian and the proportionate decline of British influence, in countries almost coterminous with India; and when the exaggerated accounts of our weakness and Russian power, which are industriously circulated over all Asia by Russian agents*, are confirmed by facts such as these, themselves exaggerated by the same means—what, we ask, are the ignorant Indians to believe, but that the star of England is fast setting, and that of Russia as rapidly becoming lord of the ascendant; and what are they to think of the strength of that power which is so fast predominating over one that once faced the whole world in arms, and beat and destroyed Napoleon?

If we would estimate the effects of such impressions of the declension of British power, let us just remember the sensations created by certain partial reverses at the commencement of the Nepalese war; the agitation which prevailed at the beginning of

* We have heard persons of much information and high authority declare, that they did not believe the natives of India did hear, or cared if they heard, about these things!—They will know the truth at last, but it may be when too late.

that with the Burmese. Let us recollect the effect of the failure of Lord Lake at Bhurtpore, which was for years afterwards thrown tauntingly in our teeth, and the fortress itself, regarded, till the time of its demolition, as the palladium and sanctuary of Hindostan, impregnable even to British power and courage, the rallying point of disaffection and rebellion against the Company's authority. Look even at what is yet more directly to the point—the sensation occasioned in Calcutta itself, the proud capital of British India, on hearing that a Russian force had actually established itself on the eastern bank of the Caspian sea.

And what are we to contemplate as the inevitable consequences of these effects?—They may be described in the words of Colonel Evans himself, (p. 137)—"Connexions and "correspondence will be established with Caubul, Lahore, "Sinde, the Mahrattas, &c.—emissaries will penetrate into "these countries—the project of re-establishing the overthrown Musnuds of every class will be diligently disseminated. The more warlike and dissatisfied portion of the "population will be incited to prepare and organize themselves, under the intimation that a general attack is contemplated against the British ascendancy, both in Europe "and Asia—auxiliary aid too, will of course be tendered, "and the fidelity of our native troops tampered with.

"Thus will the public mind of those countries be thrown "into a state of high excitement and effervescence; for notwithstanding the ameliorating character of the British sway, from "various circumstances, some of them beyond control, others "unintentional, India is filled, throughout its extent, with the "families of ruined Zemindars, defeated chiefs, chastised Pindarrees, and dethroned Rajahs and Nabobs, with their numerous followers, relations, and adherents. A large population "of disbanded soldiery also exists in many of the central and "northern states, whose caste and destination by inheritance is "that of arms, accustomed to military adventure, to lawless and "predatory habits, individually daring, who are now without "resource, and who sigh for action and revenge. Neither, "perhaps, would the idea of restoring to a portion of his ancient supremacy the Mogul Emperor, still holding, by our "permission, his nominal court at Dehlee, be without its

" effect, at least among the ten millions of Mahometans scat-
" tered over the Peninsula.

" Those proceedings alone, would compel us to add to our
" Indian army, by at least 50,000 men (European or native);
" and thus will commence a rapidly increasing expenditure,
" with as rapid a diminution of receipts. * * * * *

" Thus, by no more than an insidious and intangible mode of
" warfare, will any advantages derivable from these great pos-
" sessions (capable under other circumstances of yielding us, it
" may be hoped ere long, not less in surplus revenue and com-
" mercial profit, than several millions yearly)* be worse than
" neutralized: the Indian debt will not long remain at its present
" amount, Loans will be obtained from the Oriental Shroffs with
" difficulty, and at a heavily usurious rate of interest; and yet
" this will be termed a peace establishment!"—Yes, a peace establishment!—and what then, may we ask, will be that required for a state of war?—And when the revenue shall have fallen off not only from actual revolt, but spreading disaffection, and increased difficulty of collection, the consequence of disturbances and the inevitable diminution of cultivation—when the police establishments will require augmentation—when a large increase of military force shall become necessary upon the frontier, as well as in the provinces—from whence, we would ask, are the Indian government to derive the means of meeting this enormously-increased expense, with an income reduced by one-third or one-half? How will the proprietors, who now grudge the outlay of a shilling, and are paring down both their civil and military establishments to the quick; how will they look, when, instead of receiving a dividend, they find enormous increase of debt—and all because of that falsest of all economy, which overlooks or despises the homely but invaluable maxim of " Prevention is better than " cure."

Yet there are persons, and many too who ought to be better informed, that contend—it must be from want of knowledge or consideration—that events in Central Asia, are matters

* " After revolving every circumstance with the coolest caution, I cannot find any reason why, subsequently to the present year, an annual surplus of FOUR MILLIONS sterling should not be confidently reckoned upon. THIS OUGHT NATURALLY TO INCREASE," &c. &c.—*Marquess of Hastings' Summary.*

of indifference to us—that the fate of Persia is no concern of our's—that were she to become Russian to-morrow, it is not worth the while of England to expend one shilling to prevent it. That all we have hitherto expended on her, has been money thrown away—that the invasion of India by Russia is a chimera—and that for the benefit and civilisation of mankind, it were better if she did possess these semi-barbarous countries. For the benefit of mankind, truly!—The government of Russia *promote* civilization!—and with a Russian army as its instruments of improvement!—But there are those even, who go further—who say "Let India go—its loss will be a gain "to England, we shall then have its trade without its "expense,"—with such it were vain to argue*—the English government have in some sort guaranteed the maintenance of India to the proprietors of India stock for forty years; and maintain it we must, even if it were not too disgraceful in every way to think of abandoning it at present. For the purpose of enlightening those who think lightly of the consequence of Russian acquisitions in Asia, we shall endeavour to point out the value of Persia, and the importance to Great Britain of maintaining her independence of Russia.

Were Persia a barren waste:—were the whole country that intervenes between the Arras and Herat, a desert unoccupied by man, and presenting to an invading force only the natural obstacles of space and unformed roads, without the means of either opposing or actively assisting such an invasion,—we ask those who acquiesce in the danger arising from disturbance in India, whether they conceive that danger would be greatest while the Russian frontier remained at the Arras, or after it should have been pushed forward to Herat? We would ask the directors of the East India Company, whether they would feel as easy, as confident, in regard to their dividends, as proprietors, in the one case as in the other? But Persia is not a desert, nor is the road from the Arras to Herat unprovided with the means of resistance or of aid.

The year's revenue of Persia, under the worst possible system of goverment—a system of extortion and venality,

* See the opinion of Lord Chatham, quoted by Colonel Evans on a somewhat similar point.—p. 150.

which strikes at the root of all confidence, of all security of person, or of property—has been estimated, after deducting all expenses of provincial government, military establishment, pensions, collection, &c., at not less than a million and a half sterling; and of this sum, under tolerable management, it is certain that a very large surplus might, in times of peace, remain to swell the treasury of its sovereign. Under an improved government, it is impossible to say what might be the increase of revenue; but no one acquainted with the country, its circumstances, and resources, will, we think, be disposed to deny that, with moderate encouragement to population and agriculture, it might be *tripled* in a few years.

The late Prince Royal, Abbas Meerza, previous to the war with Russia, possessed a tolerably equipped regular force of sixteen thousand men, all raised in the province of Azerbijan alone, including about a thousand mounted artillery; and the province, as it is at present, could, without difficulty, furnish fifty thousand more of infantry, and fifty thousand cavalry, all capable of being rendered good soldiers.

The late king maintained an army, in the central districts of Irak, of eleven thousand foot*. It was partially disciplined, but very irregularly paid. The northern districts in the vicinity of Tehran, including the province of Mazunderan, furnished twenty thousand more, whose pay, if not received by the men, was accounted for in that manner, in settling with the treasury, for the revenues of these districts. From the tribes under control in that extensive province, it is not too much to say, that a force of one hundred thousand cavalry might at any time be collected.

Thus we find a disposable force, amounting in round numbers to nearly thirty thousand tolerably disciplined infantry, seventy thousand inferior to them only in point of discipline; and one hundred and fifty thousand cavalry, all better than the Cossacks, and much of it excellent for irregular warfare, in the province of Azerbijan, and the northern districts of Irak alone, without reckoning what might be supplied by the districts of Kermanshah, Louristan, the Eeliauts of the Buchtiaree mountains, the provinces of Fars, Kerman, or Khorasan.

* It was once sixteen thousand.

We have already adverted to the great fertility and extensive cultivation of Azerbijan. The extent of its resources may be estimated from this; that it generally exports, every year, provisions equal to the consumption of one hundred thousand men; and that during the last Russian war, when Abbas Meerza was in the field with forty thousand men, with all their equipments and camp followers, and the king himself was encamped at Khoee, with another army of fifty thousand men, in like manner attended by their camp equipage, the royal establishment, baggage, cattle, &c., during a space of nine months, the extraordinary consumption of this enormous body produced scarcely any effect upon the price of grain. And though, undoubtedly, Azerbijan is the most prolific and prosperous province of Persia (excepting some of the central districts of Irak, perhaps), there are many others that, under an ameliorated system of administration, might be rendered equally productive. We cannot doubt that, under the influence, or in the hands of a European power, this desirable change might be effected, and the condition of the people greatly improved at the same time. It is true, that the history of Russian conquest has hitherto given us no great proof of her skill, or disposition to improvement, but we are surely not justified in reckoning on the errors of an enemy, especially when we know that self-interest, and the effects of experience, combine to open his eyes to them. And how tremendously does this vast magazine of resources, upon our very frontiers, alter the relative importance of Persia, as a friend to Great Britain, or to Russia! The question just comes to this,—Whether shall the maintenance and virtual possession of Persia, with the use of this great mass of valuable materials, rest with England or Russia? With England for the preservation of her Indian dominions, her rightful position in Central Asia, and of her valuable and fast-increasing commerce with these countries,—or with Russia for the destruction of the two first, and the appropriation to herself of the last.

Let us not, however, be misunderstood regarding our opinion of the designs of Russia upon Persia. We are far from contemplating any sudden violence, any coup de main, *at present*, which may place the one in the condition of a victor—the other in that of a conquest. This is not the game

of Russia at this moment. It is not now, when her power is weak, compared with her gigantic projects, and when peace is essential for the maturity of her plans, that she would commit herself to the risk of provoking a war, by any hostile demonstration upon Persia. Her game here is the same as that she plays in Turkey. Force, prematurely applied, would frustrate her views, by creating alarm. Besides, where were the use of force, which would but exasperate, and rouse opposition in her victim, when patience and policy will place that victim a helpless, if not a willing prize, in her power. Craft and conciliation are now her play, and a successful one it promises to be. When the question of a successor to the throne came to be agitated in Persia, on the death of the late Prince Royal, the court of St. Petersburgh took a more decided part than even that of England, and pledged itself to support the claims of the son of that prince to the throne of his grandfather. It pressed his nomination upon the old monarch with earnestness, while the government of England contented itself with assuring his majesty that it would recognise and support the rights of that individual whom he should name. When the shah died, what assistance did the Russian ambassador proffer to the young heir?—"I have plenty of troops "at your service," said he; "but money I cannot give." Now money was the one thing needful, and England gave it. The pecuniary assistance, and moral support, afforded by her envoy, secured the succession of the young monarch without the desperate expedient of summoning Russian troops into Persia. It was a bitter disappointment to that government;—for once employed, pretexts would never have been wanting to retain these dangerous allies, until habitual intercourse had amalgamated them, as it were, with the frame of government, and under the new order of things—an order, we need not add, that would have been wholly Russian. The expedient which the Russian diplomatists are now making use of to repair this miscarriage is characteristic of their policy. The young shah, whose dispositions are naturally good, is unfortunately completely in the hands of his minister the Kaymookan*, who is altogether in the Russian interest. This

* While this was being written, accounts arrived from Persia of the arrest of this minister and his whole family. The former has been put to death, and his whole possessions confiscated.

functionary, instead of exerting his influence to render the new monarch popular amongst his subjects, by acts of grace and justice, has continued the old grinding system of tyrannous extortion to such a degree, and has so deeply affronted the nobles and officers of the late king, and indeed every one, except his own immediate creatures, by his arrogance and contempt, while he disgusts every class of the people by his monopolization and neglect of all business, that discontent is hourly increasing. This discontent the Russian party artfully inflame, secretly supporting the minister, while they take care to point out the king to the people as the "English Shah," thus identifying the odious acts of his government with the English name and nation. Their object is, to widen the breach between the people and the government—to encourage disgust until it break out in open violence, in which case, and particularly if the military, who are ill paid and greatly in arrear, should hang back or join the insurgents, the only way left to secure the government, would be to call in the aid of Russian troops. Even should matters not proceed to such extremities, the moral effect of this dependence on Russian aid must be to give them a paramount influence over the shah and his government, while that of England, if matters are permitted to proceed thus, must decline in proportion; and thus, unless effectual and determined measures are resorted to on our part, the whole resources of the kingdom will be placed, without a blow, without a seeming effort, at the disposal of the real conquerors, through means of the nominal rulers of the country, a simple unexpensive method of acquiring this, to them invaluable possession, and so perfectly effectual, that we, without the power of making even a remonstrance, should soon, doubtless, see the troops of Russia marching as friends and allies to garrison Herat!

But it is not merely for herself, and her resources, that Persia becomes important to Russia, and, "pari passu," to Great Britain. The route towards India through Khyvah, the most dangerous to us, the most eligible for Russia, lies open in all its extent of flank to Persia. How is Russia to get rid of this source of anxiety and interruption, except by the possession of Persia? And how is Great Britain to oppose Russia in that quarter, unless her influence in Persia be maintained? What opposition worth naming, as we have

before hinted, is Russia likely to meet with from the easily-cowed, fickle, semi-barbarous tribes that lie in her way, if left, as they would be, without encouragement to resist, or hope from resistance? But suppose the ascendancy of Great Britain to be acknowledged in Persia—her name and reputation high, instead of on the decline. Suppose a force of Persians organized in Khorasan under British officers. Suppose these officers, exerting themselves to encourage the Toorkomans and Hazarahs to a vigorous resistance, and pointing out how to resist most effectually. Suppose that from the frontier of Persia we were enabled to spread our name and influence over the steppes of Khârezm, and the plains of Balkh, to the borders of the Oxus. Suppose, in short, what is but consistent with precedent and analogy, that the same impression of our power and fair dealing which at first established our national character with the court and nation of Persia, on the high footing which it yet in some measure retains, were carried into these remote quarters. Suppose all this, and then let us observe how altered would be the position of affairs—how far more difficult and dangerous a game would remain for Russia to play—while mark the effect on India. There the spell of Russian influence, and the bubble of Russian power, would be utterly broken. The name of England would rise doubly high in public estimation by the re-action of opinion. The rebellious would return to their allegiance, the disaffected flee to their lurking places. The revenues would increase, public credit revive, and a gradual diminution of the extra military force be permitted to take place. All things, in short, that might have partaken of disorder, would resume their former channels. Or should none of the evils anticipated have already taken place, they would be prevented.

Among the means, therefore, by which the threatened dangers we have indicated, may, in our opinion, be prevented, and the national interests best secured, it is obvious that we hold the rescue of Persia from the gripe of Russia, as of paramount importance. But to do this, and to render that country happy, thriving, and useful, as she should be, two things are indispensably necessary: and these are, to improve the government, and to place her military establishment upon a sufficient and effective scale. The first point is the most

important, and will secure the other. From our long and expensive alliance with Persia, an expense for the most part uselessly, because injudiciously lavished, Great Britain has hitherto reaped only two advantages, but these are of no mean value. The first is, that Persia has as yet been saved from the fangs of Russia;—the second, that she esteems and respects England, while she hates, though she fears, Russia. The late shah was, to the last, disposed to hold fast by the alliance of England, as his only security against Russia. His successor, we believe, is equally well disposed to do so, though natural timidity and peculiar circumstances prevent him from evincing his dislike to Russia so openly as his grandfather did.

His present minister, the Kaymookam, a man of inordinate ambition, quick parts, a narrow mind, and no principle whatever, is Russian from motives of dread, and self-preservation; but sensible of the impotence of Persia, unaided, to resist the power of the autocrat, and aware that such aid can only be obtained from England, he keeps on terms with the English minister, and plays Russian and English off against one another with considerable skill, extracting as much as he can from either, by means of his knowledge of their mutual jealousy and alarms. The people cordially respect and love the English, whose character, both nationally and individually, for honesty and fair dealing, they admire, though they cannot imitate—while they as heartily detest the Russians, whom they consider brutal and insidious. For this preference on the one hand, and dislike on the other, which have been evinced on many remarkable occasions, there are a multitude of reasons; and there is no doubt, that whatever efforts England may seek to make for the amelioration of Persia, she will carry with her the goodwill and support of all classes of society. Should England, then, resolve upon interfering effectively in favour of Persia, it will be necessary that she stipulate, as a *sine qua non*, for an amelioration in the system of government—a reform of abuses in the collection of revenue, and in the administration of justice. We cannot here enter into details of these; but the abuses are too glaring to require indication.

The next point is, to create a sufficient national military establishment, and particularly a well-disciplined force, to be sta-

tioned in Azerbijan, to protect that important border province from sudden invasion. We have already shown that this province is capable of furnishing 50,000 infantry, and a like number of cavalry. Let the Persian government be persuaded to arm, pay, and clothe, in a complete and efficient manner, a suitable number of the first, say from ten to twelve thousand men, and to place them under the command of properly qualified officers, this regular force might be augmented, as circumstances should require or permit; and his present majesty is so partial to military tactics and display, that an increasing income would doubtless dispose him to augment his regular troops. But, above all things, the regular payment of their allowances must be secured to the men. The late Prince Royal, at one time proposed to assign over the revenues of a certain district of land to the English envoy for a similar purpose. We can see no objection to such an arrangement. Nay, the prosperity which would inevitably be produced in any district thus assigned, by the security to property and person, consequent on British management and protection, would afford to the Persian government an admirable moral lesson.

Such a force as we propose*, supported in time of actual service if required, by the irregular infantry and cavalry of the province, would be perfectly sufficient, we contend, to guard the Persian frontier from all danger of invasion by Russia. It is a fact probably known but to a few individuals, whose duties have required them to examine the subject, that so exhausted, or unproductive, from oppression and defective government, are the trans-Caucasian provinces, that Russia, with all her power, has never been able to maintain more than 20,000 men of all descriptions, south of that mountainous chain. In order to prove this fact, we have only need to look back to the events of the last war, when Russia, at peace in every other quarter, with all her military resources at command, and desirous, as might be supposed, to terminate the struggle with her eastern neighbour as quickly as possible, would have

* Should it be objected, that, in the last Russian war, the Prince Royal had actually a larger disciplined body of troops than this at his command; we reply, that in none of the particulars we have stipulated for, was its efficacy provided for—it was neither sufficiently well disciplined, paid, nor officered—in fact, it had no fit leaders at all; as the few British officers it had were forced to leave it when it advanced against the Russians, then at peace with Great Britain.

brought against her the most overwhelming force she could: and so accordingly she did—the élite of her army was assembled in the districts south of Caucasus—regiment after regiment of her guards were dispatched from the capital, and numbers of young men, whom the continuation of peace had rendered impatient for service, solicited and obtained employment in the force which was destined for the subjugation of Persia. Yet, after all these preparations, it is certain that General Paskevitch could never muster an effective force of more than 10,000 men, at any one point.

When the detachment under Crasoffsky was defeated at Aberan, and a whole Russian regiment laid down its arms to the Persian Serbâz, Paskevitch moved to the relief of Eutch-Ecclesia, with all the troops he could collect, yet they only amounted to 4000 men.

In the subsequent war with Turkey, when Armenia was overrun, and the Russian general had every inducement to bring together his greatest possible force, the numbers actually employed did not vary much from those he had in the Persian campaigns.

Now all this proceeded neither from want of men, nor of will to use them; but from a deficiency of means, in the countries where they were to be employed, to maintain a greater number; and from difficulties, political as well as financial, on the part of government to transport them. Provisions, it is true, and the munitions of war, might be brought from the other side of Caucasus, but the means of transport in so difficult and so exhausted a country are expensive, and *money* is the desideratum in Russia. Experience, therefore, has proved, that, as matters are situated, and there is little prospect of a change for the better, not more, at the outside, than 20,000 effective troops could be brought by Russia to act upon the line of the Arras; and that of those, no more than about 10,000 men could be brought to bear at one time, upon any one point.

Now it is, assuredly, not too much to affirm that the disciplined force we recommend, guided by British skill and resolution, supported too by the other less regular, but far from inefficient infantry, and by clouds of light cavalry, which would spread upon the enemy's flanks, cut off his supplies, and harass his line of communications, might oppose, with every prospect

of success, such a Russian force as we have proved to be the greatest that can be brought against it. Even should the Russians gain an advantage, of what use would it prove to them? a forward movement must weaken their rear—an advance through a wasted country, leaving their resources behind, would expose them to the risk of starving; while the Persians, devastating as they go, would be retreating upon their's.

While the western frontier is thus secured, however, it becomes quite as important, not only to guard the northern and eastern districts from the incursions of the Toorkomans and Oozbecks, but to organize in that quarter a sufficient force, which may operate as a check upon hostile movements, and give confidence and support to those who might be impelled by disposition, but restrained, by fear of consequences, from attempting to resist an invader—and though, perhaps, the standing army in Khorasan ought to differ, in point of formation and materials, from that of Azerbijan, we should still recommend a plentiful sprinkling of British officers, for the infusion of British feeling, the support and spread of the British name, and perhaps, as much as anything, for the procurement of that most useful intelligence, in which we are as yet so lamentably deficient. By such means, united with the maintenance of a firm tone in England, we conceive that the tranquillity of Persia might be secured, and the condition of the people, and, consequently, the resources of the country, greatly and rapidly improved.

But Persia is not the only one of these countries to be regarded with anxiety. On the contrary, it has been shown, that the vast tract on the eastward of the Caspian sea, comprehending the oasis of Khyvah, the valley of the Oxus, and the countries that command the passes of the Hindoocoosh, is also that through which lie the most practicable lines of route to suit the purposes of Russia, and which, consequently, it is most important for us to watch, and, if possible, to defend. Yet, strange as it must appear, and, as Colonel Evans very justly observes*, it is of all others the quarter concerning which we know least. The journey of

* Note, page 158.

Lieutenant Burnes, it is true, has furnished us with some valuable and interesting information respecting the passes of the Hindoocoosh, and part of the channel of the Oxus; but, with regard to the rest, and the whole country of Khyvah, and the steppes by which it is surrounded, and which are supposed to be desert, what have we that can be depended on, should this ignorance be suffered to exist? But surely something more than mere inquiry is called for, to traverse the designs of Russia in that quarter. Surely it must be regarded as extraordinary, that England, even as a commercial people, desirous of pushing the sale of their produce and manufactures in all parts, and, as a nation, deeply interested in Asiatic affairs, should not, till this hour, have made a single effort to establish communications of any sort, political or commercial, with the principal Oozbeck states? Why should this be so? The name of England is already known and respected among them; and whatever jealousy they may have conceived of us, from accounts of our career in India, that would, we apprehend, be counterbalanced by the dread and hatred entertained by the chiefs both of Khyvah and Bockhara for Russia, should we appear in the light of defenders against the aggressions of that power.

At present, however, we have no right, by treaty, to interfere as the defender of either of these states. Let that disability be removed—there is no reason to fear that the tender of our friendship will be rejected—and then, in the event of aggression, we should be entitled at least to remonstrate. Let friendly missions be therefore dispatched to these states, to establish such relations as may appear most adviseable, or may be attainable; and let agents be appointed to reside there:—by these means we shall place ourselves in a better position, at least for knowing what is passing, and preparing for the worst, by co-operating with the Persian force—and last, but not least, for enlarging the field of commercial enterprise for the British merchant.

But the best laid schemes may fail—the most judicious arrangements may prove abortive; and he who trusts to a single line of defence is no prudent general. Our efforts in favour of Persia may fail, from misfortune or neglect, and Khyvah and Bockhara become Russian. We must provide

against such contingencies, and Affghanistan affords us the means of doing so. A difficult and very defensible country—a brave but disunited people—a number of chiefs struggling for supremacy;—all seem to invite Great Britain, whose name is still mighty and respected in the ears of the nation, to interfere, and collect the "disjecta membra" into one substantial state, under such individual, prince, or chief—Suddoozehee or Baurikzehee—as may appear likely to give the most general satisfaction and consistency to the mass. A monarch, thus owing his crown to British power, would of necessity seek for security and permanence in British protection; and the interests of all parties, Affghaun prosperity and British influence, should be provided for by the residence at his court of an able British minister. Such an arrangement we conceive to be of the most essential importance as a precautionary measure, and the more emphatically so, in the contemplation of an event that can scarcely be very distant, and which England should surely not be unprepared for—we mean the death of Runjeet Sing, the present ruler of the Punjab, and the confusion which his demise will probably produce in the countries at present under his control.

In short, and to come to the point at once, we must consider England and Russia, in all that regards Asiatic interests and influence, not only as diametrically opposed to each other, but as positively matched as in a race, contending for the prize. They are now neck and neck; and, if England relaxes in her exertions, her rival will assuredly win the day. Thus it is not enough that measures shall be taken with regard to Persia, or Khyvah, or Affghanistan, individually—all must be secured; to stop short of this, is leaving the whole imperfect; all are links of the same great chain, one of which being defective, the whole is useless. It is the great and mighty political chain that now unites Asia with Europe in a common sympathy of interest—that must vibrate to the courts of London, of Paris, and of Vienna, when a blow is struck in Khyvah, in Persia, or the Dardanelles. British influence must be paramount in these countries—*they must be English or Russian*; and be it never lost sight of—*that whatever England leaves undone, that Russia will assuredly do.*

We are aware that the measures here suggested may, and,

in truth, must, involve a certain and considerable expense. We are also aware that the East India Company declare their inability to provide for such expenses, even if satisfied of the equity of their alleged liability, and of the necessity of incurring them. But surely this is little to the purpose. Whoever may ultimately be called upon to bear the expense, the money, if required, no doubt, can, and must, be found. The nation may object on the score of economy; but is present saving always the best economy? Will the matter be mended, if some few years hence—and few they will be, if decided measures be not speedily resorted to—instead of some 40 or 50,000*l.* a-year, they be called upon to provide for the maintenance of twenty thousand additional European, and fifty or sixty thousand native troops, in India, and this with a simultaneous decrease of revenue there? Will the British manufacturer and merchant consider the loss of a Central-Asiatic trade, which even now exceeds two millions a-year, and which gives promise, if fostered with common prudence, of immense increase, and a prospective falling off in his present trade with India, compensated by the present saving of a few additional pounds or shillings in the amount of his yearly taxes?—and will the British statesman, or the British people at large, see cause for exultation in the results of a pacific and economical policy, which shall have transferred from *England* to *Russia* the high and commanding station which their own country might, and of proper right should, occupy in Central Asia, with the valuable trade she might have enjoyed there, and which will have impoverished the treasury of India, disturbed the tranquillity of our dominions there, and risked their total loss? Let those who may be disposed to question the justice of these deductions deny our facts, refute our arguments, and draw from the general complexion of affairs more favourable conclusions if they can—we shall be the first to hail with satisfaction, the proof that our national interests are not in danger, or may be maintained by measures less onerous than those we have proposed.

There is, indeed, one course by which, although we should deprecate the neglect of any one of these precautionary measures, the expense of them might possibly be diminished, without incurring serious risk—and that is, to have recourse to very

decided measures in Europe itself. Cut the tree at the root, and it becomes unnecessary to lose time in lopping the branches. If England alone, or in conjunction with other powers, shall resolve, at all hazards, to check the career of Russia—to say, "Neither in Turkey, nor in Persia, nor in Toorkestan, shall "you advance one other step—on the contrary, you shall re- "store what you have unjustly taken, and keep within the "bounds which we, in conjunction with the rest of Europe, "shall prescribe; otherwise it is war—a war which shall "annihilate your commerce, and cripple all your resources." If England would assume such a tone as this with Russia, let her be assured that she will prevail—that Russia, at this moment, dare not provoke the alternative; that to hold such language, and boldly to offer war, is the best way to preserve peace—to avoid a war, which will otherwise become inevitable—to crush in the egg the dragon which, if it came forth in its own time, will be irresistible.

Russia, at this time—it cannot be too often and too strongly urged upon the public attention—is relatively weak, and unprepared for foreign warfare—she has quite enough to do at home. She is, at present, like a huge mass of crude materials, calculated to form a powerful engine—but inert, and disorganized, until the hand of the mechanic shall have shaped, and fitted, and adapted them for use.

The millions of her serfs in Russia proper, afford, indeed, materials for a military machine, of enormous power, for *internal* use; but for these, Poland, and the Ukraine, and the Crimea, and the Caucasus, with its restless and warlike tribes, find pretty fair employment, either preventive or executive—to watch the suspected, or crush the rebellious: but it does not appear, it never has been found, that Russia could command, still less move from distant points, a large force for *foreign* service. Had the army employed by her in the late Turkish war, been such as might have been expected from a power which boasts of commanding "a million of bayonets," that war would not have dragged on to two campaigns; and, in all probability, the Russian flag would now be waving over the gate of the seraglio. Above all, Russia is not yet what she soon, if permitted, may be—a maritime power; and would she dare to brave the wrath of England, which is? The Baltic is open—

the Black Sea would not remain closed against our fleets; and would she venture to provoke the destruction of her castles and ships of war—the annihilation of her commerce—the loss of revenue to her nobles—of its resources to the state? Does she not know that the first cannon fired against her by England, would be the signal of revolt for the Caucasus, the Crimea, and for Poland—for clouds of Koords and Persians to press upon her frontiers—for the Turks to shake off their lethargy and their fears, and rid their country of every vestige of their arrogant foe? We may pronounce boldly, that all this she does know, and dreads—and that she dares not provoke it.

But, on the other hand, if England, if France, enamoured of peace, and lapt in visions of a false security, shall continue obstinately blind to the coming storm, and shall delay precautions till their northern atagonist shall have matured his power, and concentrated his resources—till hope deferred shall have sickened those who sought long in vain for help, and would have sealed their devotion with their blood—till the very spirit of patriotism shall have been quenched by vigorous and remorseless tyranny—till their fortresses shall have been made impregnable, and near a hundred pendants wave over the Black Sea—till their depôts of provisions and warlike stores in the South shall have been completed, and their troops, concentrated on the various lines of operation, are held like greyhounds in the leash—then indeed we may awake too late; for the first sound that rouses us from our political lethargy, may be the thunder of the cannon that proclaims the castles of the Bosphorus to have changed masters; and the announcement may be made by a Russian bulletin, dated from Constantinople—then, indeed, we may perhaps regret the loss of time and opportunities which can never be recalled.

But we are trespassing now upon the European branch of this vast subject, while our purpose was to confine ourselves to matters and motives of Asiatic policy, in so far as these could be disjoined from the great general question. The motives hitherto advanced for vigilance and exertion, have been exclusively of a national and self-interested description. But there is one of a more noble and liberal nature, which we trust will never be lost sight of in British legislation, and that is the general good of mankind—a consideration for the wel-

fare of those multitudes, who will be so incalculably benefited by the course of policy we have recommended. Persia, Turkish-Armenia, Asia-Minor, and the Pashalic of Bagdad, occupy an area about as large as Germany, Austria, and Hungary, France, and Spain, taken together, a large portion of which can boast of the finest soil, and greatest national advantages, of any country in the world; and which, even under all the checks of oppression, and bad government, and constant petty warfare, and plague and pestilence, may contain a population of more than twenty millions of inhabitants, not to reckon those in the immense coterminous countries, that must be influenced by any considerable revolution in their vicinity. Ameliorate the governments of this great tract of country—give its people the stimulus of security of person and property—infuse into the semi-organized and heterogeneous mass, a disposition to order and arrangement—give them example and assistance, as well as motive—and, in a few years, see how their moral and political—aye, and their physical, condition will be improved.

No engine of general improvement and civilization, perhaps, is so powerful as that of trade—the promotion of free commercial intercourse. The people of these countries are all eager for European trade. They will take a large amount of English manufactures in return for their silk and cotton, and gallnuts, and copper, and specie, &c., if permitted. Scarce five years have passed since the port of Trebizond, in the Black Sea, was opened; yet the amount of imports, the greater part of which are British goods, is now two millions. What may we not hope to see it rise to, when ease, and security of transport, shall have stimulated consumption—when the great arteries of the Euphrates and Tigris shall have become channels of commerce—when a rapidly spreading population shall have increased demand, and when a knowledge of our wants, and security of property, with increasing profits, shall have induced the peasantry to cultivate and produce the articles which will best suit our markets, providing thus, what is at present the great desideratum, the means of barter and remittance.

With such means in our hands—means incalculably greater than our powers of description can tell, not only for benefiting

ourselves, but for effecting an immense improvement in the condition of so large a portion of mankind—an improvement which will tend gradually to transform the thinly-scattered, yet numerous, and fierce, rapacious tribes of Koords and Eeliauts, and roving Arabs, into multitudes of industrious husbandmen, and merchants, and thus foster up whole nations of consumers for our manufactures and produce;—with these means of improvement in her hands, we say—Shall Great Britain refuse to perform the good work? Steward of so many blessings, shall she refuse to distribute and render them efficacious to her brethren of Asia? Shall England, the enlightened and the generous—she who hitherto has stood forward so eagerly to extend to those nations who sit in the darkness, and under the yoke of tyranny, the gift of freedom, the boon of her own liberal and happy institutions,—shall she commit this great moral sin, and turn aside from that path of duty pointed out by humanity and benevolence, as well as self-interest? Shall the wretched call for aid in vain? We trust it will not be so. We would call upon her to rouse herself, ere it be too late;—to open her eyes to her own best interests, and those of civilisation and humanity—to espouse the cause of the oppressed, and humble the oppressor. We know, we are sure, that it requires but an expression of the national feeling, and the thing is done. France must follow the lead of England in this matter—for her own sake, she cannot, dare not, do otherwise; and France and England united, may, assuredly, give laws to Europe. Let the petty considerations of party questions give way for once to a generous and unanimous feeling for the good of mankind. Let the people support its rulers, who desire it, who look for such support:—we are sure they do, and we have good grounds for this belief. We have now before us the *ninth* edition of a pamphlet, which was alleged to express the sentiments of the present administration, at a period not very far back, and the assertion has never, we believe, been contradicted; and what are its expressions on this chapter of foreign policy? "Turkey may be a barbarous and uncivilised state; but if it "were dismembered, what would become of its fragments? "Would Europe gain by substituting at Constantinople Rus- "sian civilisation for Turkish barbarism? Would the benefit

" to humanity make up for the political evil? Could the crime " of another partition be thus atoned for? Could we say—

——" Scelera ipsa nefasque
" Hac mercede placent?

" undoubtedly not. *The Russian empire is large enough* " *for the purposes of good government, and for the safety* " *of Europe;* AND CONSTANTINOPLE MUST NEVER BE " ADDED TO THE DOMINIONS OF THE CZAR*."

Such is the manifesto put forth by the administration—let England support them—let her adopt these principles of action—Her's, let her be assured, is *now* the power to dictate to Russia: the duty, " pacis imponere morem," is in her hands, let her not neglect the sacred trust. And she will not—assuredly she will not. The people, who, in a far more threatening hour than this, stood forth in the cause of liberty, bold and collected against the world in arms, will never shrink now, from a mere *shadow of a pecuniary risk*—from the bravado of a semi-barbarous but ambitious power, which, with the craft of a subtle politician, but the spirit and bearing of a bully, mutters " Bruta fulmina"—obscure threats of a war which she dares not wage. England will not be the power, who, by deserting her post, or slumbering in the day of danger, shall betray the cause of freedom and humanity, and moral improvement; and, so far as her share can go, deliver over civilised Europe to the power of barbarians, and consent to her being replunged in that cheerless night of darkness and brutal ignorance which has ever followed the desolating day of northern conquest!

Happen what may—whatever course be followed, let not the nation say hereafter, " it was from ignorance we erred." On matters so grave, ignorance is itself a crime, and here there is no excuse for it. The nation *has* been warned—those who knew the facts of the case, have not neglected their duty. Let those whose opinions carry weight in the state—who sway the minds of other men—take heed that they qualify themselves for the high duty that has fallen to their share. Let them read such pamphlets as that of Colonel Evans—as that of " England, France, Russia, and Turkey." Let them read the article on that striking pamphlet in our own last number—

* The Reformed Ministry and the Reformed Parliament, 9th Edit. p. 101.

that on the same subject in No. 105 of the Quarterly Review, and let the perusal of these, if it will do no more, excite them to an earnest and impartial inquiry; but above all, let these things be done quickly—decide coolly, impartially, but without unnecessary delay, for delay is destruction; and let the result of that decision be seen in measures of no dubious nature, but prompt, vigorous—English.

Article II.

Education of the Aristocracy. Public Schools.

What education shall I give my Son? This question, which must have suggested itself to millions, from the first infancy of civilisation, to the present period of its adolescence, has never yet received a satisfactory and conclusive solution. Yet it would seem that the key for interpreting this inscrutable mystery might be found in a distinct answer to two other very simple questions. What station in life do you intend your son to hold? and what specific qualifications are necessary for the effective discharge of its duties? For we should reasonably conclude that those faculties ought to be developed and fortified by education, those principles and habits fixed, and those acquirements made, which may best qualify him to adorn that station, and discharge its duties. It is true that, in addition to this *professional* purpose which education is designed to accomplish, it has in view another legitimate and very important object—to invigorate the essential fabric of the mind. Study, in that view, has the same relation to the mind, that exercise has to the body; it communicates to it greater alertness, dexterity, and strength. But, as the two objects are secured by nearly the same process, it is not necessary to give them a separate consideration. The sole question, therefore, that we shall discuss, is, the aptitude of the prevailing education of our popular schools to serve the uses of public life.

On the first glance at the occupations of pupils in our public schools, every one is struck with the strange, not to say absurd, spectacle of young Englishmen being engaged from morning to night, through a succession of eight or ten years, in learning

the language, manners, geography, and antiquities of Athens and Rome—communities long ago extinct, and having but a very remote analogy to the political and social state of their own country. When this system was first introduced into our schools and colleges, at the revival of letters, and even so late as the end of the seventeenth century, such a system of education was defensible, on the principle of utility, and almost on that of necessity. All liberal knowledge, all scientific treatises, and almost every thing that was elegant in polite literature, and in works of the imagination, were comprised in the Roman and Greek language; while all the intercourse of literature and diplomacy was maintained in the Latin, as the universal language. These languages, therefore, formed the indispensable basis, and even an integral and important portion of the superstructure of a liberal and practical education. But who, at this day, would think of having recourse to Aristotle, Theophrastus, or Pliny, for the study of natural history; to Cato, Varro, and Virgil, for a knowledge of agriculture; to Hippocrates, Celsus, and Galen, for instruction in materia medica, and surgery; to Archimedes, Theodosius, and Diophantus, for mathematics; or to Plato, Cicero, and Xenophon, for the science of government, and politics? And so entirely has the Latin language ceased to be the medium of scientific and diplomatic communication, that it is rare to hear now even of a private correspondence being maintained by learned individuals of different nations, on any literary subject, in that language. The very foundations, therefore, of utility and necessity, on which the present system was built, have been either washed away by the lapse of time, or overlaid by the improvements and discoveries introduced by more recent diligence and genius.

The time, therefore, is surely arrived for revising the system of education adopted by our remote ancestors, and for considering what part of it is adapted to existing circumstances, and what part ought to be exploded as obsolete, to make way for other attainments more consonant to present exigences.

Let it not be understood, however, that we have any notion so absurd, as that of excluding the study of language from any liberal system of education. We hold it not only to be pre-eminently advantageous, but essential and indispensable, in a degree that the arbiters of modern education seem to be

scarcely aware of; judging, as we do, not by the time they consume, but by the negligence they betray, in carrying into effect their own superficial and inadequate conceptions of lingual instruction. For, surely, the knowledge of a language is not limited to its pronunciation, its nomenclature, its inflections, its orthography, and its analogous construction—and yet even these elementary rudiments are in general but imperfectly mastered in our popular schools—but ought to extend to its logical arrangement, to its synonymous distinctions, to its origin and history, its peculiar genius and idiom, its strength, its perspicuity and harmony, to every variety of style of which it is capable, from the graceful easy flow of the private letter, to the concise, terse, and severe sententiousness of the judicial verdict. Besides, as we are not, at this day, educating advocates and senators for the Roman forum and curia, or for the Athenian agora and prytanæum, but for the English bar and parliament, it seems to be the conclusion of common sense, that the language in which this proficiency should be attained, is the English language, in decided preference to all others—we do not say to their utter exclusion. Indeed, we are entirely disposed to continue the dead languages in possession of a large portion of early education, provided they do not persist in engrossing the whole, to the prejudice of what is still more essential. The epithets, and abstract terms, we are aware, of the western languages of modern Europe, are mainly derived from them. The nomenclature, too, of the arts and sciences, is almost entirely Greek, or "græco fonte cadant parce detorta." As materials, also, for disciplining the youthful mind, especially in grammatical accuracy, they are unrivalled. If language is to become any thing but a jumble of terms and phrases amassed in the memory, and ready to scramble out on any emergency, without order, connection, or method, it is almost necessary that some one *foreign* language at least, in addition to our own, should be learned systematically. And what language preferable to the Latin or Greek? From our first infancy we are so habituated to adopt our terms and phrases by the ear and by rote, according to the nomenclature and phraseology of our nurses and early associates, that it is almost impossible, by exercises in the vernacular tongue, to disuse the mind from this mechanical habit, and accustom the youthful

student to refer his terms to the standard of authority, or arrange his sentences, according to the analogy of general rules, or the precedent of an allowed exception. This practice our language is peculiarly ill calculated to superinduce. Its inflections are so few, its fundamental rules of construction so simple, that the most illiterate may use it in ordinary conversation without any very offensive violations of its analogy. But in the ancient languages, on the contrary, scarcely a single word can be hazarded by rote, upon the credit of the ear, or any sentence, however simple, constructed without reference to general or especial rule. Although we are now disputing, therefore, the title of the ancient languages to that almost exclusive possession they hold of our public seminaries, we have no design of doing injustice to their real merits. We admit, in addition to the recommendation we have already mentioned, that, although every thing that is useful in point of science, or magnificent in conception, has been transferred long ago into modern languages, by imitation or translation; yet there does live a grace in the remains of ancient literature, as in the fragments of ancient sculpture, to which no modern copyists have attained. Either the Greek language, then, is essentially a finer material to work upon, or its artists are of a sublimer genius. Either the Athenian dialect is to modern dialects what the Pentelic or Parian marble is to our common chalk or limestone, or the Attic poets and orators are to our's, what Phidias and Praxiteles, are to Roubillac and Canova. The truth is, that we know nothing of modern execution to be compared, in correctness of outline and delicacy of finish, to some of the ancient Greek dramas; or that makes any approach to the transparency of drapery, and the graphic prominency and anatomic distinctness which the ideas are made to assume in the writings of Aristotle, Plato, and divina illa ingenia, as Cicero calls them, of the Socratic school. The successful delineation of nature by their sculptors, who make their figures live, and breathe, and move, has been attributed to their daily familiarity with the naked form in the gymnasia. Did their poets and metaphysicians also see the noble mind, which they have delineated with equal anatomical precision? But these objects, if not quite alien from the designs of popular

education, at least apply to so small a proportion of students, that they scarcely ought to be considered of any value in the general estimate. It may be questioned whether they requite the expenditure of time and labour, even to the few learned, by profession, who acquire them, or to those of high station, who, foregoing the honours, and escaping the toils, of public life, and being exempt from the necessity of professional labour, amuse their private hours by conversing with the matchless monuments of departed genius. What we are now considering, is the education best adapted for those who are intending to bear a part in the business of life, and to run, in a public career, the race of the passions. We would freely concede, therefore, the first thirteen years of life to the acquisition of language, and of the explanatory and collateral matter which to that acquisition naturally and inseparably adheres. Language cannot be learned without acquiring at the same time some knowledge of the subjects of which language treats. We are very far, however, from adopting the modern theory, that the knowledge of signs, and of the things signified, ought necessarily to proceed pari passu. We believe it to be in the order of nature, of common sense, and sound philosophy, that the terms and phrases should be fixed in our memories, long before their meaning is intelligible to our understanding. There are many ideas, both of sensation and reflection, which we cannot conceive before we have experienced them, and every attempt prematurely to define and explain them, is so much time and labour wasted. This is no obstacle, however, to the use, and the correct use, of such terms in the mechanical structure of a sentence. A boy may be able to give the name to an idea, a passion, or sensation, of which he has no correct perception, in his own, or any foreign language, and give it, too, in a right acceptation. It is observed of Blacklock, the blind Scottish poet (blind almost from his birth, and therefore incapable of perceiving or recalling any visual idea), that he uses epithets expressive of visible qualities, as copiously and correctly as if he were the very lynx or the Argus of his species. A corresponding observation, as to the auditory sense, may be drawn from reading the productions of the deaf and dumb American poet. We mention this, to meet an exception that is sometimes unreasonably taken, against our public schools,

that they employ their younger pupils too much in the mere technicalities of language, without directing their attention sufficiently to the ideas it represents, and the information it conveys. What is sound, it is very triumphantly demanded, without sense—what the sign, without the thing signified? We answer, in articulate sounds, and conventional signs, it is much; and it would be very absurd to abstain from fixing sounds and signs in the memory until their meaning could be made intelligible to the understanding. It would be very inconvenient to attempt too strictly to combine them. It is in the elementary and intrinsic machinery of language, its orthography, nomenclature, grammatical construction, and arrangement, and not in its signification, that education generally fails —a failure, too, for which no subsequent diligence can compensate. It is only by *early* and persevering practice, that the writer or speaker is enabled to manage the complicated machinery of language strictly according to rule, and yet with the requisite readiness and facility to produce the desired effect at the moment when he wishes it. How many sensible, well-informed men, profoundly versed in their own department of science and art, scarcely write or utter three consecutive sentences, without exposing the deficiency in this particular, of their early education? Indeed it is quite possible that as many impressions may be made upon the external senses, and as many feelings and passions may have agitated the mind, as many processes of nature and art may have met the observation of the most illiterate rustic, as of the most accomplished orator; but as the former has not the terms to designate them, nor language to animadvert upon them, experience is lost to others, and in a great degree to himself. Every one who has accustomed himself to reflect upon what is passing in his own mind, when acquiring knowledge, must have been surprised to find how great an auxiliary and support language is, both to the judgment, in working out its conclusions, and to the memory in retaining them, especially in general propositions. It may be doubted, indeed, whether the human mind be capable of reasoning upon abstract truths at all, without the aid of language.

After these preliminary observations, we shall not be suspected of undervaluing the knowledge of language in general, or

the ancient languages in particular, although we may venture to encroach upon their usurped province. After the period of life we have mentioned, other pursuits ought to be introduced; history and geography, *modern* as well as ancient, comprehending not merely those portions of the globe once subject to the Roman eagles, but also those which modern navigation has discovered, or modern enterprise founded. Under geography we do not comprehend merely the great natural or artificial divisions and features of a country; but the character, manners, and origin of its population—their political institutions, literature, forms of government, alliances, and fundamental laws—every thing which forms the elements of its statistical history. The pupil now also ought to be made acquainted with some of our own standard authors, both in prose and poetry, and led to practise English composition, both original and translated.

Considering, too, how close the vicinage, and how frequent and intimate the intercourse with our Gallic neighbours, that their language is the medium of communication in almost all commercial, diplomatic, and even social transactions on the Continent, the French language would seem to be an indispensable acquisition for a British gentleman. We would here also venture to put in a plea for arithmetic—poor, despised, and, as (most unfortunately for its reception in good company) it is termed, *vulgar* arithmetic.

If we were asked why so many proprietors of large English estates are now retrenching on the Continent, and disusing themselves and families from British connections, habits, and feelings, it would not be very absurd to answer, in regard to many of them, that arithmetic had formed no part of their early education. That consequently the computation of a folio column of figures exceeded either their patience or their skill, and the machinery of a day-book and a ledger was as incomprehensible to them as the system of Copernicus or Tycho Brahe. They were therefore obliged to content themselves with receiving such an annual balance as their more arithmetical accountants might see right to exhibit; till at length, most unexpectedly, the balance crosses over to the opposite side of the general account, and, as a matter of course, the proprietor to the opposite side of the channel.

It will be maintained, by the advocates of the present system, that the French language and arithmetic *are* taught at our public schools. It is true they are not prohibited and proscribed; but they are neither enforced nor encouraged. They are not comprehended even in the plan of regular school business; they are not exacted by the authority of the masters; they are not countenanced by the opinion of the boys; they are looked upon as beneath the notice of high-born gentlemen; and it follows, of course, that, in the true sense of the word, they are not taught.

That it may be known what is taught in our public schools, we insert the routine in the fifth form of a regular week at Eton. We do not include all public schools under the same category—some are better—some worse.

SUNDAY	Latin Theme.
MONDAY	Repetition of Poetæ Græci; Construe Homer and Scriptores Romani.
TUESDAY	Whole holiday.
WEDNESDAY	Repetition of Ovid or Tibullus; Construe Homer and Virgil.
THURSDAY	Repetition of Greek Grammar; Construe Scriptores Græci, in the morning.—Afternoon, holiday.
FRIDAY	Repetition of Homer and Virgil; Construe Horace; shew Elegiac Verses.
SATURDAY	Repetition of Horace; Construe Poetæ Græci, and Greek Testament, Alcaick Verses.

The fifth form at Eton, as is well known, is separated into three principal divisions, and detains the pupils, generally, four years, from their fourteenth to the eighteenth year, and almost universally concludes their school education. This meagre, antiquated, inefficient routine, therefore, absorbs four of the most energetic, important, and, for educational purposes, most powerful years of a man's life. We do not deny, for we have no design to misrepresent, that, in connection with this routine, a considerable acquaintance is made with ancient mythology and geography, and the apocryphal or fabulous history of the heroic ages. But supposing the system to be worked out to the highest perfection, we may still be permitted to ask what station of life does it qualify a man to adorn? What peculiar aptitude has it to invigorate the fabric of the mind? What functions of the senate, or the bar, or of enlightened society, does it enable a man to per-

form? Entering upon the voyage of life, with minds freighted with such antiquated unmarketable lumber (for such it is if the cargo has no variety in the assortment), can we be surprised that our aristocratic youths are driven out of every market, where they meet their competitors upon equal terms? In defiance of all the advantage they possess of connection and introduction, they are beaten, not only by men educated on sounder principles, but by others who have scarcely acquired the elements of a liberal education, but merely in the offices where they passed their early years, have, at least, learned something practical, something producible, something English, if it be only to spell, speak, and write their own language, and the terms of their own art. In the senate, too, their native hereditary arena, they are eclipsed by the superior prowess of men who have lived to the middle of life in warehouses, manufactories, and apothecaries' shops. Who, with all their coarseness of language and vulgarity of manner, make their practical experience and *vulgar arithmetic* tell with fatal effect upon the unsubstantial adornments, "the "trifles light as air," with which the merely classical proficient is caparisoned. It may be very well to be acquainted with the history and antiquities of Athens and Rome under their kings, whether these personages be real or imaginary, and whether or not the incidents have any other foundation than the fancy of poetical annalists; but surely for all available purposes, it is much more essential to the public and professional man, to be conversant with the history and epochs of our own monarchy, and of the several dynasties and forms of government established in the leading states of modern Europe. Neither would we deny, that to compose a copy of alcaick or elegiac verses, is a very graceful and scholar-like accomplishment; but we question, whether beyond the purlieus of a school or a college, it would contribute as much to the success of any serious undertaking, as to be able to write a good plain English letter, or draw up a clear and correct report of any public proceedings in our own language. And let it be recollected that education ought to look forward to the world upon which it is entering, and not back upon the schools and colleges which it is preparing to leave, for the estimate of its value, upon the gastronomic principle.

" Cœnæ pocula nostræ
" Mallem convivis quam placuisse coquis."

We take exception, too, to the great, almost exclusive, preponderance of poetry in the system of all public schools. Some of the poets unquestionably discover great proficiency in the knowledge of human nature, and have delineated with equal discrimination and force the passions and manners of their cotemporaries. But as they always aim at what is marvellous and exciting, rather than what is correct and faithful, and as they dissert very plausibly and confidently on many arts, sciences, and pursuits, with which they are very superficially acquainted, or rather, of which they have formed the most erroneous conceptions, they are the very worst of all guides for the practice of life, that can be presented to inexperienced minds. We do not contend for the exclusion of poetry from public education, but we contend that it ought to be subordinate, and not supreme, in that sphere. We are aware that the imagination is awake before the judgment, and are not insensible to the attractions which poetical description has for the young student, and the advantages he may derive from it in the formation of his own style, and the excitement of his own latent fancy and genius. But we contend that the prominent subjects ought to be practical, and not poetical—realities, and not phantoms; and that the pupil should perfectly understand, all along, that while the latter are designed to amuse the imagination, the former, and far more important, are intended to inform the understanding, and regulate the conduct. In this country, where such a diversity of systems is pursued, many of them so practical as to be almost mechanical and barbarous, there may not be much national danger, or detriment, to be apprehended from the imaginative education of the aristocracy. The danger is chiefly to their own order; that being familiarized to nothing, as boys, but to reading poetry, they may be qualified for nothing, as men, but reading novels and romances, and therefore be driven from the steerage and helm of the state, and confined to an obscure birth under the hatches. Yet we do not hesitate to say, that the different education prevailing in the republics of Athens and of Rome, had a decided influence on their different fortunes. The education of a young man at Athens

was calculated to show him to advantage in the literary circle, the public promenade, the academic grove, the stadium, the museum, and the chariot course, and therefore was, in the highest degree, imaginative and theatrical. The whole course was comprehended under the two grand divisions of the musical and the gymnastic, if we may take the liberty of travestying, rather than translating, such words as μουσικη and γυμναστικη. The young Athenian aristocrat, therefore, was a creature compounded of our modern dandy and dilettante.

> " Nunc Athletarum studiis, nunc arsit equorum ;
> Marmoris aut eboris fabros, aut æris amavit ;
> Suspendit picta vultum mentemque tabella ;
> Nunc tibicinibus, nunc est gavisa tragœdis."

The Roman youth, on the contrary, were carefully instructed in the economy of agriculture, war, and finance. They were formed to shine in the forum, the senate, and the camp. When the state did not require their counsel, or their valour, they were taught to cultivate their farms, and improve their estates, and employ their industry and skill in augmenting the internal wealth and resources of their country.

> " Romæ dulce diu fuit et solenne, reclusa
> Mane domo vigilare ; clienti promere jura :
> Cautos nominibus rectis expendere nummos ;
> Majores audire ; minori dicere per quæ
> Crescere res posset, minui damnosa libido."

The Roman satirist in this passage speaks as a patriot. He states the same facts in another passage, but then, in his capacity of poet, " and as a legitimate son of Apollo," reverses the meed of censure and praise.

> " Graiis ingenium, graiis dedit ore rotundo,
> Musa loqui, præter laudem nullius avaris."

Then with a sneer :

> " Romani pueri longis rationibus assem
> Discunt in partes centum diducere. Dicat
> Filius Albini, si de quincunce remota est
> Uncia, quid superat ? Poteras dixisse, Triens. Eu !
> Rem poteris servare tuam."

History has recorded the result of each of these systems. Greece served ; Rome commanded ; till fascinated by the manners and arts, she adopted the education of her accomplished slave ; and then the mistress of the world, in her turn, bowed

the neck, and surrendered her eagles and fasces to a more manly and virtuous, though less enlightened race. Now the education of our public schools is more Athenian even than that of Athens itself. They were sufficiently devoted to Homer; but we cannot believe that he occupied half their hours of study, and that his poems were committed to memory, from beginning to end, without any discrimination of his various excellences, and defects*. The Greeks, indeed, looked upon Homer, as the personification, and the Iliad, as the microcosm of poetry; but we treat him as if he were also the personification of universal knowledge, and his poems the cyclopædia of the arts and sciences. There were not wanting among the Greeks, however, men of profound reflection and clear judgment, who warned their countrymen against this Homeric mania, and would have given education a more practical character, on the ground, that poetry, while it delighted the fancy, misled the judgment,—as being neither truth, nor the picture of truth, but a mere imitation of its semblance, φαντασματος ουκ αληθειας μιμησις; for it only aims at plausibility, "*Ficta voluptatis causa, sint proxima veris.*" That this poetical preponderance in education operates injuriously upon the understanding, and disqualifies it for the business of life, might be verified by examples nearer home, if it were fit to quote "modern instances." But we abstain, and proceed to view this system in another light, as a waste of time. What can be so absurd, as for a young man, after trying in vain, for three or four years, to attune his ear to an epic or lyric verse, to be made to persevere, "Apolline irato et Musis,"—in hammering together heterogeneous scraps of Virgil and Ovid, into an hexameter line, having no other pretensions to poetry but that it consists of six dactylic metres.

It is well known, that if a boy, after three or four years' trial, does not succeed, it is something like a miracle if he

* Xenophon does indeed introduce into his "Symposium," a person named Niceratus, who professes to pride himself, above all his other acquirements, that having been compelled by his father, in the course of his education, to learn all Homer's epics, he was at that moment able to repeat, by heart, the whole Iliad and Odyssey. "You surely forget," says Antisthenes, "that all the Rhapsodists "can do as much; and I ask you, if you know any tribe of men more silly than "the Rhapsodists?" This anecdote will scarcely, we believe, be considered as subversive of our argument.

succeeds at all. Why then consume two or three years more, the most valuable of a man's life, in doing nothing, or worse than nothing; in disgusting him, perhaps incurably, with the very idea of composition in any form, or any language?

At the age of sixteeen, the student ought to be allowed considerable latitude and discretion, in the selection of his materials for study. Not only ought he to be at liberty to relinquish the muse, if he can be said to relinquish what he never possessed, and employ himself in prose composition; but also, if he has discovered no talent or taste for the ancient languages, be permitted to devote his time to his own, and some other modern language. At this period of life, he ought not merely to be allowed to abate much of his attention to classical studies, but plane geometry, and the elements of algebra be absolutely enjoined, and systematically enforced. These sciences are, as every one must admit, in themselves most useful, as well as excellent discipline for the rational faculties; and to be absolutely ignorant of them, must frequently expose a person to much embarrassment, and reflect some disgrace upon an educated person, and much more upon the place of his education. It would seem right, too, before he arrives at the age of eighteen, that he ought to have acquired a considerable knowledge of the history and genius of the British constitution, its merits or defects, compared with ancient and modern forms of government, and be able to write a correct, if not elegant, English style. It is really lamentable, how little a young man brings with him from school, to qualify him to appear with any satisfaction, either to himself or others, on the great theatre of the world, or to take a share in its important affairs. He is then equally astonished and mortified, to find, that if he is not content to remain a child in understanding, all the days of his life, he has his education for real life to begin.

It will be said, after all, that our public schools have produced many great men. True; but if the progress of their education be fairly looked to, it will be found, that, through the advice and influence of friends, or a more than ordinary sagacity and resolution of their own, they had pursued, together with the established system, some of those supplemental

studies which we have ventured to recommend. This we know to have been the case with some living statesmen and lawyers of great distinction, and, we have learned, was the practice of Fox, Wyndham, Whitbread, and other departed public characters, of distinguished talents. These were "a law unto "themselves." It is also universally known, that there are minds of that superior make, that no difficulties can discourage them, and no impediments control; or rather, whose faculties are stimulated and matured by the very efforts used in overcoming those difficulties and impediments by which minds of an ordinary standard are totally discomfited and overpowered. "*In hoc viro*," it is said of the elder Cato—"*In hoc* "*viro tanta vis animi et ingenii inerat, ut quocunqve loco* "*natus esset, sibi ipsi fortunam facturus videretur.*" This may be said of every one of those great names that are referred to in vindication of our public schools.

But we have a graver charge to allege against them than the inadequacy of their system, which is, that, inadequate as their plan is, it is still more inadequately executed. That the boys should come from them, unable to write a plain English letter with any tolerable accuracy and fluency—that of English literature, modern history, arithmetic, and mathematics, they should be profoundly ignorant, is almost a necessary consequence of the system itself. But that nine out of ten of the pupils—we might, consistently with truth, take a larger proportion—should not be able, when they leave school, to compose a Greek or Latin sentence, in prose or verse, with any thing like grammatical accuracy and classical purity; that they should be unequal to translating a passage taken at hazard from Homer, Virgil, or Horace, after devoting ten or twelve years to such matters, does surely reflect great discredit upon the patrons and governors of such institutions. We do not charge the fault upon the masters who work the system; but upon those who have the power, and not the will, or the wisdom, to reform it. It should be remembered, too, that, to secure the small degree of success which is accomplished, more flagellation is exercised during the course of the year in one of our public schools than in any regiment of the British army during the same period. Nor is the cause of this failure at all mysterious. Every person may discover it at a glance. The pupils do not study

under the inspection of their teachers. They assemble two or three times a day to construe, or say by heart, or show up their written tasks, and are then dismissed, when boys of all grades and all habits and dispositions are left at large, till they are next called together a few minutes for the same purpose. Why, it would be as reasonable to expect that a boy should calmly pursue his studies in the tower of Babel, when the confusion of tongues had begun, or in a naval engagement, when the balls were rattling about his ears, or the masts and cordage cracking and falling upon his head, as in the midst of three or four hundred youths turned loose, to work their own wills and pursue their own pleasures. If any one of them, with the fear of the rod before his eyes, or with some little disposition to make improvement, should betake himself to his books, he must withdraw himself, like a culprit, to some hiding place; and even then, it is ten to one but some of his merry or mischievous comrades track him out, and drag him to the day. Besides, anarchy reigns triumphant, and wields no feeble sceptre. If discipline enforce her orders with the rod or the cane, anarchy circulates her mandates with the fist; and every one who is conversant with a public school, and remembers what a hearty thrashing is, knows which is the most formidable operation. The real power, therefore, is vested in the boys over each other, and the masters merely exercise the portion conceded to them by a superior authority. As no boy would venture to appeal from his school-fellows to the masters, for the redress of any grievance, however severe, it is easy to imagine what must be the oppression occasionally endured by a weaker boy, who falls under the displeasure of his superior, under whose eye, and within the reach of whose arm, he perpetually lives.

We do not mean to affirm that gross acts of cruelty are very common; but they are sufficient to neutralise the authority of the masters, and establish the empire of the boys out of school. Public opinion, too, is entirely in favour of insubordination and negligence, which, in the estimation of the young, pass for manliness and spirit. Talents indeed, provided they are considered to be the result of inspiration, not of diligence, are in repute. But steady application—any thing partaking of studiousness, and love of

books—is viewed with contempt and aversion, and stigmatised with every epithet of derision and contumely. We have known several instances, among the rest, that of one of the most distinguished and highly gifted philosophers of the age, in which boys have been fairly hunted and harassed out of the public schools by this petty tyranny and persecution. Yet the remedy for these gross abuses, is not far to seek. It might be found in the personal superintendance and inspection of the masters over their pupils during a length of time sufficient for a boy of ordinary capacity to learn his lesson; by keeping boys of different classes and ages separate, both in their hours of study and relaxation; except indeed, it might be for an hour or two each day, to afford them an opportunity for becoming mutually acquainted, but not for tyrannising over each other, deposing the masters, and interrupting either the play or the work of the junior boys. It is absurd to suppose but that by the application of the proper machinery, worked by proper hands, and directed by an enlightened mind, effectual remedies might be applied, discipline enforced without corporeal punishment—the independence of the inferior classes secured, and even public opinion among the pupils themselves turned in favour of scholarship, although earned, for it can only be earned, by superior diligence and perseverance. Whether or not this will be accomplished by any spontaneous effort, originating with the conductors of our great schools, is very problematical. We could augur much judicious and beneficial innovation from the personal character of the head masters of Eton and Harrow. But whether they will be able to accomplish the necessary amount of reform, without some legislative assistance, or some extraneous support, in defiance of the many prejudices and powers arrayed against them, we extremely doubt. It may be supposed, that after these somewhat severe strictures upon public schools, we should go on to recommend a private education. This, however, we have no intention of doing. As to a mere domestic education, we cannot conceive any thing more inauspicious, either to the present comfort of a young person of rank, or to his future efficiency, than to be placed alone, or with his tutor, in a school-room, with no companion either to console or stimulate him. It is neither more or less

than solitary confinement, the severest punishment that modern ingenuity has introduced into our penitentiaries. It is severe and it is gratuitous suffering. It has no better effect than to stupify and depress the faculties, and to impress the mind with unutterable and incurable dislike of the rudiments of knowledge. Besides, it is universally admitted, that men of rank, from the circumstance of their associating, upon equal and free terms, with very few, and only with persons in the same condition of life, are apt to cherish the most extravagant notions of their own dignity, and to form conceptions the most erroneous, of the feelings and characters of persons who conduct the serious affairs of life. These errors, which Bacon very expressively terms "*idola specûs*" (as being analogous to the glimmerings that reach persons seated in a cavern, to which light has but one narrow avenue), a private education has the most obvious tendency to multiply and confirm. It also cherishes that hauteur and arrogance, by which their inferiors are so much disgusted and alienated. In a public school, a boy, of whatever rank, is, for once at least, placed among his equals, or even, it may be, his acknowledged superiors. His wealth and title secure him no precedence or immunity in the youthful democracy; and he finds the level for which nature, or his own acquirements, adapt him. Hence, he learns to know both himself and others. He learns to trust to his own address, or courage, in any circumstances of difficulty or danger. He does not shrink from competition. He acquires an independent, manly, and courageous bearing. He is neither surprised nor offended by contradiction and opposition, however petulant or unprovoked. He meets with nothing in the human character, to which he had not been accustomed, and for which he was not prepared. In defiance, however, of these palpable advantages, it is well known, that Locke advises a private education; but, sensible of the softness it generates, recommends artificial pain to be inflicted, for the purpose of inuring the pupil to patience under suffering. But this expedient applies only to patience of external pain, inflicted by a friendly hand; and is, therefore, a poor substitute for the patience under injuries, wilful injuries, injuries inflicted by temper or caprice, to which the disci-

pline of the school inures the *mind.* But on the moral effect of our public schools we have not space to enlarge. It would form ample materials for an article by itself, and we may probably return to the subject in a future number. In the meanwhile, we revert for a moment to the intellectual part of the consideration; and it is to say, that, in this respect, public instruction has an immense advantage over private. Boys, of course, can have no natural predilection, or rather they must have a natural aversion, for the rudiments of grammar, and the other elementary parts of education. But it is astonishing, how very little that is felt, where all are engaged in the same occupation. The instinct of imitation and action is so powerful, especially in the young, that they would prefer being employed as they see others employed, to doing nothing, or to doing something different, although in other respects much more agreeable and inviting. Emulation, too, is another admirable provision of nature for reconciling human beings of every age to long and painful efforts in overcoming difficulties, and acquiring proficiency in studies and occupations repulsive to the natural taste. It is to these principles, namely imitation and emulation, to which perhaps may be added a social sympathy, that must be ascribed the greater animation and spirit with which the first difficulties are overcome in public; and more especially the much greater success with which early genius and taste are cultivated, of which we have the proofs in those elegant productions which public pupils have composed and selected for publication, and which set all competition of private education at defiance. But these exceptions, as rare as they are splendid, do not exculpate, in any sensible degree, the wretched economy of our great schools. By showing what has been done, in a few instances, in one department, they prove what might be done in many instances in any other, and therefore more loudly proclaim the defects of the system. If these defects are not corrected, and within a very limited period, the consequences will be fatal, at least to the aristocracy, who depend on them for their education. It ought to operate as a powerful stimulus to intellectual exertion on the minds of the higher class, that any general knowledge they possess is almost sure to prove available to the advancement of their own dignity

and character, as well as the benefit of their country. While in the inferior grades the majority are so incessantly occupied in the routine of their profession, and the ordinary business of life, that any liberal talents they have cultivated, frequently find no field for exercise, and are suffered to go to waste for want of exertion. But the superior orders are in no danger of losing the fruits of their diligence. They are placed by birth on an elevation, to which their inferiors rise only by rare felicity or distinguished merit. On such "vantage "ground," any liberal attainments they have acquired are sure to be in immediate and constant demand, to appear in the fairest light, and command the highest price. As legislators, as diplomatists, as magistrates, in every public capacity, ignorance in such matters must prove a source of humiliation to themselves, and disadvantage to the public, while sound information will avail both to their individual honour and general usefulness. Apathy, therefore, and insolence, under such encouragements, are as inexcusable, as the consequent ignorance must prove detrimental and dangerous in the present state of society.

Hitherto the higher classes have been in almost exclusive possession of the legislative and of all the commanding positions of the executive government. Their pretensions and qualifications have scarcely been questioned. Fortunately for their continued precedence, the class of society next to them in the scale, have chosen to follow in their track; and the seminaries and academies, so called, in which men of business have been educated, have been so admirably managed, for the purpose of extinguishing every spark of genius and literary taste, that they have had to encounter no formidable rivalry. Recently, however, considerable improvements have been introduced into the second class of public schools; and even commercial academies, and free schools in country towns, have imbibed a tincture of liberal education. No more time, therefore, is to be lost, if the present race of the aristocracy is to maintain its actual elevation. Professional and commercial men, of plebeian origin, see an opening through which to attain the most influential positions. They are providing themselves with materials for escalading the

citadel of political power, wherever the negligence of its present garrison offers a practicable passage. More with the people and of the people, and more conciliatory in their manners, as well as better acquainted with the business of life, they are likely to be received with more favour by popular constituencies. The first choice made by the newly-enfranchised electors does not show that they always know how to distinguish between the hollow hypocritical professions of the political speculator and the sincere well-weighed opinions of the honest patriot, and therefore the privileged orders are safe again. There is no doubt, however, but the people will grow wiser by experience, and rejecting demagogues of broken fortunes and broken characters, destitute both of private integrity and public principle, incapable, therefore, of pursuing any consistent course, they will intrust the interests of this mighty empire to men of tried talents and probity, in whatever rank they may be found.

Knowledge, if of the right kind, is power, to every class; but to the aristocracy, at this crisis, it is also safety. If they be superseded in their legislative functions by a more plebeian class, their estates and titles, and all their distinguishing privileges, are gone. To whatever class of men the legislature of a country is confided, they will never cease to "trash for over-"topping," till they have reduced the power, property, and privileges, of all superior classes to a level not higher than their own. The spirit of legislative justice was defined above two thousand years ago, as "το του κρείττονος συμφερον," and the proceedings of every government in all that long period has contributed but to establish the truth of the aphorism. We could wish that our own Peers had betrayed less of the same self-seeking spirit of legislation, and had shown more delicacy in disposing of the interests of other less privileged and protected classes. Their own interests, however, are now menaced, and we doubt not they are more delicate in dealing with those of other people. But we have no intention to bear hard upon them in this critical period of their fate. We wish them to survive the struggle, and to survive to their own honour, and the nation's benefit. This, we are deeply impressed, they cannot do, if the young men, next in succession, do not adopt manners much more conciliatory and affable;

if they do not acquire knowledge of a more producible and practical nature; and if, availing themselves of the advantages of their position, and the powerful motives by which they are propelled, they do not surpass the great mass of the people, in statesmen-like talents and virtues, as much as they do in power, privilege, and pretensions.

Article III.

Memoir on the Political State and Prospects of Germany, confidentially communicated to several of the German Governments by Russia, 1834*.

To the traveller who returns westward through Europe, after wandering over the vast levels inhabited by the Sclavonian population, nothing so forcibly recalls the associations of home, as the baronial and feudal ruins that arise around him the moment he enters upon the regions occupied by the Teutonic people.

How profound are the impressions left by such evidences as these, speaking directly to the senses a language which is liable to no solecism—to no misconception. Never shall we forget the hour we spent on a rising ground, commanding towards the west, a view of hills and castles, shut in by a misty screen of mountains in the distance. To the east, a broad and unbroken level appeared, without limit, interruption, or relief; showing neither eminence nor tower, nor picturesque spots, round which men's associations and affections cluster, nor mountain passes to afford the protection of mother earth against man's oppression; subject to a political system, which, widely extended without being beneficial, owes at once its external brilliancy, and intrinsic weakness, to the moral degradation of enslaved millions.

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* See P.S. to this article at the end of the present Number. The necessity of condensing a great deal of matter into a short space, and the necessary connection of each part with the rest of that wide field, *foreign policy*, have induced us, in the drawing up of this article, to leave untouched many points connected with the present subject, from their having been already indicated or discussed in the former Number, in the articles "*Diplomacy of Russia*," and "*Quadruple Treaty*."

Here had we escaped from the influence of words and of names—from the style of chroniclers—the votes of congresses, and the colouring of maps. We stood in presence of great Nature, and of fact. The historic vestment—the accidents of the earth's surface—the sounds of men's voices—not the paltry painting of posts, not the impertinent visitation of the traveller's permit for locomotion, or the scrutiny of his slender stock of necessaries, told us that we had passed from one great division of men to another, that we had left Muscovy behind, that we had entered Gothland. We had left a united military power of nearly sixty millions of Russians—a power growing, strengthening, spreading, menacing, and, above all, possessed, of the first, the necessary, element of extension—the desire of conquest; before us, twenty-five millions of Germans were scattered, along an extensive region, but intersected by masses nearly as numerous as themselves, speaking the Sclavonic, the Hungarian, the Italian, or French tongues; subject to thirty-eight different dominations, divided into different creeds, separated by opposing opinions, and subdued (the governments at least) to the fact and admission of Russian supremacy and encroachment; considering the erection of Russian fortresses, the accumulation of Russian bayonets on their frontiers, neither as novelties nor as causes for indignation and action, but rather of comfort and support.

In this article we propose to offer to our readers a general outline of the Prussian commercial system, and we introduce it by recording the fact, or observation, which gave to ourselves the first idea of the bearings of that system, and of its connection with the general policy of Europe; which led us first to investigate the motives of its establishment, and to comprehend the effects that must flow from it.

At that period we found Germany wholly absorbed by this discussion. Its advocates pointed out the *unity* it was to confer on Germany. Germany was now to become one; she was to take rank among the nations and the powers of Europe; she was to maintain the equilibrium of political power, by forming a strong combination of material interests; she was to be rendered independent of the commercial despotism of England; she was to retaliate on other countries the restrictions so long with impunity opposed to her; she

was thus united and strengthened, to place an insuperable barrier against any new revolutionary outbreak of France; and she was to interpose a permanent and impassable obstacle between European civilisation and Muscovite aggression. In addition to these, other motives, which we shall afterwards point out, influenced the public mind; but these specious propositions carried along with them the higher intellect of the country; they overruled that resistance which had not yielded to more practical considerations—which was too commercial to be deceived—too material to be overawed. These high-sounding words were the final appeal of the *unionists;* they were words of patriotism, of philanthropy, of public benevolence, of profound and foreseeing policy; they became the lofty fashion of the day. The practical opponents of the system were staggered by fallacies they could not sift; or silenced by doctrines it was deemed discreditable and scandalous to question.

That hour of meditation on the frontiers of Russia and Germany had filled us with a stubbornness of conviction that was proof against these generous and contagious illusions. We could not conceive how the envelopement of *the whole* of Germany by those custom-house bonds, that had become insupportable to England and France, with all their power and nationality, could render the disjointed federation of Germany united or strong. We could not conceive how a Prussian coalition, in opposition to Austria, could give unity to *Germany.* We could not conceive how all these impossible results, even if realised, *after a series of years,* could oppose a barrier to the daily and hourly increasing preponderance of Russia now.—We reflected on the enormous difficulties that Prussia has met with in introducing the system—that she had been counteracted by Austria—that *she had not been counteracted* by the most able, intelligent, and influential of European governments—Russia. We knew that Prussia, in 1815, had been reduced to the level of Bavaria; and that Russia had forced, even by the threat of war, the dismemberment of Saxony, Denmark, and other German states, for the purpose of raising Prussia to the rank she actually occupies. We knew that half the population of Prussia was Sclavonic—that

she has no frontier lines, or military means, capable of resisting Russian invasion—that she has no thought of doing so—that she is, in policy, as subservient as inferior in strength—that, created by the power—she has invariably been used for the ends—of Russia. The extension, therefore, of Prussian influence over the German states, appeared to us, not without Russian sanction. And respecting more the information and the intelligence of Russia than that of the liberals of Germany, we concluded that the Prussian system was a deep and comprehensive plan of Russia, in the furtherance of which she was supported, as in so many others, by the opinions of the liberals, as well as by the alarms of the anti-liberals, of Europe.

These considerations apart, the examination of the consequences of the system itself, led us inevitably to the same conclusion; and again, putting aside the control exercised by Russia over Prussia. Putting aside, also, the subjugation to fiscal bondage of the greater part of the German states—the separation between that race and England, France, and even German-Austria, and the exclusion of English commerce,—advantages of the first order to Russia, we came to the conclusion, that a Power which has led Austria, England, and France, to unsheath the sword, in the furtherance of her own exclusive designs, never would suffer any combination, not of the small powerless German states, but even of the great European Powers, having for result, opposition to her.

We place this consideration as a preliminary truth, of which the reader must be convinced; we beg him, if not convinced, to reconsider, before proceeding further, the reasons we have enumerated, but not developed. We insist on this point, because a perception of the connection of the Prussian commercial system with Russian design, at once beats to the ground the vague, general, notions entertained respecting that system in England, and indeed, in Europe, and which volumes would not suffice to answer in detail. Beaten, and outwitted, as we have been; baffled by her combinations, and almost shrinking before her menace; no one will be disposed *now* to despise the intelligence, or to make light of the views of Russia. No one can now doubt the design of aggression and conquest in Russia; whoever, therefore,

perceives that the Prussian system is designed by Russia, or is co-operated in by Russia, or is even suffered by Russia, requires neither breath nor ink to be convinced that it can lead neither to the *unity* of the German people, nor to the triumph of liberal doctrines, nor to the increase of the power, the independent power, of Prussia; that it will not confer a feeling of union, and sense of prosperity, nor, finally, a representative government, on the German people—that it will not lead to their well-being, nor enlightenment—that, in fine, it does portend no good to Germany, and can elevate no barrier to Russia; and if these propositions be admitted, the Prussian system must be considered merely an instrument in the hands of Russia.

So essential do we consider the complete and independent establishment of this point to the comprehension of the relative position of the powers of Europe; and so indispensable do we consider a just appreciation of that position to the continued prosperity, nay, the existence of this country—that we venture to produce some of the secret thoughts of that cabinet, which, for twenty years, has played off the great men and powers of Europe against each other, like black and white figures on a chess board. While we put forward our convictions, as the sole result of the considerations we have indicated, while we rest our case entirely on facts and arguments; still, is it most gratifying to be able to adduce, in support of this conviction, the diplomatic arcana of that power, which have hitherto been enveloped in inscrutable mystery, and to be able to quote, in illustration of our argument, the expressions, cautious and formal though they be, of that man who is its chief director, and who, if the evil genius of Russia so willed it, may yet have his reputation as a diplomatist outshone by his celebrity as an author. We apprehend that the revelation of those successes, which must have overjoyed his court, that that happy appreciation of the weakness of European statesmen, and that epigrammatic sarcasm which must have delighted his emperor, would little contribute to the future success of his cabinet, or to the ends to which his transcendent talents are devoted. Before now, however, it has been the lot of genius to lend wings to the shafts of dull and nerveless adversaries!

" *La Prusse* * * * * * *verroit, avec satisfaction la fin de* " *la lutte entre La Russie et La Turquie, mais elle se garde* " *de la provoquer* par aucune démarche propre à gêner *le* " *Cabinet Impérial, et s'est prononcée contre celles de ce* " *genre proposées par la cour de Vienne. Son maintien,* " *son langage, ses démonstrations ont été jusqu'à présent* " *favorables à la Russie, et* la crainte de le voir s'entendre " avec elle dans un cas extrême, en impose à l'Autriche et sert " à la France d'encouragement *pour la confirmer dans les* " *sentimens favorables qu'elle nous témoigne. Le Cabinet* " *Impérial a donc le plus grand intérêt de s'attacher comme* " *il le fait, celui de Berlin, de le cultiver* et de lui faire " entrevoir, que si l'Autriche et l'Angleterre voulaient mettre " le statu quo territorial éxistant en péril, par une attaque " contre la Russie, S. M^té^ Prussienne, en fesant cause com- " mune avec elle, trouverait des avantages, qu'elle ne saurait " espérer ailleurs.

" *La notice confidentielle dont votre Excellence a accom-* " *pagné sa dernière expédition contient les germes de ce* " *système ; il s'agit donc de les entretenir et pour ainsi dire* " *féconder de manière qu'ils soient prêt à se developper* " *lorsque la nécessité l'exigera.*

" *Dans toutes mes démarches envers le cabinet Français,* " je m'attache à le tenir en bonne intelligence avec celui de " Berlin. *Son représentant le Baron de Werther* s'en " occupe également de la manière la plus zélée. *Il seroit* " *peut-être sage et utile de* familiariser aussi la politique " Prussienne avec l'idée *que si les événemens lui fournissent* " *l'occasion de s'agrandir,* la France de son côté ne peut " se compromettre et se battre en pure perte."

Again :—

" *L'Empereur notre Auguste Maître, est monté sur le* " *Trône, lorsque la Russie jouissait d'une grande con-* " *sidération et cette considération s'est visiblement aug-* " *mentée depuis son heureux avènement* * * * * *les Turcs* " *amenés à signer la Convention d'Ackermann, la Perse* " *vaincue et rendue tributaire à la suite de ses provocations,* " *l'Angleterre et la France,* empressées de trouver un moyen " de terminer à la satisfaction de sa Majesté *les troubles de la* " *Grèce. Le prince Metternich n'ayant d'autre ressource*

" * * * * * * *et* la Prusse fortifiant les liens du sang par " ceux de la politique."

Again :—

" LA PRUSSE A SON RÔLE TOUT FAIT et les objets de son " ambition sous sa main, *et ce n'est* pas la Russie qui souffrira " *de ses empiètemens.* ELLE RESTERA LIBRE D'ACCOMPLIR " LES SIENS."

Here is the veil completely rent—nor can a shadow of doubt remain ! We trust our case is made out, and we press the Count for no further testimony. We have to remark, that the despatch from which the latter extract is made, bears the date of Dec. 10, 1828, *six years previous* to the accomplishment of Prussia's " rôle," the present commercial league.

Still, before entering upon it, we must beg to direct our reader's attention to the causes which led to the failure of Napoleon's Milan and Berlin decrees, and also to the evil which they did inflict on this country.

Men judge generally by one fact, and the last fact. Napoleon failed in his attempt to ruin England, by excluding her commerce; and for twenty years this island, from side to side, has rung with laughter at the folly of commercial exclusions. Mistaking the error of the direction for weakness of impulse, they have rejoiced that the blow has missed, instead of considering the energy with which it was levelled, and the ruin it might have dealt. Napoleon's conception of destroying the un-attackable England, by the exclusion of her commerce from the continent, was a grand idea, worthy of his great mind ; it ought to have been, by all human calculation, at that period, entirely sucessful;—it failed, from a cause which never occurred before in the history of man. That deed is degraded, from the high historic position where alone it ought to be recorded, by the servile imitation of his incapable successors, who, imitating the manner, where they could not comprehend the thought, sought to use, as a portion of peace, and as a means of internal prosperity, that instrument which Napoleon had conceived as an instrument of destruction, and wielded only in hostile guise against a foreign foe.

We cannot refrain from quoting a remarkable passage, proceeding from a place whence Europe and its principles can be observed as a whole; where the influence of no traditional or

dogmatic authority of our's can prevent facts from bearing their natural interpretations; and where a just appreciation of our state is rather the result of perception, than of laborious and erudite analysis:—

"It is impossible to judge of the acts of Napoleon, without "taking into account the circumstances of the time. Who "can affirm, that if that incomparable man had lived twenty "years longer, his genius, so vast and so pliable, would not "have comprehended the new necessities of our time? After "having organised industry, as he did his conquests, by time "and movements, he would, without doubt, have placed his "conquests in industry and commerce, and he would have "opened to exchange the unbounded tracts which he opened "before his armies. The system exists, but the inventor is "gone. He is no longer here, to break with his own hands "the machine he had created from the moment he saw "it could not work but at the expense of the public interest "and of the reputation of its inventor. In war, the energetic "man shuts himself up in his strong-hold, and defends him-"self. On the return of peace, he comes forth, stretches out "his hand to his enemy, and enjoys with him the walks of the "plain and the sweets of fraternity. *War has disappeared—* "*arms are laid down; why, then, are the fiscal principles* "*of so many states the same as during these times of hatred* "*and separation*?*"

When Napoleon conceived the continental system, what may have been the considerations which presented themselves to his mind? England, rich, by supplying the continent with her manufactures; rich, because, in consequence of that supply, she held the colonial commerce in her hand; strong and powerful, because rich and commercial. He would perceive the elements of that commercial greatness, in her being able to supply the continent with a great many articles at a cheaper rate than that at which they could be manufactured there. He would say, "If I can so far increase the difficulties of the "introduction of her wares into the continent, as to induce the "continent to manufacture for itself, I strike at the root of "England's power, and bring down at once that complicated "system." He would calculate in how far he could, by

* Turkish Official Gazette of 28th February, 1835.

prohibitions and preventive service, counterbalance the cheapness of England; but, as the basis of that calculation, he would take prices in England and on the continent; and we unhesitatingly pronounce, that he was justified in saying, "the "thing is to be done!"

Who has a right to assert that Napoleon did not calculate on the deficiency of the means of production throughout the continent, to fill up the vacuum thus created? That he did not calculate on the animosity of all nations against *sudden* interference with their interests? That he did not calculate on the opposition of the merchants of Holland; and, above all, of the nobles of Russia? He did calculate—he must have calculated on all these; but he calculated also on speedy success, and on the means of suppressing these disturbing causes, until success was obtained. Subsequent opposition was the result, not the cause, of the failure of that system. The cause of its failure was an anomalous interference with the basis of his original calculation,—the comparative prices of England and the continent. Price in England fell*, because the spinning-jenny was invented—because the effect of steam was developed, adding the power of sixty millions of population to the productive energies of the country—and James Watt stands, in Westminster Abbey, the real conqueror of Napoleon!

The consequent diminution of price in England overpowered the restraints and barriers which Napoleon had at his disposal; and though men enveloped, they know not why, in the march of a great system, may make sacrifices for its success, while that success appears certain and proximate, they will soon fall off, when any palpable error in the calculation takes away from genius its most powerful arm—confidence in unerring knowledge, and the prestige of fortune.

The continent had submitted to be deprived, first, of the manufactures of England; secondly, of the exportation of their produce to England; and thirdly, of all colonial produce. The two latter privations were apparently the most severe, and yet they were but consequences of the first; and they were submitted to merely to ensure the success of the first, namely, the crippling

* It is true, that English goods were purchased on the continent at a price infinitely higher than was paid for them before; but if prices had not so far fallen in England, that high price would still have been raised.

of the export trade of England. But when England deluged the coasts of Europe and the world with merchandise cheapened by two causes, the new and wonderful combinations of machinery, and the necessity of working at any rate to keep in employment the enormous establishments that existed, then was the grand object frustrated. The continent, if it did submit to be deprived of English cottons and hardware, would no longer submit to the loss of the tobacco, the coffee, and the sugar of America; the manufactures themselves were next to excluded, in one most essential branch, from the supply of the raw material; and finally, the nobles of Russia, without feeling in the same degree the inconvenience that other states had to suffer, were not disposed to be deprived of the greater portion of their fortunes, which was drawn from the raw materials they furnished to England.

All these several circumstances form the history of the breaking up of that system, but were not the cause of its breaking up. Had not England succeeded, by an unparalleled accident, in underselling the restrictions of the continent, she would have been beaten, and Napoleon would have been successful. Submission to him would then have stood in the place of that resistance which afterwards manifested itself among his allies and subjects. England must have made peace; and by making peace, she abandoned all those means which afterwards caused her to triumph. Colonial produce would have come direct from America to the continent; and, the sea being open to all flags, that principle—one of vitality at that moment to England—*the right of search*—would have fallen to the ground, and that blockade of the coasts of France, which principally undermined her power, would not have taken place*.

Suppose Napoleon's system reproduced to-day, with Germany and Russia as opposed to it as they then were, and what would be the effects? The price of food, and of all necessaries, have

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* Our blockade of the coasts of France, crippled, it is true, our own trade, and gave effect to the system of Napoleon. Looking from England, that blockade could appear only as a detriment to British commerce; but on the other hand, the interruption of the coasting trade diminished the means, and paralysed the naval action of France.

been changed in level*—raised in England, and, by the reaction of that elevation, lowered on the continent. The machinery then, exclusively English, is now transferred to the continent. Colonial produce finds its way now directly to the continent. The navigation act of England is defunct. The raw materials of Russia find their way to England, notwithstanding her exclusion of our manufactures. Our naval supremacy is of no use, *we are at peace*, we cannot go to war on mere commercial grounds—we cannot blockade coasts, or overhaul neutrals, to effect the change of a peaceable tariff. We cannot maintain a manufacturing superiority where we have increased the price of the necessaries of life, and have thus voluntarily deprived ourselves of that superiority—superior facilities, or cheapness of production: a slight duty injures us more now than the severest prohibition then could. We therefore are not able now to counteract a commercial league of the continent against us, such as the league we frustrated before, even with Prussia and Russia as our allies.

But while France has systematized the opposition of Napoleon to our commerce, *and connected the necessity of that opposition with the constitution of French power and administration*, Prussia and Russia have made a similar opposition a part of gigantic political designs. Russia, the power which most materially contributed to the frustration of the designs of Napoleon, now takes the lead in the establishment of a similar system of restriction, the basis of which is—that immense portion of the surface of the earth which is her own; and the means of which are—the army, the diplomacy, the commanding and domineering influence of that rapidly-extending empire, wherever her mandates can command submission, or her influence—respect.

Again, it must be borne in mind, that as it was by contraband traffic that England caused the cheapness of her produce at that period to tell on Napoleon's system, there were some geographical points, the possession of which, then, was of the utmost importance, but which have no importance under these

* The comparision is here established between the English system, previous to the peace and subsequent to the peace. Since 1830 we have adopted a contrary system, that of lowering price. We have done much as compared with the years between 1815 and 1830, but little as compared with the previous period.

changed circumstances, and in time of peace. These points are, Heligoland and Malta; the first was a station for smuggling, very useful, when our vessels could enter no port of the northern continent, the second was of importance, as the centre from which our intercourse was maintained with the coasts of Turkey, which, though politically combined against us, yet, by her principles of free trade, gave passage through her vast dominions to the produce of the looms of England, which were thus presented with the greatest facility on the coasts of the Adriatic, the frontiers of Hungary, Transylvania, Poland, and Russia. In our calculations of future combinations, we cannot neglect the chance—and unless a decision is taken of a preventive nature by England,—the certainty of the occupation of the Dardanelles by Russia*. In that case, it is incontrovertible that we shall remain without the possibility of counteracting, even by those extremities to which we resorted against Napoleon, a continental system of exclusion, which now has become a systematic object with all governments, whatever their political predilections, which has found favour in the eyes of the whole continental public, and in which Russia might be induced to take the lead, even if no previous design existed on her part; or if the major part of those very circumstances had not been brought about by the ability and success that have characterised her long, unremitting, and systematic efforts.

Having stated these general considerations, in the hope of awakening reflection on the relations of England to the continent, on the elements of her prosperity during peace, and on her means of coercion in war, we shall now address ourselves to the Prussian system itself; we shall point out, first, the considerations that predisposed the public mind of Germany to submit to the system, and then endeavour to trace its consequences, if allowed to run on peaceably and uninterruptedly, as leading to the political aggrandisement of Russia, to the political prostration of Germany, to the separation of

* Though we here treat the German branch of that universal question—Russian Policy, yet, in our mind, inseparably connected with her progress in the west is her progress in the east—these our alarms for Germany will not be realised, if any thing retards the accomplishment of her designs in Turkey—and *vice versâ*.

Germany from all connection with England and France, and to the serious injury of the commerce of Great Britain.

The fact of the existence of commercial restrictions in France and England, has made commercial legislation throughout the world be considered as necessary to prosperity: its association with the words "*protection of national* "*industry*," have put to profit in its favour the national animosities and antipathies consequent on the late long and violent struggle; so that throughout Germany, a feeling gradually arose, of respect from a distance, for those principles against which, on a closer view, the good sense of the people revolted, and the intellectual part of the community gradually adopted principles, which, presented without those concomitant circumstances, they would have rejected with contempt. Thus, in fact, throughout the smaller states of Germany, although it has been found hitherto impossible to introduce the system of protections and exclusions to such a degree as materially to affect interests, still was the public mind so far benighted in that respect, that scarcely was there a little Prince, Duke, Count, or Baron, in the excercise of his miniature prerogatives, that was not permitted, if not called on, to consider a special part of his administrative cares and duties "the protection of native industry."

Trifling as was, of course, the amount of that protection, or the burthens imposed on commerce, still did these constant disquisitions hasten the growth of the mania for interference; and these perplexing and multifarious regulations practically prepared one of the strongest arguments in favour of the Prussian system, by the very nuisance which, thus created in detail, that system was apparently to abolish.

To these considerations, of a general nature, are to be added the feelings of animosity generated by the commercial injustice of England towards the German states; and also by the commercial enmity of every great nation bordering on these states, or with which they have maintained commercial relations: *viz.*—England, France, Austria, and Russia.

ENGLAND.—It is sufficiently well known that the agricultural development of the northern parts of Germany is, in a great measure, owing to the former exportation of grain to Great Britain, an intercourse which

then might be termed unrestricted and unburthened, compared with the commercial barbarism of the present day. These states, then, furnished not a very great, but a regular supply, to England, of grain of all descriptions, and timber, in addition to those articles which we at present receive;—the demand for our goods was consequently much larger. No feeling of rivalry or animosity then existed, but rather of reciprocal obligation; England was looked upon as a benefactor; she is even now recollected as such. Thence, also, the political devotion of those countries to England during the war; and now, in the reaction that is taking place, in consequence of the change of system in England, not only is England charged with bitterness of feeling for the evil inflicted upon them by the exclusion of their corn, by the double detriment of our shifting scale, but also are the misfortunes, losses, and grievances, of whatever nature, affecting their commerce, attributed to the Tariff of England; consequently, the spirit of retaliation has taken deep root, and the Prussian system, which menaces retaliation on England, has found extensive favour. Germany was to be avenged for the insults inflicted on her by England, she was to be relieved from dependence on the looms of England; but to effect this, Germany must be a whole; and in recovering her unity, she could possess herself but of one national instrument, the Prussian system, which also relieved her from internal restrictions and regulations *.

* Although it may be superfluous, yet, to avoid any misapprehension, we would here remark, that this was the view taken by the favourers of the system, and propagated by Prussia. The exportation from northern Germany to England, is, at present, enormous, though certainly less than it would be were it not for the restrictions of England; the Prussian system, in crippling importations from England, must, indirectly, cripple exportations to England. Admitting the evil to be equal to both, such an act is no less injurious to Prussia, than if she inflicted an evil on herself alone. England may find other supplies of wool, hides, timber, oil, seeds, ores, &c. &c., but Prussia will find no other consumers of such. She may expect, perhaps, like Russia, to export to us, and receive money in exchange. But she does not perceive, that, though Russia

Similar feelings were reproduced with regard to each of the neighbouring states we have enumerated, each having departed from what appear to be the simple laws of sense and nature, aberrations to which they were provoked by no similar restrictions in Germany, and which could not remain without producing, in Germany, animosity and retaliation.

FRANCE—Excluded German manufactures of all kinds; excluded her linen, her cattle, and her grain, and paralysed the industry of the western states, in the same degree that the restrictions of England had paralysed those of the north west. But (as there was in Germany no general centralized system to disguise material facts) while the Germans reproached France with the loss of this export commerce to France, they simply and naturally laid on the shoulders of the French system, the provocation they felt at losing the wines, the spirituous liquors, and the silks of France, which, by France's exclusion of their produce, they could no longer purchase.

AUSTRIA.—Precisely in the same way was the commerce of the southern provinces hampered by the system of Austria; the more injurious, as those provinces were shut out from the freer circulation that the proximity of the ocean gave to the north; still, across this region, facilities were afforded by the transit traffic to the provinces of Turkey, where, fortunately, no such system prevailed. Although the amount of goods which found their way thither bore but in a very small proportion to the sum of transactions in Germany,

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appears to have the advantage while England neither reflects or acts, the case will become wholly different when the deeds of Russia have brought England to reflect and act. Then it will be seen, as on two memorable occasions before, that England, by retaliating on others that *political* use of a Tariff, with which she is now menaced, may arouse all the nobles of Russia against the emperor, who, in the retaliation provoked by his political projects, has struck at the basis of their private fortunes. We have every reason to respect the judgment, and to believe in the calculations of Russia; and seeing Russia bent on an object, would lead us to anticipate the success of that object. But we see that Russia has under-rated the public interest which Europe can take in her designs; we see information spread abroad, that the most zealous enemy of Russia, only a year ago, would never have dreamt of. We therefore do hope that Russia has miscalculated the latent energy of England.

still was a circulation thus maintained, which produced a most healthful effect upon the whole commerce of Europe.

RUSSIA — Formerly not only allowed entire freedom to commerce, but encouraged commercial enterprise in every way; she has gradually gone on, first diminishing, then abolishing, privileges and immunities; then introducing restrictions and regulations, which, during the last few years, have succeeded each other with astonishing rapidity; progressively, but rapidly, increasing in severity, and injuring commerce not less by their direct pressure than by the disturbance of all commercial operations, the result of continual, unexpected, and arbitrary change.

Russia's tariff (which includes two hundred and ninety-one prohibitions) prohibits the entrance into her vast domains, of almost all the manufactures of the rest of the world; and while she has managed to obtain the monopoly of the supply of many raw materials, she admits in return little more than colonial produce, dye stuffs, and other materials necessary for her manufactures; and not having as yet spinneries equal to supply her extending consumption and exportation, she still admits a large quantity of English yarn. But before the Polish revolution, her tariff was restricted to the proper Russian frontier, established in 1815; also before the Polish revolution, it was much more lenient than it is now; since then, woollens and some other stuffs have been wholly prohibited, and the duties on all those which continue to be admitted, have been raised 12½ per cent. Not only, therefore, was the whole of Poland supplied from Germany, but a considerable supply was required by Russia herself; and a much larger amount was taken off by the facilities afforded by contraband trade.

The treaty of Vienna had established the right of transit throughout Europe, and the free navigation of the rivers. The particular treaties between the three co-partitioning powers of Poland, embodied in the acts of the Congress, had established perfect freedom of commercial circulation between the different provinces that formerly constituted that kingdom. All these circumstances combined to afford to Germany, on the north and east, extensive markets and regular demands,

which, independent of the positive benefits and profits thence accruing, maintained the commercial equilibrium on an extensive basis, so as to withdraw it from partial influences, and afford compensating chances against unfavourable accidents. There was another advantage which accrued to German commerce, from the freedom and facility thus afforded to it on the north and east, and that was the information, and the spirit of liberality which the German commercial manufacturing public acquired by this foreign connection; the merchants of Russia proper, of Poland, of the provinces of Turkey, of Georgia, of Persia, central Asia, and even China, were to be found at the fairs of Leipsic, of Frankfort-on-Oder, or at the eastern emporium of Nithny Novogorod, with which the German merchants were perfectly familiar, and though, for the supply of these countries, a large proportion of the manufactures of England were required, still, the German manufacturers thus obtained an immense advantage, by becoming acquainted with the tastes of these various countries, with the state of the markets, and, by the personal knowledge and confidence in the individual channels of each respective commerce. Thus, too, a spirit of liberality with respect to foreign nations was maintained, of which Russia was deservedly the object. It was impossible for them not to contrast, with the facilities afforded to them in the territories under Russian influence, the harsh and exclusive regulations of every other European power; and this, amongst many others, must be set down as one cause of the preponderance of Russia throughout Germany.

But the revolution of Poland takes place. Poland, through which all these extensive relations were maintained, is subjected to the tariff of Russia*. Her own demand is cut off, the

* "The Leipzic and Frankfort fairs, in former times, were the medium of disposing of immense quantities of British produce to the merchants that came through Russia and Poland from Asia. These merchants supplied the back part of China, and particularly, they bartered at the fair of Mackariefe, now called Nithny Novogorod. The Russians, by prohibiting the trade in English articles, have excluded them from the merchants from Persia, and other countries in Asia; she also has prohibited their passage through the country. The Greek merchants formerly came to the above-mentioned fairs, and supplied the Turks; but now the Russians have taken (although they promised our

demands from the north, east, and south, through her, cease. Russia has rounded her territories, she has the command of central Europe—she has relieved herself from the obligations of the treaty of Vienna—she ceases to be under the necessity of conciliating, as she did before. While she contracts her commercial frontier, she increases her commercial defences; pushes restriction in her own territory to the utmost verge, destroys transit trade where she rules, and exercises the influence she possesses elsewhere, to intercept the commercial intercourse of other states.

Germany, exasperated before by the commercial restrictiveness of England, France, and Austria, is now equally exasperated against Russia; and that exasperation Russia turns to account by leading Germany into the system of Prussia, a step which could not have peaceably been taken, but for the excitement of the public mind, at seeing all nations declare commercial warfare against them, and by the public fallacy that led them to conceive that they ought to retaliate, by combining, to declare commercial warfare against all others.

Still, all these means and inducements might not have been sufficient to bring the small states of Germany to join in the Prussian system. The Prussian system has not been discussed in this country; or rather, the discussion of which it has been the object, has tended to mislead. We have become familiarised with the fact, without appreciating its

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government that they would not augment their territory) a large part of Turkey; and the immense countries of Wallachia and Moldavia being under the control of Russia, the inhabitants are no longer consumers of our produce. Had Poland been re-established, we should have had a free passage for our goods to Asia, as the Polish frontiers extended from the Baltic down to the Black Sea. Russian merchants formerly attended the fairs of Leipzic and Frankfort, and this is the reason the German trade is considered by our merchants as not being of any more value, for at least from sixty to eighty millions of consumers are thus excluded from us. Besides, had Poland been re-established, Russia herself would not dare to have treated our trade in the manner she has. We purchase, according to the last returns of our custom-house, from Russia, to the amount of five millions sterling, annually, whereas she does not purchase quite two millions and a half from us, and even that is chiefly colonial produce and cotton twist, whereof we have only the carriage, or a trifling part of the manufacture. On the contrary, all we purchase from them is the produce of the soil, or bar-iron: we, consequently, are obliged to send the difference, namely, upwards of two millions and a half sterling, in hard cash."—*Birmingham Journal, March 30th*, 1833.

decisive character, the labour necessary to bring it about, or the facility with which, at that time, it might have been counteracted. When first mooted, it was considered in Germany as tantamount to an invasion by arms; it would have been resisted as such, had not words been used instead of bayonets. It now is tantamount to a conquest by arms, and more important, perhaps, to Prussia, than if arms had been the means she used. It is, therefore, well worth the sacrifice of three millions of thalers, which the first year has cost her.

Prussia had gained to herself a name for liberality among the nations of the earth; her administration was decidedly the most perfect among the centralised systems; she disencumbered her land and her labourerers of feudal prerogatives; she had struck a beautiful coinage; established systematic weights and measures; made good roads, and collected the younger portion of her population in schools; she had formed, in fact, a system, which would look the prettiest and most attractive from without; and which, governing, as well as she possibly could do, took away even the chances of self-government, and therefore of nationality. Such are the abuses of a central authority. Add to this, the military conscription, which, by compelling every youth of Prussia into three years' service, unsettles his mind for the duties of his station; takes from his mechanical life those first years of apprenticeship and instruction, and leaves him afterwards with all the feelings of a soldier—want of thought and confidence in himself, and subserviency to the mandates of authority.

The aristocracy of Prussia had been levelled before the sweeping reforms of her scientific administration; but that body was replaced by no intermediate estate, possessed of political influence or privileges. The nation, freed from vexations of almost all kinds, and left with little cause of complaint, scarcely felt the want of local protection, because the control of the government agents was perfect; but it is weighed down by grinding taxation—by an insupportable military establishment—and the capital accumulated by industry generally finds its way into government securities. The tendency of the whole system, is to divert men's minds from politics, and to render them subservient, not by fear, but by inclination, to the despotic sway under which they are placed. The object of the system, is to

combine as much intelligence and efficiency as are safe and practicable with the principle of passive obedience. The march of the administration of Prussia is not to guard the nation—but the dynasty against the consequences of the caprice of a future tyrant.

Such is the use to which the schools have been applied—they elevate the character of the mass of the people, and give them that turn of mind and submissiveness which the Government seeks to inculcate. By the word instruction *we* are impressed with the idea of citizenship, of independence of character and of mind; but that word is as various in the idea it conveys, as "Man," "Government," or "Thought." Instruction and education are very generally diffused in China. In Saxony, the country the most advanced in Europe, a Jew is a proscribed being; he cannot even reside in the city where the greatest number of books in the world are published—Leipsic. In Persia, which certainly would not be taken as a model of government, education is more advanced even than in Prussia. Is it not by "instruction" that every fanaticism in religion, every despotism in politics, is established? Were the inquisitors not instructed? Are the tools of despots, their troops, not instructed? Is it, therefore, "instruction" (reading and writing, among other things), that renders a nation free and independent, or base and enslaved, as that instrument is used? How idle is it, then, to suppose that Prussia must achieve independence, because she has innumerable schools to inculcate submission; yet to fortify that species of nationality which is contempt or hatred of others, the Government employs the pride of knowledge; the Prussians are taught to despise and look down on all other countries. When to this is added the diversity of the populations of which Prussia is made up—French, Sclavonic, and Germans, we may perceive how precarious is the existence of this state; and we may shrewdly guess the causes which have led it to make these extraordinary experiments in government. Prussia stands proud and erect; but her height is not that of a solid construction; beneath there is a hollow arch, which stands by the keystone alone, and the keystone here is of very fragile materials*.

* "Prussia may be taken as an example of nearly every defect that can attach to a state of her importance. Touching both France and Russia with her

But now how natural seems the policy of Russia—she raises up Prussia*, a power at that period reduced almost exclusively to her Sclavonic population, to such a height as to be the rival, and therefore the antagonist of Austria; she thus gives her at once a voice, and a casting voice, in the congress of Vienna; she makes use of her as *an independent agent* in all the diplomatic negociations of the last twenty years, and all this while her liberalism, her power, and activity, are directed for the furtherance of a scheme, now realised, to put the small German states in the position of the remainder of the Prussian population, that is to say, under the legitimate control of a government and a dynasty subject to Russia, and therefore in the impossibility of entering a French or Austrian coalition; increasing the power and influence of Prussia, to be used for the furtherance of the views of Russia; augmenting her armies, which may be used for the same ends; and finally, leaving a people, among whom opposition to France and England has been systematised, among whom their local feeling of nationality has been abolished, to be gradually sunk by administrative means, backed by the bayonets of Russia, to that level which seems to have been fixed upon as most conducive to the *real* happiness of mankind.

It would be too tedious to enter into the process stealthily employed by Prussia for twenty years, to bring about this commercial union. During that period of time she has been laboriously employed upon it—gaining all confidences—smoothing all difficulties—using all means. Most careful has she been

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frontiers, she rests on no natural outline towards the south, and is only in part backed by the sea on the north; and that, perhaps (from other causes), is the least secure portion of her dominions. All that she possesses beyond the Rhine and the Oder, is held by that frailest of tenures—the pleasure of her neighbours. What national feeling, what common spirit, can be supposed to animate the inhabitants of Treves Memel? What would it signify to the Duchy of Pozen, if Westphalia were invaded to-morrow?

"Let her beware of stretching her eagle wings over a French, or *a Sclavonic population*, lest they be clipped some day, and her lofty flight be turned into a downfall. Most states could preserve themselves by a defensive system, but Prussia requires an offensive war for her own security."—*Thoughts on Foreign Policy, p.* 7.

* It need not be repeated here, that at the congress of Vienna Prussia numbered but 5,000,000 souls, and Russia insisted, and carried her point by the menace of war, that Saxony and Denmark should be dismembered, to raise up Prussia to the rank of a first-rate power.

not to wound the most sensitive feelings of her confederates; she assumes for herself an equal voice only with the meanest of the states that have joined. She sacrifices her own manufactures, and she makes a heavy pecuniary loss to smooth down the first difficulties. But the moment that she feels a point secured, or opposition subdued, she loses nothing that laconic decision can obtain for her.

Saxony was the last state applied to, formally, to join the union. Saxony was to gain most by the scheme; she was the principal manufacturing state of Germany; she would thus almost have a monopoly of the supply of twenty-five millions of people; indeed, the superior advantages that were to accrue to Saxony, were a cause of jealousy and heart-burning to the other states. But the Saxons, though placed in the middle of Europe, at a distance from the sea and the markets, were the most advanced manufacturing people on the continent. For this superiority the only visible reason was, their emancipation from legislative protection or interference, and the enjoyment of freedom of commerce. Many in this country may question the relationship of cause and effect between these two statements; but somehow or other, in the countries where there is freedom of commerce there is a simplicity, an intelligence, and a uniformity of the public mind, that is not to be found elsewhere. So it was in Saxony. The Saxons, instead of being dazzled by the prospects of monopoly held out to them, simply, but universally, observed, "If new and fictitious markets are "opened, wages will rise—new capital will flow in—those "possessing standing machinery may make a momentary profit; "but the chances are that bankruptcy will follow. Look at "France," they said; "look at England, and compare our "healthy and unfluctuating industry with their's. Besides," they said, "we will lose our independence; we will be within "five years Prussians; and *when we are so, there will imme-* "*diately be a war between Prussia and Austria.*"

These objections we have listened to amid the Saxon Alps, and in the factories of Chemnitz. We did not know whether we were reminded most of the ideas of Norway or of Turkey. The ideas of a people intelligent through self-administration, and seeing clearly the advantages of buying and selling without the deceptive medium of commercial regulations, must be very much the same, whatever their name, creed, or latitude.

What were the words of remonstrance of the Saxon minister against the Prussian system we know not; but the answer of Prussia was, "Austria shuts you out; we shut you out, unless "you join our league; your intercourse must henceforth be "with the heaven, and not with the earth. Unless you accept "the terms which we now offer, you may afterwards beg for "terms which we will not grant."

What must not the strength of conviction and intention be of a system which has employed the means, and commanded the capacity necessary for accomplishing such a task, as that which Prussia has led so far towards its consummation—a system which, at one moment, is all blandness and suavity; at another, all vigour and decision; that condescends to treat with deference and respect, the minutest faction of the most insignificant state, and yet ventured, before the deed was done, to use the threatening, if not insulting language to Saxony, which we have just quoted. The fact is, all the German states must of necessity come under her control, or fall in to Austria or France. There remains no room for the formation of an intermediary system. The Hanseatic Towns have, for centuries, maintained that commercial circulation, the benefits of which made them be regarded with respect and veneration. Their office is now defunct. Men and nations no longer regard as a benefactor, the hand that supplies them with the produce of distant soils; he no longer is meritorious who overcomes the obstacles presented by nature, the accidents of war or peace, or of narrow-minded legislation; it is no longer an object to overcome these difficulties; he that overcomes them, is a contravener of the laws—a traitor to his country. The free Hanseatic Towns, therefore, which could have maintained, if any could, an intermediate position, may be considered as ruined, by the arrestation of that intercourse, the maintenance of which was the sole cause of their prosperity—indeed, of their existence.

Their actual resistance to the league will only impoverish them more rapidly—they must join it, and become its ports; and even if the general direction of commerce did not necessitate this change, they would be led to it, by the destruction of the principal branch of their local industry, the refined sugar, they have so long been enriched by supplying to Germany, being now excluded.

Is it to be expected that Hanover, Holland, Belgium, and

Switzerland, could form a counter-league? It would be mere waste of words, to endeavour to show that the thing is impracticable; and, if practicable, that it would be useless. Within the sphere of possibility, there were but two ways, by which the extension of the Prussian system to the whole of Germany—to the whole of the states not French or Austrian, could be prevented, and that was—by the annexation to the Austrian customs of the states bordering on her frontier, to the French of those on the Rhine.

However little such objects might accord with the ancient policy of Great Britain, still do we conceive, considering that one and a new source of danger alone menaces Europe, that such a thing, if possible, would have been tantamount to the prevention of the accession of so much influence and power to that sole ambition which causes the embarrassments of Europe.

But the thing is impossible, the influence and credit of Austria have been receding in Germany gradually, but steadily. Her system of customs is intolerable; but above all, Austria is not possessed of that internal power which Russia alone, and under her auspices, Prussia possesses in the present age— *that of forming a design.* If such a thing had been possible, not only would Saxony never have been forced to join the league by a menace, but the league would never have existed at all. In the same way, with respect to France: an anti-French feeling has been growing east of the Rhine—an anti-revolutionary feeling amongst a great portion of the people and amongst the princes; and a spirit of animosity and hostility has been instilled into the whole mass of the Germans by the commercial intolerance and restrictions of France; so that no German state could have sought, or found, or ever could have dared to seek protection, or support commercially from France, against the Prussian system. Consequently, we see Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of its chambers, quietly acceding to the league, without even consulting France on the subject.

But among the states which have not been drawn in, but which necessarily must fall into the league, unless the peace of Europe is violently disturbed, there is Belgium, Catholic in its creed, and more or less French in its speech, its manners, habits, and feelings; may not this state be included in the French custom-

house system, or even be annexed to France? And what would England gain by the annexation of Belgium, or the subjugation of the Scheldt to the customs of France? Who amongst us would not dare the worst, to avert such a consummation as this? Yet how far more desirable is it than the other alternative—still, that other alternative is inevitable. It is true, the French nation is restless for its extension to the Rhine; but the causes that brought the French army back from Antwerp, will maintain, with the strictest watchfulness, the most inviolable frontier between the Belgian territory and the French. The King of the French and his family, and the majority of the Chamber of Deputies, are interested in forests, coal measures, iron mines, iron works, cotton mills, &c., the value of the whole of which would be sensibly diminished, if the barrier between the frontiers of Belgium and France were swept away; and therefore it is clear, under the existing order of things, that there is no chance for Belgium's escaping from the vortex of the Prussian system*.

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* The ink of this paragraph was positively not dry, when we took up the *Times* of the 12th September, and read as follows:—

"Brussels, September 9.—The question on the proposed law for imposing prohibitory duties on foreign cotton manufactures is still undecided.

In the report of the debate we have, "Let us oppose prohibition to prohibition,—it is evident we have nothing to expect from France, if we do not adopt prohibitory measures. *If France will not consent to a system of reciprocity, let us join the Prussian league.*

"The minister of the interior *allowed that it was necessary* to modify the Tariff, in order to prevent the importation of foreign cottons.

"The minister of Finance did not entirely approve the measure proposed, and *in fact remained neuter.*" Are such things credible? "The minister of foreign affairs stated, that he had received a note from the Prussian Government of the same tenor as the notes from France and Switzerland." That is, an interchange of threats.

"Of these goods, England may be supposed to supply at least 25 millions, or about one million sterling; it consequently is against her, that the proposed Tariff is principally directed.

"The reporter supported his general arguments *by recurring to the prohibitive system so long in vigour in England.*"

Running along the line, to the next column but one in the same paper, the eye comes upon—

"It appears that the ministry have some idea of prohibiting the importation into the Castiles of the manufactures of this province (Aragon). Should they adopt this measure, the people here will at once proclaim their independence." Where will this madness cease?

Again we have Copenhagen, 5th Sept.

"The commissioners appointed to draw up a new system of customs for Den-

Holland will be affected more or less by the same causes that affect the states similarly placed; as to her foreign traffic, she will be placed in the same position as the Hanseatic towns. Her predilections are already with the framers of the league, she is the second subject of the great northern potentate, and the advantages or necessities of such a connection are rendered ten fold greater by her separation from Belgium.

The breasts of the mountaineers of Switzerland can oppose no resistance to custom-house invasion—the Alps can afford no protection against custom-house blockades. The industry which had fled from the despotic commercial atmosphere of Austria and Prussia, and especially of France—the arts and the workmen of Lyons, which had found refuge from fiscal persecution among her free-born mountains, have transplanted thither an industrial prosperity, which has grown with surprising rapidity, which, instead of awakening in her neighbours a sense of honourable competition, has inspired them but with ignoble cupidity, and the vindictive desire of crushing a well-being, which they affect to consider filched from themselves.

By this prosperity has Switzerland been rendered dependent on foreign markets, and consequently on the regulations of foreign custom-houses; hitherto her sole legitimate, and therefore important exportation, was to Germany. "Will Switz-"erland also be brought into the league?" If, four years ago, it had been asked, "will Germany be brought into the "league?" what would have been the answer?

If the present progression is allowed to go on—if the projects, whatever they may be, of the two northern powers, are not thwarted—if peace continues—we do anticipate the junction of all these states, in a few years, to the Prussian commercial league; but then it is to be borne in mind, that whatever comes to *retard* the consummation, frustrates the calculation, and may lead to its total failure. Yet these

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mark, have completed their labours. The chief object of the law is to abolish all the existing privileges and exemptions of certain districts and persons, but for which an indemnity will be given."—*English Paper, Sept.* 12.

This means, that restrictions being but partially introduced before, they must now be equalised; and Holstein, like the Basque provinces, must, in the name of liberality, and as the result of legal liberty, be deprived of their commercial immunities!

political considerations are only of a secondary importance; the first and important point is *the investigation of the question.* If it appears, and if it can be satisfactorily proved, as we think it can, that this system will lead to an immediate, and great, and dangerous development of the power of Prussia; that it is designed by Russia for the purpose, in many direct and indirect ways, of subjugating the whole of Germany to herself; — if it can be proved that the system itself will be most ruinous in its not very remote consequences, that the moment it has succeeded in uniting Germany in one, it will cause it to be broken violently asunder; —if these projects can be established, and the proof of them brought home to those whose co-operation in this scheme, or submission, or indifference, have hitherto assisted its progress, we think that much will have been effected towards frustrating the designs of the two courts. But many and various are the denominations of those to whom these convictions must be brought home, before such results can be expected from them: first, as most interested, the German public; then Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland; the public and government of France; the public and government of England.

At midnight, on the 1st of January, 1834, the internal barriers between sixteen states were knocked down; we were present at one of those festal assemblages, for such they were, within a few miles of Leipsic, and in witness ingthe enthusiasm and vehement expression of their hopes, we reflected with a deep feeling of melancholy on the convulsions that might take place, or the civil blood that might flow, before Germany could be brought back to that simple state of mind and institution, from which it now, in the fulness of conviction and of hope, had taken its departure. Nor was this all, a darker picture presented itself from without, than any internal troubles could offer—the various, the comprehensive means of progress resorted to by Russia, and the consequences to Europe and the world.

Sixteen states were thus added to the Prussian system, and agglomerated around her disjointed and unconnected territory. Hanover*, Mecklenburg, and Brunswick, still deeply indenting

* Hanover has recently concluded a commercial treaty with Brunswick, which makes provision for the event of one or both joining the Prussian League in 1841, or previously.

the new system; since then Baden and Nassau have joined; Frankfort-on-Maine, if it has not joined, is on the point of doing so; and the necessity of junction is becoming to the other states daily more apparent.

The league actually consists of

	Population.
Prussia	13,250,000
Bavaria	4,300,000
Wurtemburg	1,700,000
Saxony, (Kingdom)	1,600,000
Do (Ducal Government)	700,000
Baden	1,300,000
*Nassau	375,000
Hesse Cassel	700,000
Hesse Darmstadt	770,000
Frankfort on Maine	55,000
Other small States	600,000
Total	25,350,000

Extending to 8,200 German square miles.

The salient principle of the union is a collection, on the frontiers of the federation, of customs upon foreign produce of all kinds, which amount Prussia distributes to the minor states, according to a scale concerted in common, and which fixes a certain sum for each, each state receiving its quota according to its population. This is the important and decisive feature of the system; and to understand the system aright, it is absolutely necessary to separate this feature from the details and the items of the Tariff itself, on which alone our attention has in this country been fixed, because we imagine ourselves more parti-

* We were premature, it seems, in including Nassau:—

"*Nassau, Aug.* 27.—We are now on the eve of our accession to the great commercial union and tariff. The convention is already concluded, but the conditions are not fully known. We learn, however, from an authentic source, that the share of the general produce of the customs, guaranteed to Nassau, is 300,000 florins per annum. With a very low tariff, the duties received hitherto on our frontiers may be estimated at 200,000 florins; so that our accession will give an addition of 100,000 florins per annum to our treasury. But then it is affirmed, and seems to follow, from the nature of the case, that the toll hitherto levied on account of the Duchy of Nassau, at Hochet-on-the-Maine, and which may be taken, at the lowest estimate, at 100,000 florins, will cease."—*Courier, Sept.* 12, 1835.

cularly affected by it. The importance of this principle can only be appreciated, and therefore the means by which Prussia obtained its adoption, by knowing that the small German states formerly raised but a small portion of the revenue from imposts on commerce. There were everywhere custom-houses, and custom-officers—there were almost in every state, monopolies, government enterprises, *régies;* but the expense of collection, and the waste and cost of administration, generally left but a slender profit to the Treasury.

We have a notable instance of that in Saxony, certainly one of the best administered, and where commerce was free, but where the government had burthened itself with several enterprises. The gross revenue exceeds nine millions of dollars —the net five millions. The direct taxes amount to nearly five millions, and the additional four millions of gross revenue produces but a quarter of a million to the state.

This change, therefore, assured to the princes their revenue without the trouble of collecting, and without the inconvenience of applying to turbulent chambers for their supplies. It might be thought that the chambers would have resisted to the death this fatal blow at their national independence; but no! the members were landed proprietors, or manufacturers; to the first was pointed out *that taxes were now to be taken off the land, and laid upon commerce;* to the second, that domestic, that national, that *their* produce was to take the place of foreign manufactures. Did there happen to be a merchant in any of those assemblies, a rare instance, or even out of doors, he was told that his narrow, his selfish, his barter, his English views, were not to be put in opposition with public, with national, with philanthropic interest, nor his foreign predilections to interfere with the sacred prerogative of father-land.

This last consideration, after all, was perhaps the most powerful of the arguments which Prussia had to use; and powerful it must indeed have been, when we consider the Herculean nature of the task; not merely the conquest in peace of such states as Wurtemberg, Saxony, Bavaria, but the placing of them in permanent hostility to Engand, France, and Austria.

This consideration, the transfer of *taxation from land to*

commerce, to which we are principally inclined to attribute the success of Prussia, we have not put forward before, from the apprehension of handling inefficiently, or introducing inappropriately, a principle which has modified so essentially all the political systems of Europe, and which appears to us to be the foundation of the errors and complications of modern times—to have been the cause of financial embarrassments, and all their consequences—of moral degradation among the people, of internal convulsion and external warfare—and which now, by the inextricable confusion that has been the result, threatens to make one power, which has had the intelligence to use *against others* the commercial weapons they have used *against themselves*, the arbiter and the mistress of Europe, unless arrested by causes scarcely yet in action.

Prussia has always been treated as the advocate of liberty of commerce, she has been so as compared with Russia and Austria; she has made it her task to preach ever from that text; yet the following objects are alone free in her territories: —*manure, ox blood, and any object, of whatever substance or nature, if under the weight of two ounces.*

The tariff of the new Prussian system is not a tariff formed to meet the wants, or to suit the convenience of the different states. Prussia left no such door open to discussion; she made her own tariff the tariff of the union, which the other states were called upon to accept, not to discuss. Her own tariff, definitively settled in 1819, has all the air of liberality, and the simplicity of system.

No article is prohibited.

No duty is to exceed 10 per cent. ad valorem.

The amount of duty is so calculated, that the custom-house officers can estimate the amount to be paid by the weight of the merchandise.

This valuation to be subject to frequent revision, to maintain the just proportion between weight and value.

It is impossible to imagine a system simpler, or more comprehensive, than this; 10 per cent. is paid as the maximum, which certainly, in the present age, in Europe, cannot be considered illiberal. An ad valorem valuation, though the only one by which a government knows truly what it is about, is yet so annoying and perplexing, as to the mode of perception, that

the custom-house officers have the greatest aversion for it, and the honest dealer is sacrificed to the rogue. But here, while the government maintained its valuation at an ad valorem rate, a specific sum was demanded by the officer, which, to avoid the inconvenience and uncertainty usually attendant on the verification of this rate, was fixed by weight.

Now this is the Prussian system as it appears on paper, and such as it was in its first intention, and such is at present the system of collection. That 10 per cent. of Prussia has now, however, become 50 per cent., still is the Prussian system held up as a paragon of liberality. Words are power, and belief is capital to those who have projects. The Tariff was believed liberal, because she took pains to tell the world that it was so; besides, the collection being by weight, the feathers, furs, crapes, and laces, that interest the bondholders of the exchange of Berlin, weigh infinitely lighter than the serges, camlets, cottons, calicos, and razors, that interest the village fairs. Coarse cottons may pay 90 per cent., but nouveautés from Paris are charged but 6 per cent. The cause of this has been, that no revision has taken place; there has been no intermediate and controlling authority between the customs and the executive; and if the government did not care about augmenting the tariff itself, it was necessarily acted upon by the native manufacturers, in the sense of restrictions against the mass of importation, and by the capitalists in the sense of relaxation in favour of luxuries. Besides, since 1819, most articles have fallen one half, and many two thirds in price, which, of itself, is equal to doubling or tripling the duty.

Still this fall would not account for the difference of value in the lower qualities, the duty on which, in some instances, exceeds nine-fold the original impost of 10 per cent.*

We cannot just now stop to trace the effect of such a system uniformly brought to bear on such a diversity of habits, interests, and places, but this is evident, that a great mass of their

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* 110 rix dollars per quintal on silks, is equal on the different qualities to 6, 9, and 12 per cent.

50 rix dollars on half silk, is equal to from 20 to 25 per cent.

30 rix dollars on woollens, is equal to from 18 to 30 per cent.

50 rix dollars on cottons, is on various articles equal to from 30 to 90 per cent.

material interests have become, from that moment, subservient and subject to the authority from which that system has emanated. Existing interests will adapt themselves to this state of things; new interests will spring up under its protection, and therefore be solely dependent on it; it will gain strength and support, but that strength will not be the strength of union, it will be an antagonistic struggle of fictitious interests, supporting, and supported by, a central government, against the national prosperity. Thorn, Memel, Dantzic, and Frankfort, bear testimony to the capacity of Prussia for annihilating commerce by her vaunted liberality, when her system was but a gossamer's web to what it is to-day.

It will make Germany indeed one, but that unity, we fear, will be no less disastrous to the parts of which it is composed, than to the general interests of the European community of which it is a member.

It is needless to enter into elaborate argument, to show that the various states composing the union will pass, or have virtually passed, under the dominion of Prussia; from the moment that Prussia collects and distributes the revenue, she places herself, not in the position of a feudal sovereign, whose revenue was received from his vassals, but in the position of a proprietor who distributes the means of existence to his agents and dependants; she has withdrawn from the various states of Germany the only constitutional elements which they possessed, the control of the Diets over the expenditure, and their intervention in the collection of revenue.

Prussia's custom-house collectors*, her roads, weights, measures, and coins, extended throughout the twenty-five millions, now composing the union, will soon be followed by her laws, by state paper†, state loans, and finally by conscription; and even

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* It may be said that the collectors are not Prussians, but a Prussian inspector examines, and controls of course, each separate custom-house system. The Prussian inspector has not weight merely as the representative of the supreme government, but is regarded with a public confidence which singularly contrasts with the contempt in which the notoriously venal agents of the custom-houses are held. Each state, before transmitting its portion, reserves a portion for its expenses of frontier and collection.

† This has, indeed, already taken place.

" Prussian coin, as well as paper money, is now current throughout the countries within the league, *and many of the neighbouring states;* and when I

at this moment, were the peace of Europe to be disturbed, the federation would fly to arms at the bidding of Prussia, assemble under her banners, be paid by her from the common treasury, and obey her generals.

Such are the political results of this system; Germany methodically and permanently opposed to France, and Prussian Germany hostile already to Austria, raised to an equality of power, which soon must produce collision, and this at a moment when the last necessity exists for union against Russia, when Russia is pressing on with rapidity to the realisation of her gigantic designs, in all of which, and at every point, Prussia has showed herself a willing assistant and a useful instrument.

We shall now briefly advert to the merely commercial consequences to England, not confounding for a moment commercial circumstances, which are mere consequences, with political circumstances, which are causes.

The powers of production upon the continent have, during the last few years, been rapidly rising to a level with the productive powers of England. Roads and machinery, and steam engines, gave England the means of producing cheaper than the continent, while these advantages were exclusively her own, or while she had those advantages over and above the advantages which she possessed in common with other nations. The only reason why the manufactures of one country are preferred to those of another, is because they are cheaper, or better at the same price, which is the same thing; and the elements of the price of manufactures are, the cost of those things which men labour to supply themselves with—bread, meat, beer, wine, tobacco, coffee, sugar, &c. &c.

The cheapness or dearness, therefore, of these articles, directly influences the price of the manufacture produced by the people consuming them. The disadvantage of the dearness of those things in England has hitherto been compensated by the superiority of machinery, that is, the absence of machinery on the continent; but now that to their cheapness

was at Leipsic, during the wool fair, a premium was actually paid for the larger Prussian bank notes, for the facility of making payments. Such a thing had never taken place before."—*Commercial Letter.*

of labour they add improved machinery of their own, and improved machinery introduced from England, they must go on improving rapidly, supplanting England on the continent, article by article, and market by market, and afterwards carrying their competition to the remotest parts of the world, nay, even to our own island, and of this already we have a memorable example*.

Saxony, previous to her junction with the union, had arrived at supplying herself with half the amount of cotton twist necessary for her manufactures. Her spinneries had been kept in a backward state, in consequence of the large investments in spinning mills, which had been forced by the continental system. The machinery, such as was used in England in 1806, had there been kept up; they had gone on working at a loss, to prevent a greater loss, in daily expectation of a change, and thus prevented the introduction of better machinery and cheaper processes.

Latterly, however, better machinery had been imported, both from England and from Mülhausen; and as the manual part of the work (every thing, even machinery, resolves itself in the end into manual labour) can there be obtained at one-third of the cost of England, it is evident that the manufacturing progress of Saxony is not without a cause. England has now ceased to export to the German fairs the finer goods, in which the proportion of hand-labour is greater. It will, under such circumstances, be, therefore, no very difficult task for Prussia to exclude the bulk of the produce of England, so long as England thinks fit to raise, fictitiously, the price of bread, and to draw revenue from the necessaries of the manufacturing population.

No doubt the Prussian system will hasten that consummation, by prematurely pressing on an exportation of from ten to thirteen millions.

These are considerations which ought to have been well weighed, long before now. They cannot longer be neglected; and the Prussian system, if it awakens England to a

* The regular increase of our exportation does not affect this position. The simplification of our tariff during the last five years (an application to England of the general position), and the increasing demand of India, China, Turkey, France, and America, account for this. The maintenance of our *relative* position required a larger increase.

sense of her power, her resources, and her errors, will prove a blessing to this country, rather than a misfortune.

It is idle for our rhetoricians to laugh at commercial systems and commercial exclusions. It is ignorance, to assert that the custom-house officers of Prussia are not a hostile array against the prosperity of England; it is ridiculous to suppose that smuggling can restore the commercial balance you have permitted to be subverted; all these things involve at least a charge, and that charge, even allowing it to be infinitely small, will suffice to exclude the bulk of the commerce of England from Germany, while you continue to augment the price of every article you export, in a way that renders you unconscious of the evil you inflict on yourselves*.

The duty of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. at Hamburgh jeoparded a few years ago its commercial existence; extensive magazines rose at Altona, and commerce might have fled from the chief of the Hanseatic towns. To avert the peril, a General Assembly was held, and the prosperity of Hamburgh was preserved by reducing the tax to $\frac{5}{8}$, which, from the mode of payment, was still further reduced to $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. May this be a lesson to England.

Will not, then, the Prussian duty of 10 per cent., supposing it were no more, tell most fearfully towards that augmentation of price which deprives one nation of the power of supplying another; the charges of smuggling can scarcely be less than 10 per cent.; indeed, if the tariff is no higher, there is no inducement held out to the smuggler at all; if the tariff is raised, and the smuggler does come in, it is but an increase of disadvantage.

But Prussia's tariff, we have already shown, is higher, and that it will go on increasing in restrictiveness can be doubted by no one who has paid the slighest attention to the history of

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* Venice, it is true, raised her revenue almost entirely from commerce. England, like Venice, had greater facilities of production than the rest of the world (otherwise she would not export); but the two countries managed their affairs differently. Venice taxed her exports—England taxes her imports. The former charged on her sales the profit she saw she could make; the latter puts a gaoler at the door, to clip an inch from each yard of her workmen's clothes, an ounce from every pound of their victuals, and makes them pay beforehand for permission to work for their wages. Her *goods may still be cheap.* If they are, it is not her financial intelligence she has to thank.

commercial legislation. Restriction begets restriction, as the sparks fly upwards; illiberality once converted into system, flows onward, as a descending stream. Individual misfortunes, internal convulsion, public calamity, national warfare, have scarcely sufficed to open men's eyes to the viciousness of the system, and this sad experience has done little or nothing for its correction in those countries where it has unhappily existed. Of this we have a notable instance in Prussia herself; compare her tariff in 1819 and in 1834; and although no new law has been made, and no visible change effected, still have her duties in fact increased five fold.

The decrease, however, of the exportation from England will not be immediate, for two very sensible reasons; the states, before joining the league, will provide themselves with large stores of English manufactures, and the means of supply on the continent not being adequate to meet the new demand opened to them, a rise in the level of price will ensue, which, for a time, will permit the importation of English goods, and permit England to adapt her system to the new necessities of the times. Besides these, the connections at present existing between the continent and England, will go on, as is usual in such cases, even at a sacrifice.

But it is not our direct commerce to Germany alone, important as that may be, which is the only loss that England will incur. Vast as is the circle through which commerce revolves, still all its parts are intimately and sensitively connected; if one suffers, all are affected. Thus the sugar which we will not admit, imported into Germany, enables the Brazils to purchase our cottons; the export of our cottons to the Brazils causes the sugar and coffee for Germany to be shipped to England; the re-shipment to Germany facilitates the importations from Germany, and our general traffic; and the combination of those various branches in the Thames, facilitates our means of supplying, at once, Brazils and America; and gives our commerce the elasticity which numerous markets, and fields, alone can give, and ensures to our shipping regular and connected employment.

A diminution, therefore, of our exports to Germany, and of our commercial relations with that country, leads to a direct intercourse between America and Germany. The commercial

intervention, and the shipping of England, will gradually be set aside; and that direct intercourse, combined with the gradual cheapening of the manufactures of Germany, will exclude England from the supply of the Brazils and the United States*.

These are no visionary fears. The cotton stuffs of Saxony, and the woollens of Thuringia, have already found their way across the Atlantic. Twist has been sent through English houses to Calcutta, and woollens to Canton.

The following extract from a commercial report is worthy of the deepest attention, it proceeds from one of the highest authorities on these matters, and we offer it without comment.

"Many manufactories have been established in Prussia within the last ten or twelve years, and they are daily increasing and improving, and particularly since the introduction of the new system. Several cotton mills have been erected within the last year, and a considerable sum has been invested by individuals in factories.

"In Saxony the stocking manufactories have greatly increased, and considerable exports have been made to Great Britain, where, although subject to a duty of 20 per cent., *they can still come in competition with our manufacture.*

"In Russia a wonderful progress has lately been made in manufacturing cotton goods, such as cambrics, calicos; also, fustians, and coarse woollen cloths. All imports of those articles are prohibited. The quality is very good; some persons say equal to English manufacture; and those establishments are under the immediate patronage of the emperor. All the machinery for the manufactories of Prussia and Russia is obtained from England; and there is little doubt that, if they go on improving, the importation of twist from England, which is now permitted, will also be prohibited."

Still, in the Prussian system, there is one saving clause for England, and it is this:—that by its duties on colonial produce, it tends to increase the cost of production. Hitherto the Saxon

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* We could quote numerous instances to illustrate the collateral advantages flowing from a direct traffic—advantages which England, at present, doubly enjoys in its relations with America and with Germany. One instance may, however, suffice.—The accidental demand of salt meat at Bordeaux for Demerara, which for many years was supplied from Cork, led to the annual importation of 5000 tons of French wines into Ireland, while England only imported 400 tons.—BOWRING'S *Report on Commercial Relations of England and France*, p. 170.

This fortuitous establishment, of a direct intercourse between Bordeaux and Cork, has led to the national preference of Ireland for the wines of France, maintained for a long period an enormous traffic, notwithstanding the poverty of Ireland, the difference of cost price, and the destruction of the commerce in French wines, throughout the remainder of Great Britain, by the Treaty of Methuen.

manufacturing population consumed a much larger quantity of sugar, coffee, and tobacco, than any other population, in proportion to its numbers; not a cottage was to be found without these luxuries; and the cheapness and abundance of these home-comforts, not only promoted economy in the manufactures, but also domestic comfort and morality. The inducements to labour were placed within their reach, and not only the means of existence, but of gratification, were secured at a considerable less cost than the merest necessaries of existence, to the comparatively demoralised, and therefore comparatively less productive operative (with equal skill) of Prussia, France, and England. Those luxuries will now be expelled from the Saxon cottage, or the Saxon artisan must receive an infinitely higher remuneration for his labour—a remuneration not only equivalent to the amount raised by the government on tea, sugar, coffee, and tobacco, but also to the increased charges of traffic, in all its ramifications, resulting from the larger capital required in the transfer of those articles from the outport to the village shop.

The following circumstance will, perhaps, render our meaning more intelligible. On crossing the Erz-Wald mountains from Saxony to Bohemia, we, unexpectedly, came upon very extensive cotton mills. After some difficulty we were permitted to visit them. One body of the building had been completed, another was in progress, and filled with workmen erecting the machinery—the manager of the enterprise had spent several years in Manchester—the machinery was of the most perfect and recent construction, chiefly made upon the spot, under the direction of two workmen from Mülhausen, from whence, also, the finer parts of the machinery had been brought. The spinners were Saxons—their wages averaging one-third of those of England; and cotton twist, No. 40, was produced, according to the best calculation we could make, at a cost less than that of Manchester by rather less than 1½*d.* ℔ lb.—that is to say, at three-fourths of the cost of spinning at Manchester.

On inquiry into the causes of this very alarming fact, we found them to be as follows:—It being impossible for Austria to protect this mountain frontier, all the imported necessaries of the workmen arriving on the frontier, duty free, are smug-

gled in at scarcely any cost—they are, therefore, cheaper than even in Saxony; because, in Saxony, a duty exceedingly light it is true, but still a duty, is paid, and, in addition to this, in the towns where the manufactories are chiefly collected, a municipal impost is again levied. In Bohemia, agricultural produce, from the nature of the country, is cheaper than in Saxony. The Saxon workmen, superior in intelligence, dexterity, and morality, to the Bohemians, having been induced to emigrate into this frontier district, have brought these personal advantages with them, enjoy the abundance of agricultural produce of Austria, and are not deprived by the inefficiency of the Austrian customs of the colonial abundance of Saxony. Nor is this all; the spinning and other machinery of Saxony, as above stated, is antiquated. These new establishments combine with these advantages the latest progress of machinery.

This spot (Rothen Hause) we visited immediately before the establishment of the Prussian system, and these considerations we pointed out to the director of the establishment as the causes of its prosperity, and observed to him that the Prussian system must bring ruin to it, because smuggling would cease, and the price of all those objects introduced from Saxony would, in that country itself, be doubled or trebled,—"That "is," he answered, "precisely what we anticipate; but then," continued he, "English manufactures will no longer be smug- "gled in. We at present sell none of our yarn in the neigh- "bourhood, because we get a better price for it at Vienna; "where we should get still a much better price, if English "yarn was more effectually excluded, and if Saxon yarn was "somewhat raised in price, *which must be the result of the* "*Prussian system.*"

Having more than once alluded to the effect of the importation of English machinery in facilitating the means of production on the continent, we think it necessary, most distinctly, to state our conviction that no restrictions on the exportation of machinery can prevent this progression. On the contrary, the long continuance of such restrictions haveacted most injuriously on our prosperity. By facilitating the exportation of machinery, we allow more easily the substitution at home of new machinery for old; and by restricting its exportation, we raise up rival manufactories of machinery abroad, injuring ourselves in two ways,

and forcing our rivals at once to make greater strides, and to dispense with our supply. Germany was progressing to an equality of manufacturing capacity with England; the moment she rose to our level, it was no longer the mere supply of Germany, important as it is, that we should have lost; it was her competition that we should have had to sustain throughout the world, where no privilege is now reserved for England. The Prussian system, while it places in jeopardy our traffic with Germany, will prevent Germany from competing with us throughout the world. For the present, the loss on one side may be nearly balanced by the prevention of their diminished competition with us elsewhere. But this will be contingent on two considerations: the first regards our own commercial policy; the second, investments of capital in machinery in Germany.

Our own commercial policy, as we have shown, is the root of the whole evil; and most fortunately it is so, as we have the ready and easy means of correction—ready, we say, and easy —because our revenue is increasing, and our expenditure diminishing. We have our commercial restrictions alone to blame for the commercial restrictions in France, which have rendered useless to us the first nation on the face of the earth, and our next-door neighbours, which have neutralised the chief advantages of that great continent within sight of our shores, overflowing with so many things which we require, and requiring so many things in which we abound. Our commercial restrictions are alone to blame for the tariff of America, which internal circumstances have now at length forced her to modify. Our corn laws and our timber laws have to bear, exclusively, the blame of the Prussian system, and all its yet undeveloped consequences. Yet these are but the collateral effects of a system, the first and direct evils of which have told at once at home. We have sought to check the growth of the Prussian system by petty expedients and useless opposition, and fighting hopelessly against adverse circumstances, though self-produced — we have neglected to take advantage of the favouring and spontaneous circumstances which have continued so long undeservedly to present themselves in our career. Unless at present we can simplify and cheapen, unless we can combine with the facilities of production which we possess, cheapness of the cost of the necessaries of life possessed by other countries, we must

gradually descend from our actual manufacturing position, if neither France, Austria, Prussia, or Russia, met our produce with duties or prohibitions; indeed, we may rather thank those foreign restrictions by which alone foreign competition has not been already fatal.

But even this invigorating change would scarcely suffice to maintain our manufacturing superiority, if in Germany new machinery were extensively introduced: its introduction is contingent on the application of capital to that purpose. This consideration, therefore, is one of vital importance to England; it resolves itself into two questions; the first regards the application of existing capital in Germany; the second, the introduction of English capital into Germany.

Capital has not been applied in Germany, and more especially in Prussia, to industrial enterprises to the same degree that the profits thence accruing might have warranted the supposition, because it has been the policy of the government, for political objects, to direct the wealth of the country into channels which placed it more within its own control, *viz.*—government securities and loans. The small town of Berlin holds an amount of various government loans, second only to London and Paris. Russia, in its own name, and in that of Poland, is debtor to Prussia to an incredible extent. Prussia holds even of Spanish bonds to the amount of 5,000,000 dollars. But a far more important consideration than this, has been the insecurity of the political relations of Europe, and the dread of war.

This it is which has assisted the views of these governments. This it is which has inspired capitalists in the country, which must be the arena of every European struggle, with a dread of fixed investments. Not only has war given to England the command of the seas, and of the commerce of the world, but the dread of war during twenty years of peace, has been the chief prop of her manufacturing superiority. And while England sacrifices every political advantage, and encourages every hostile design, by the terror she avows for that word "war," she knows not that under her own actual system of finance, confidence in the prolongation of peace would be the sacrifice of her external prosperity.

That confidence in the prolongation of peace would not only lead to the investment of foreign capital in manufacturing enter-

prises, but would scatter the enormous superabundance of the capital of England to raise in every part of the continent not only rival manufactories, but rival shipping—that is to say, would hasten the transfer of English capital to the continent, for those ends; a transfer which has already commenced, and which is now proceeding to an alarming extent. We refer to the evidence taken before the Committee of Shipping and Manufactures. We could supply other instances, from our own experience, but reserve this branch of the subject for discussion in a subsequent number.

Fortunate, perhaps, has it been for England, that the wild speculations of 1825, and the seventeen millions sacrificed in South America, have relieved her of some of that superfluity of wealth which, if not thus uselessly lost, might have been noxiously employed in increasing the powers of production of rival manufactures, or in supplying means to the northern powers, which would have hastened the consummation of their hostile designs.

Such are the circumstances under which the continental system is again to spring to life.

"The revolutionary spirit against the commercial despotism of England has acquired such strength by means of this German confederacy, that a successful resistance is now as impossible as it would be inexpedient.

"Year after year, some of the markets of Europe, and of America, will be successively closed against the produce of her industry.

"New worlds cannot again be called into existence; and of the trade of vast and distant countries, which is exclusively enjoyed by England, a large portion will be found to be dependent on our friendly relations with our nearest neighbour on the continent of Europe.

"The fatal depression produced by the operation of the continental system is still in the lively recollection of England. Colonial and American produce, the return for our manufactures, became absolutely without value; nor is it forgotten that in these unpropitious years, the only advantageous outlet to the redundant produce of our colonies and manufacturing industry, was to be found in the precarious contraband trade with the continent. The rough and brutal system of Napoleon has given England a practical lesson on the one side, of her dependence on the market of Europe, for the prosperity of her trade; on the other side, of the impossibility of forming any system, either continental or insular, which is at variance with the interests and feelings of mankind.

"The same feelings which roused the continent to evade, and at length put an end to the system of Napoleon, will now, under altered circumstances, unite her in opposition to the principles of England, by which she conceives herself to be aggrieved*."

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* "Remarks on the averages of Hamburg, and on the commercial policy of Great Britain towards Russia and other northern states," p. 50.

The author of the able pamphlet, from which this extract is taken, was seated at Hamburg, and saw merely the German side of the question; what would he have said had he combined the German with the Russian — the commercial with the political—the eastern with the western question? If he had anticipated the opening of a direct trade with India, through the Turkish dominions; if he had known that in Turkey free trade did exist; that that free trade which *had* frustrated the continental system of Napoleon, and that opposes the commercial schemes of Prussia and Russia, now was placed in jeopardy by the dangers of Turkey, and must be extinguished by the predominance of Russia over the Porte?

If the Prussian federation alone (supposing it undertaken in opposition to Russia) furnished him such grounds for alarm, what would he have said of the occupation of the Dardanelles by Russia? But, possessor of Constantinople, Russia's means of influence, of menace, of action, are brought home, with indubitable success, to Italy, Piedmont, and all the Levant, even if our influence in Spain prevails. Now, how will this political influence affect our commerce? France, our political friend, is our *commercial* foe; and the Dardanelles once closed against us, we do not see what spot of Europe but the precarious Peninsula, exporting Belgium, and Sweden, and Denmark, our decreasing customers to the amount of 500,000*l.*, may not be combined very soon against us. A combination which interests us, in exportation and importation, to the amount of 30,000,000*l.* per annum.

On reviewing this question, there is one point which affords us satisfaction, and supplies us with hopes. If Russia, in annexing new conquests to her dominions, threw open their harbours to traffic, encouraged emigrants, conciliated merchants, and favoured agriculture, not a voice would have been raised against her aggrandisement; and if the governments of England or France, jealous of her political power, had had energy enough to endeavour to keep her within bounds, they would have been assailed with the indignant reproaches of popular philanthropists. She might thus have gone on, from progress to progress, hailed by the enemy, whose positions she was turning, disguising the use to which she destined them, until they were wholly in her possession. Is it not then some

consolation, to think that she shows her true colours, and unmasks her real designs? Look at the facts!

The transit trade of Georgia has been cut off. The opening prospects of traffic with the eastern coast of the Black Sea have been cut off. Poland has been annexed to her empire and commercial regulations—its commerce is cut off. The Prussian system extends to twenty-five millions of our best customers. We *may* find new worlds and new markets; and supposing we *do*, is that a reason for neglecting the old? But these commercial schemes have hitherto been counteracted, and still are so, by the free trade system of Turkey, our dumb and neglected ally. A road through Turkey was opened for English manufactures into Austria and Russia—it is so still; a road through Turkey gives passage to the transit trade arrested in Georgia; the communications of the Black Sea paralyse the restrictions of Russia and Russian Europe. What will those restrictions become, when those straits, that territory, are her's, and when she no longer requires to wear the mask of moderation?

If it be asked, in the real spirit of conviction, and of useful apprehension, "What *now* is to be done?" we answer, "Take up a position, without an instant's loss, against your political foe, and diminish, with the least possible delay, the burthens that press at home on the sources of production." Russia's progress—Prussia's system, must very soon withdraw England from that state of mental decay—indifference; the danger and recompense are both before her—both of sufficient magnitude to awaken all her energies; and the first so certain, as to lead assuredly to the second.

Article IV.

A Report of the Proceedings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.—London: 1833, 1834, 1835.

The present age is eminently distinguished from all preceding times by the rapid progress of the mental character of human society. Numerous indications of this are presented in the social phenomena of every civilised nation in the world. But among these signs of advancement,

there are few so striking as the circumstances attending those annual congresses of men, who have devoted their lives to the cultivation of science, which have recently been established in various parts of Europe. The universal interest, with which these assemblies have been regarded—the influence they have, in many cases, exerted upon the whole surrounding community, and the weight and importance, which have been attached to them by political governments, prove that Bacon's barren aphorism, that "Knowledge is "Power," has become a practical truth.

It is remarkable, that the position, in which these scientific senates, so to speak, commenced, was precisely that point of the European continent, where political liberty was least advanced. In Germany, the most backward of all the European states, in the career of political improvement, these congresses took their origin. The freedom, which was banished by their despotic rulers, from the administration of the German states, took refuge in the schools of philosophy, and the bold spirit of speculation, which was first evoked by Luther, still maintained in them its vigour and activity. In spite of the opposition of the director of Austrian councils, these associations spread and flourished from year to year, and the torch, which they had kindled, was carried, fast and far, from province to province, from state to state, and from nation to nation, until, finally, it reached the shores of Britain, where it has blazed with a splendour altogether unequalled in the countries, in which it first spread to light.

That such should be the origin of these assemblies, will not, however, upon consideration, appear surprising. The governments of France and England, and still more of the United States, by freedom of discussion through the press and in popular assemblies, and by other liberal institutions, afforded numerous outlets for the workings of the popular mind; but in the despotic regions of Austria, and its confederate states, the mental powers were pent up, and had they not found vent in this manner, a great political explosion would, most probably, have been the consequence. Such associations formed the safety valve, from which the accumulated intellectual power of the country was allowed to escape. Shut out from every department of the public administration, each gifted spirit

sought another field of exertion. Universities afforded too small a range, and a great combination of the intellectual aristocracy alone could satisfy the craving, which exclusion from civil and political honours engendered. This bold conception originated with a University professor, and was carried into operation, not, as has been erroneously supposed, by the vigour of his individual mind, but because his summons found a response in the bosom of every follower of science from one extremity of the empire to the other. The community was ripe for the project, and that circumstance itself probably prompted the suggestion, which has been productive of consequences, so extensive, so important, and so happy.

This project was first promulgated by Professor Oken, of Jena, who announced it in a scientific journal, which at that time he conducted. The proposal was too bold, and too pregnant with consequences tending to the advancement of the intellectual character of the people, to escape the ever vigilant eye of Prince Metternich. That crafty minister of despotism trembled at the results of schemes of such magnitude for the diffusion of knowledge.

Pretexts were not wanting for the persecution of the professor, and reasons were soon discovered for giving him the option of resigning his chair, or his journal. Oken resigned his chair; and deeply conscious of the importance of his project, removed to Leipsic, where, at length, in the year 1822, he succeeded in assembling a small number of naturalists, who formed themselves into an association, under the title of "The Society of German Naturalists and Physicians," and established rules for its future government.

The principal object of the Association was declared to be to afford the means of mutual personal communication, at stated intervals, among the cultivators of natural science and medicine throughout Germany. The condition of eligibility was simply the love of science: the meetings were to be public, and to be held annually; each to continue for several days, the place of assembly to change from year to year. The society contemplated neither the formation of collections, nor the acquisition of property, and the expenses of each meeting were to be defrayed by the members present.

At this first Congress, the number of members present amounted to only thirty-two. From the year 1822, to the year 1828, the society continued to meet in different towns of the Germanic Confederation, at each successive Congress increasing in numbers, until, at Berlin, in 1828, four hundred and sixty-four members were present. At Munich it had swelled to such importance as to attract the attention of the king of Bavaria, who entertained the members in his palace. At Berlin, in 1828, the assembly was even more magnificent: the Association there entertained the most distinguished persons in Prussia, who thought themselves honoured by being invited as the guests of the society; and at the parties given by Humboldt, the president, were seen the king and other members of the royal family, the corps diplomatique, and the élite of the Prussian nobility.

Up to this time these proceedings appear to have passed unnoticed, or not to have been regarded as important, by English philosophers. We are not aware of more than one Englishman being at the Berlin Congress;—Professor Babbage was, we believe, there. Some discussion had, however, about this time arisen in England on the state of science and the situation of scientific men, respecting which much diversity of opinion prevailed. It was contended, on the one hand, that the societies established for its encouragement and advancement had fallen into inactivity and decrepitude—that their powers were either dormant or misapplied—that scientific men were not placed in that position in society, to which their intellectual endowments entitled them: that, on the other hand, they were a marked caste, stigmatised by exclusion from offices and honours, to which members of the liberal professions and others were eligible; that, more especially, they were, by custom and prescription, disqualified from filling the offices of state, and from taking any direct share in the political administration of the country; that, supposing (but not admitting) that their talents would be most beneficially employed, if exclusively devoted to the prosecution of science, still no public provision was made to enable them to attain that object; that scientific men, like other human beings, must be clothed and fed, and must live under a roof; that the means of doing this, much less of obtaining a position in society, were not

afforded them; that University professorships (the only offices compatible with those objects) were notoriously restricted by conditions, which would render them inaccessible to the great bulk of the scientific community; but that, even were they otherwise, their number was utterly insufficient for such an object.

It was, on the other hand, as strenuously denied, that the sciences and arts in England were in a state of depression. It was maintained, that the institutions for the advancement and encouragement of science were flourishing and vigorous; that their administration was free from corruption and abuse; that political station was unsuited to the habits and qualities of scientific men; that a public provision for them would be, in the first place, unattainable; and, if attainable, disgraceful for them to receive; in fine, that the scientific community in England was in a healthful state, and that no interposition of the political power could serve it, while, on the other hand, it might impede its progress, and impair its efficiency.

It was amongst the party holding the former set of opinions, and who formed a small, though most brilliant, section of British science, that the proposition originated, to establish in England annual congresses, similar to those, which had for several years previously been held in Germany. This suggestion, which was at first thrown out by Sir David Brewster, was made under the impression that such a proceeding would have a tendency to attain, in some degree, those ends which he and the party, who concurred with him, thought desirable; but that party, though including some of the most splendid scientific names (among which, besides Brewster, may be mentioned, Babbage, Davy, and Herschel), was too limited in numbers to carry into effect such a design with that *eclât*, which would be indispensable to its success.

If the decline of science, the advancement of its followers, and the establishment of fitting station and provision for them, had been announced as the watch-word of the institution, an opposition would have been raised against it, formidable in numbers, activity, and influence. The universities would have taken the alarm, would have considered their privileges invaded, and their efficiency questioned; and all those philosophers, who were already sheltered and fostered in their bosom,

would necessarily have been enlisted as opponents to the project. The ecclesiastical influence of the country also, identified unhappily as it is, with the academical institutions, would have taken part in the strife. The great body of the public, incapable of appreciating the merits of the points in dispute, unconscious of the great interests, which really depend on the promotion of scientific discovery, and incapable, from ignorance, of feeling the sacred duty of throwing around the character of the philosopher those external marks of respect which, as human society is constituted, are necessary for personal ease and independence, would have been indifferent spectators. In such a contest, neither the justice of the cause itself, its real public importance, nor the great eminence of those who, unattached to academical institutions, pursued science solely from the pure and disinterested love of it, could prevail against such a phalanx. The real design, therefore, which actuated Sir David Brewster, and those who supported him, in originating this project was, even in the beginning, not put prominently forward, though it must have been easily and clearly inferred from several of the manifestoes at the first meeting. These objects were, however, sufficiently obvious to keep aloof, on that occasion, the great mass (including all the distinguished members) of the opposing party. It was apparent that, an association of this kind must either fall to the ground, or incorporate the whole science of the country. By common consent, therefore, the disputed points appear at the next meeting to have been completely abandoned. Cambridge and Oxford sent in their adhesion. Their most distinguished members joined those of the Scottish and Irish Universities, and the Association swelled at once into a body of most imposing magnitude and importance. As a concession perhaps to the feeling, in which the design was understood to have originated, the great ecclesiastical University of Oxford conferred the honour of degrees upon four philosophers, all dissenting, under different forms of faith, from the Church of England.

At the first meeting of the Association, which was convened by Sir David Brewster, at York, in the autumn of 1831, the Society was established, under the title of "the British Asso-" ciation for the advancement of Science." By the arrange-

ments made on that occasion, and others since adopted, the society now consists of an unlimited number of members, who are admitted at a small annual fee, and without any very narrow or scrupulous principle of election. The love of knowledge, and the desire to become a member of the society, are, we believe, sufficient qualifications for election. The great mass, however, are not, and cannot be, permanent; they are necessarily a fluctuating body, composed for the year, in great measure, of individuals, who become members for the express purpose of attending the particular Congress held in their own place of abode. The permanent part consists of men, pursuing the different departments of science, either professionally or for the mere love of knowledge. The number of these is considerable, though less than that of the fluctuating part of the Association: the greater number of the permanent members attend every annual meeting wherever it may be held, and the most distinguished among them are the chief actors in this annual drama. The administration is conducted by a council, annually elected by another body, called the "General Committee:" composed of all such members as have contributed to the advancement of science by papers published in the transactions of any learned society. The Association is sub-divided into a number of sections, according to the usual classification of the sciences. The first section is devoted to the physical and mathematical sciences, or to those subjects commonly included under the title of *Natural and Experimental Philosophy*; the second is appropriated to *Mechanical Science applied to the Arts*; the third to *Chemistry* and *Mineralogy*; the fourth to *Geology* and *Geography*; the fifth to *Zoology* and *Botany*; the sixth to *Physiological Science*; the seventh to *Statistics*; and other sub-divisions may be made from time to time, according as the varying interests of different departments of knowledge may seem to require.

The administration of each of these several sections is conducted by a president, vice-president, committee, and secretaries, selected from those members of the general Committee, who have most successfully prosecuted the investigation of the subjects appropriated to the several sections. The subjects to be discussed at the meetings of the different sections are previously selected and arranged by these sectional committees.

The business of the Annual Congress is conducted in the following manner: In the morning of each day, at ten o'clock, the committees of the several sections assemble in the rooms appointed for their meetings, to arrange the business of the day; at eleven o'clock, the meetings of the sections respectively are opened. To these meetings all members of the Association are admitted, and it is quite usual for the same members of the Association to attend, and even take an active part in the proceedings of several different sections during the same session of the Congress. From eleven o'clock until three or four in the afternoon, these sectional meetings are continued, and the topics previously arranged by their respective committees, are discussed—experiments exhibited—novel apparatus produced; and, in fine, the various means, by which the sciences are being advanced, are brought forward, and explained by the individuals, for the most part, who contrive and promote them. At these sectional meetings no restraint is understood to be placed upon the extent or depth of the scientific discussions; no particular effort is made to avoid useful topics, merely because they are not popular. Such restrictions would operate very injuriously upon the influence of the Association in the real advancement of science. Under these circumstances, it might be supposed, that the sectional meetings would be attended only by those persons, who follow their respective subjects, for professional purposes. Nevertheless, experience has proved the reverse. Such is the thirst for knowledge, that even the most abstruse discussions have been numerously attended; and although a considerable portion of what was delivered must sometimes have been unintelligible to a large part of such an assembly, still it was apparent, that here and there rays of science had penetrated their understandings. Unequivocal indications of this were manifest from time to time, during even the most abstruse mathematical discussions.

The day being thus spent in the more profound scientific discussions, the evening is appropriated to what are intended as lighter and more amusing topics. A reunion of the whole Association is held on each evening at eight o'clock, which ladies are accustomed to attend in large numbers. To the great body of the members these evening meetings are the most attractive part of the proceedings of the Congress.

It was originally intended, that no other business should be transacted in the evening, except that the presidents of the different sections should report to the assembled Association the proceedings of the sections severally. It was found, however, that such reports, though occasionally interesting, were, in general, of too dry a nature to afford amusement, and unavoidably too brief to impart instruction; independently of which, that portion of the assembly most interested in them would necessarily have been present themselves at the discussion. It has, therefore, been recently the practice to make such reports as general as possible, and to confine them to alternate evenings. In lieu of these reports, the evening meetings are now devoted to discourses delivered by the persons most distinguished in the different departments of the sciences, on subjects which admit of being explained and illustrated in a popular style. Sometimes, when the interest of the subject and the power of the speaker are adequate to the task, the evening is devoted to a single lecture. More frequently, however, several topics are brought forward in succession, and explained and illustrated by different members. Occasionally, a debate arises which derives great interest, not merely from the subject of the discussion, but from the eminence of the speakers. After the business of the meeting is over, there is a general conversazione.

The business of the meeting, thus arranged, is continued for six successive days: hitherto it commenced on Monday, and terminated on Saturday. On the last day, the affairs of the Congress are wound up by a general assembly, at which the proceedings of the session are noticed at length by the president, secretaries, or other responsible officers, and the arrangements for the ensuing Annual Congress are announced.

The society has considerable funds at its disposal, arising from the annual subscriptions of its members; and, on the other hand, is subject to little or no expense in its administration. It has, likewise, what is equivalent to, and even better than, funds; for the position, which it has taken, has given it an influence with the state, with all established institutions, and with private individuals, which, properly exercised and directed, cannot fail to be productive of the

most beneficial results in promoting the objects of the Association. The pecuniary funds, which are at its disposal, are appropriated, yearly, to the advancement of such scientific objects as appear to the managing Committee most desirable to be attained. Some notion of the nature and extent of these objects may be formed, from the following account of the appropriation of a portion of the funds of the Association for the present year :—

500*l.* for a duplicate reduction of Astronomical observations made at Paris.
100*l.* for determining the constant of Lunar nutation.
100*l.* for observations on Temperature.
250*l.* for continuing observations on the height of the Tides at Liverpool and London.
100*l.* for observations connected with the advancement of Meteorology.
30*l.* towards the expenses of certain experiments conducted by Professor Wheatstone.
30*l.* for reducing to practice Mr. Jerrard's method of solving equations above the fourth degree.
20*l.* to Mr. Johnstone for completing his Tables of Chemical Constants.
30*l.* to Mr. Fairbairn for conducting a series of experiments on Blast Furnaces.
105*l.* for prosecuting inquiries respecting Fossil Fishes.
50*l.* for certain researches into the absorbents of the Human Body.
50*l.* for an inquiry respecting the sounds of the Heart.

Besides these, and other specific pecuniary rewards, several recommendations were forwarded to government, to public institutions, and to private individuals, with a view to the promotion of scientific objects.

The British Association, thus constituted and organised, has now held five successive congresses in five successive years:— In 1831 at York, in 1832 at Oxford, in 1833 at Cambridge, in 1834 at Edinburgh, and in the present year, 1835, at Dublin. The number of members has increased with a rapidity, which has not only exceeded the most sanguine hopes of its first projectors, but which must materially affect its design, its objects, and its influence. At York, the number of members amounted to only two hundred. At the late meeting, in Dublin, above 1200 members attended; and the evening assemblies, held at the Rotunda, were attended by 2000 persons. Nor have the members attending these successive congresses been limited to the leaders of British science. Philosophers from every part of the

civilised world, have assisted at them. France, Holland, Belgium, the German States, Prussia, Switzerland, Italy, India, the New World, north and south, have all been represented by individuals coming from the first ranks of their respective scientific communities. Those who have explored, with philosophical views, the natural productions of New South Wales, of Africa, and America; those who have traversed half the globe to witness and record the stellar wonders of another firmament, have come back and emptied the treasures they have collected, into the lap of the Association. Nor have such proceedings been confined to our islands. Similar congresses have for some years been held in France and elsewhere. Such is the consummation to which the apparently trivial assembly of thirty-two philosophers, called together in 1822, by Oken, has led.

The public excitement, which has since attended these congresses, commenced with the assembly held at Berlin in the year 1828. It was natural, that much popular enthusiasm should be produced by such an event taking place, for the first time, in Prussia, in the only country in the world, where ignorance is a civil offence—where the parent of an uneducated child is liable to pains and penalties—where, in the absence of the ability of the parent to procure instruction, the fostering hand of a paternal government is interposed, and the means of mental and moral culture are abundantly supplied—where the existence of an uneducated subject is a political impossibility. In such a country, blest with the advantages of such laws, so administered, it could not excite astonishment, that the persons and reputations of the assembled priests of nature, should be subjects of devout veneration, and that their presence should be hailed with popular exultation. But the example thus afforded, was so speedily followed by other nations of Europe, that we must ascribe its influence to something of a more general nature than the enlightened laws and administration of Prussia. In fact, those great political changes, which commenced with, and followed, the phenomena of the French revolution, had opened the eyes of the people of all the countries of Europe, to their proper rights and dignity—the political fabric, based upon

the divine right of kings, was dashed to pieces by the torrent of public opinion—the jargon of political bigotry, by which despotic power had been upheld for centuries, was laughed to scorn by all who witnessed the giant efforts of emancipated France. Freedom of thought and discussion received an impulse not inferior to that, which followed the bold enterprise of Luther; and, consequently, the value of knowledge was deeply felt, and the estimation, in which its followers were held, proportionally raised. Probably we should regard the formation of these great national associations rather as consequences of those more general causes. Be that as it may, their establishment took place at a propitious epoch; the people of every country, not absolutely benighted by despotism, were ripe for their reception; and we find the same enthusiasm, which they excited, and the same homage which was bestowed upon them in Prussia, excited and bestowed, in not a less degree, elsewhere, and nowhere in a greater degree, we are bound to admit, than in the British Isles.

Great have been the advantages of these splendid re-unions of intellectual power—those festivals of the mind; advantages, which have been reciprocally felt and acknowledged by the assembled philosophers themselves, and by the local population, who have been cheered and enlightened by their periodical visits. Science, though it exalts and enlarges the faculties, exempts not its professors from the infirmities of our common nature, and its history discloses the same jealousies, the same animosities, the same bitterness between rivals, which are observed in all other pursuits; with the aggravating circumstance, that these hostile feelings find expression in terms more forcible and severe, in proportion to the genius and talents of the parties, who entertain them. Nay, if we descend to particulars, we shall perhaps find, contrary to what some might expect, that the most profound investigators of nature have been most accessible to these feelings, and most fierce in their expression. The ties of consanguinity have been torn by them, and we find such philosophers as the Bernoullis, forgetful of the fraternal tie, reviling and caricaturing each other in the face of the scientific world. Nor should we find it difficult to produce other and similar ex-

amples. Nothing can more effectually tend to prevent altogether, or at least to soften down, such animosities, than that personal intercourse, which is the necessary consequence of the periodical congresses to which we have alluded. Who that has lived in public life, and at times entertained those feelings of hostility, which rivalry in the same course of ambition so often unhappily produces, has not experienced how speedily such feelings are dispelled by the kindliness engendered in personal intercourse? Our enemies are never so much our enemies as we imagine them to be in their absence; their presence, especially at convivial meetings, disarms anger, and we separate on such occasions, wondering at the absurdity of our animosity, and blaming ourselves for its undue asperity. Enemies are thus converted into friends; and those who endeavoured to oppose the exertions of each other, become co-operators, and combine for the attainment of common objects; they feel, that, in the field of discovery, there is ample room for all, and that the successes of each only enlarge the space for the labour of others.

At the Dublin Congress, we were gratified to see, for the first time, literature associated with science. A wide chasm has hitherto separated the followers of these departments of human knowledge: the faculties of taste and imagination are much more closely united with the results of physical discovery, than those who are but superficially acquainted with the latter, can believe. Who, that has caught a glimpse of the astounding truths, which have been unfolded in the discoveries of modern astronomy, can doubt of this? The fancy of the poet, and the romantic spirit of the novelist, are far outstripped by the stupendous results of the space-penetrating power of the telescope. The proceedings of distant universes, which are thus opened to view, baffle the utmost power of the imagination to conceive; and nothing but the irrefragable evidence with which the modern philosopher is enabled to sustain his conclusions, could compel the mind, even of the most credulous, to assent to them. Shall we then wonder that the genius of science should embrace the genius of literature; and that the first approach of these kindred spirits which took place in the metropolis of Ireland, was hailed with reciprocal enthusiasm? Thomas Moore, at once

the head and representative of Irish poetical genius, presented himself as a candidate for election to the scientific body: the president and council, and officers, as befitted them, without stopping for the forms of election, elected him by immediate and unanimous acclamation. Science extended the right hand of fellowship to literature;—philosophy struck a pact with poetry; and their combined influence chained down for a moment in Dublin, the demon of political discord.

If the social intercourse thus produced be useful in softening down individual enmity, the intercourse of nation with nation, which is also largely promoted by these re-unions, is no less conspicuously beneficial. At every such congress, foreign countries in amicable relation with ours, are represented by distinguished scientific delegates, usually deputed from the various foreign philosophical bodies; and each meeting thus presents the spectacle of scientific inquirers from every part of the civilised globe, forgetting the adventitious distinctions of race, of climate, and of country; and remembering only the sublime objects of their common pursuits.

The consequent advantages to science are sufficiently obvious; but they are not the only, or the chief benefits which society will derive from such proceedings: the friendships and attachments, which must grow out of such communion, between the leading minds of different countries, are so many links of amity, binding nation to nation in fraternal connection. The hands, which are thus annually clasped, will not be quickly raised one against another; the people represented in the persons of these assembled lights of the world, receiving the honours, and partaking of the hospitalities mutually conferred and accepted, will henceforth engage in hostile conflict with reluctance, and not without overruling cause. The European family will, in fact, become in a degree, one people. We do not offer these reflections as matter of pure speculation on what *may be* hereafter, but as results which *have been* already, in more instances than one, realised. We have ourselves had personal knowledge of such effects. The unfavourable feelings, entertained towards our countrymen in Holland since the Belgic revolution, are well known. Now we can state that the reception

given to Professor Moll, of Utrecht, who has attended the Congresses of the British Association for the last three years, and the civic and academic honours, which have been conferred upon that eminent person, are felt by his countrymen; and that they have already gone far to remove the asperity of those feelings, to which we have alluded; Professor Moll, at Edinburgh, received civic and academic honours, and at Dublin was accorded the highest academic distinction which that university can bestow. The Englishman, who now visits Holland, is viewed as a participator in bestowing these distinctions; and whatever cause may have produced those feelings of animosity which unquestionably have subsisted, is forgotten in the ardour produced by this more recent interchange of good offices.

The ancient and absurd enmity between England and France, has crumbled under the influence of recent political events; and causes were not wanting to produce between these people, feelings of sympathy and mutual amity. But if such causes were wanting, the reception given to their most distinguished philosopher, Arago, at the Congress of the Association, held at Edinburgh, in 1834, would have been a sufficiently powerful one. That distinguished person himself, returned to his home, filled with grateful recollections, and with enthusiasm towards this country, which probably no Frenchman ever before entertained in the same degree. The particulars of his reception, and the distinctions conferred upon him (which gave as much honour to those who awarded them, as to him on whom they were bestowed), were detailed in the French journals, and were read with avidity to the extreme limits of the kingdom. In the most obscure *café*, of the most obscure village of France, might be seen a group of delighted listeners, surrounding him who read the account of the freedom of the city of Edinburgh, conferred upon their most distinguished countryman, and of the applauses with which the walls of the Scottish University rang, after he had made his acknowledgments, and given to the assembled people, his assurance of the cordial feelings of friendship, entertained in his own land, towards a country with which it had so long, and so honourably contended, but with which, happily, now every struggle is at an end, except that of

generous emulation in the advancement of knowledge, and the well being of the human race.

It was a pleasant thing, to wander into the splendid Theatre of the University, at Dublin, at the hour of the morning *rendezvous* of the Association. In one corner, you saw the Anacreon of Ireland, in earnest conference with the successor to Newton's chair, at Cambridge. On another side, your attention was arrested by the hand which produced "The Chelsea Pensioners," and "The Rent Day," grasping that of the Astronomer Royal of Ireland; passing on, you encountered Professor Moll, of Utrecht, in the costume of his newly-conferred Doctorship of Laws, in friendly discourse with the discoverer of definite proportions, and the father of meteorology. Again, you saw the Swiss Naturalist, Agassiz, explaining the merits of fossil fishes, to the hero of icebergs, Sir John Ross; while another individual, of Polar celebrity, Sir John Franklin, was in earnest discourse with a philosophical Hungarian nobleman. In another place, you found one or two professors from universities in the United States, with a group of Cambridge and Oxford mathematicians. On every side, were seen individuals of celebrity and of station, collected from all parts of the world, where the light of science and the arts has penetrated, engaged in amicable communication.

If those international advantages be great, the national and local benefits, conferred by such congresses, are not less so. Wherever they have hitherto assembled, the people have flocked in thousands to their meetings, to catch a glimpse of men distinguished, not by those qualities, heretofore the objects of popular attraction; here were neither titles, nor political distinctions; here was none of that splendour, by which rank and wealth dazzle the multitude; here were no conquerors, whether on the field, or on the flood. The greatness to be exhibited, was greatness of intellect; and the conquests to be celebrated, were the conquests of the mind, over prejudice and ignorance. Nevertheless, no congress of sovereigns, no pageant in celebration of national victory, ever attracted more intense interest. Witness the closing assembly of the Congress of 1834, in the hall of the Scottish Metropolitan University; the assembled

nobles of the land, and the representatives of philosophy in foreign nations, doing mutual homage to the memory of departed national genius; the shades of the Maclaurins, the Simsons, the Watts, the Blacks, the Playfairs, might start from their resting places, to witness the spectacle of a Lord High Chancellor of England, joined with an Astronomer Royal of France, offering the incense of their praise upon the altar of Scottish genius. Witness again, the closing banquet in the hall of the Irish University, at which the representative of majesty, appeared as the guest of the representatives of science. Surely these are signs of the advancing intelligence of the age, not to be mistaken. Is not the period within the memory of those, who are still not much past the meridian of life, when the possibility of such events would have been regarded as the dream of an enthusiast?

But we must consider such circumstances not merely as signs of the growing intelligence of the people, but as active causes in stimulating the further increase of that intelligence. It would be impossible, that such multitudes could be so excited without the topics, which have engaged the attention of the various illustrious persons thus assembled, being more or less inquired into. Those, who before were a little informed, would be induced to enlarge their knowledge, with the prospect of the increased pleasure to be derived from the personal knowledge of those, who owed their celebrity to the successful prosecution of these sciences. Those, who before were ignorant altogether of such subjects, would be inevitably led to acquire some knowledge of them; such would be the effects of those meetings, considered as a mere pageant, at which the assembled people would be mere spectators. But to estimate their effects on such grounds, would be grievously underrating them. In all these congresses, discourses have been delivered by those individuals, who have attained the greatest celebrity in the different departments of knowledge, on the most interesting topics, generally adapted to the comprehension of moderately well-educated persons (even though they may not have had the advantage of regularly disciplined scientific instruction), and have been "devoured with greedy ears," by thousands of attentive

auditors. We have witnessed, for example, at the late meeting at Dublin, the various sub-divisions of the Associations assembled at different quarters of the town, discussing the topics connected with the immediate progress and advancement of their respective sciences, and we have seen the rooms in the heat of a summer day crowded to suffocation for several hours, with audiences composed chiefly of the middle orders of society. Although in these sub-divisions of the Congress the matters to be discussed were chiefly those, which were not of a popular nature, and which were supposed to require some previous acquaintance with the sciences to impart an interest to them; yet the attention and pleasure, with which they were heard by persons of both sexes, afford a striking evidence, that the faculties and acquirements of the people have been considerably under-rated; a further proof of which has been evinced at the evening meetings.

It would be impossible, within the necessary limits of this article, to present a detailed view of the proceedings, even at the evening meetings held at the rotunda at Dublin, not to mention those of the several sections. Were we to attempt it, our report would necessarily be confined to the mere heads of the topics of discussion. It may not, however, be uninteresting to our readers to review one or two subjects which, being in more immediate connection with practical interests, are the more suited to our purpose.

It is well known that Mr. Whewell, of Cambridge, has devoted a large portion of his time and exertions for several years to the investigation of the phenomena of the tides, a subject which, though so closely connected with the principle of gravitation, has been, until very recently, allowed to remain almost as an abstract mathematical theory. It was shown by Newton that, among the effects of the attractions of the sun and moon would be the production of tides in our ocean; but it has never, until recently, been attempted to show, that the actual tides, which we experience, are those, which these attractions would and ought to produce. Indeed, so different are the actual tides from those, which would naturally be expected to arise from the lunar and solar attractions, that many superficial inquirers have either re-

jected gravitation altogether, or held it more or less in doubt. Mr. Whewell has found in this inquiry a suitable object for the exercise of his great abilities, and he brought the subject before the Congress of the Association, held at Cambridge in the year 1833, and again on the occasion of the late meeting at Dublin.

In order to make intelligible the object of Mr. Whewell's researches, it will be necessary, in the first place, to explain the manner, in which the lunar attraction is instrumental in the production of tides; and this will be the more needful, because the point is seldom correctly understood, unless by persons possessing considerable acquaintance with physical science. It is plain, then, that the mere fact of the moon exerting an attraction on the earth, would not of itself raise a tide in our ocean. Let us put out of the question the distribution of land and water, and, for the sake of simplicity, consider the earth as a globular solid, covered in every part to the same depth by an universal ocean. The moon, placed at some distance from such a body, would, of course, by virtue of its gravitation, attract it. If, however, it attracted the whole mass of the earth with the same energy, the effect would be, that all the parts of the earth would be drawn towards the moon with the same force, and would not, therefore, be displaced amongst each other. The waters of the ocean would not thus be disturbed in their relative position upon the earth, because all their parts, advancing towards the moon, through equal distances, in parallel directions, and the solid earth within them suffering the same displacement in a like direction, no more disturbance would be produced in the arrangement of the ocean, upon the surface of the earth, than is produced among the furniture in the cabin of a canal boat, by its motion along the surface of the water. It is plain, therefore, that the mere attraction of the moon upon the earth cannot, of itself, account for the tides. According to the theory of gravitation, however, the attraction of the moon is exerted upon the earth, not as a whole, or in the mass, but separately upon every constituent part of it. It is also unequal, some parts being attracted with more energy than others. By the law of gravitation, the energy of this attraction is weakened in the same

proportion as the square of the distance from the attracting object is increased; consequently, those parts of the earth, which are nearest to the moon, are more forcibly attracted by it than those which are more distant,—more, not merely in the simple proportion of the difference of distance, but in the much larger proportion of the square of the distance. Let us, then, conceive the mass of the earth and its waters as divided into three distinct parts; first, the waters situate nearest the moon; secondly, the mass of the earth itself; and thirdly, the waters on the side of the earth most distant from the moon. Of these, the waters nearest the moon will be more forcibly attracted than the mass of the earth under them, consequently, they will have a tendency to pile themselves up in a heap immediately under the moon. The sea would, therefore, become deeper at that place than in the parts of the earth more removed from the lunar attraction. But again, the mass of the earth itself being nearer to the moon than the part of the ocean most distant from the lunar attraction, will be more forcibly attracted than these latter waters; the earth will, therefore, be as it were drawn away from the more distant portions of the ocean, and they, by lingering behind, will necessarily be heaped upon the opposite side. Thus there will be two great piles of water, or waves, produced, one in that part of the earth immediately under the moon, and the other on the opposite side. Now if the earth be supposed to revolve once in twenty-four hours, under these two waves, which we shall call *tides*, it is plain, that every part of the earth would be visited by two tides in the time of one revolution, and that these tides would divide the time of such revolution into two equal parts.

Now the effect of the sun's attraction upon the earth is precisely similar to that of the moon, differing only in the magnitude of the two waves which it produces; those produced by the sun being small, comparatively, to those produced by the moon. If the sun and moon be at the same side of the earth (a circumstance which takes place at new moon), or at opposite sides of it (which happens at full moon), it is evident, that the solar tide waves and the lunar tide waves will be placed one upon the other, or that the tide would be produced by their combined effects, the height or depth being

equal to the sum of the two independent tides. If, however, the sun and moon be in such positions that, viewed from the earth, their directions will be at right angles to one another, then the four tide waves will be placed at four points, dividing the earth into quadrants, and the two solar tide waves will coincide in their position, with depression between the two lunar tide waves, and will diminish the height of the lunar tides. This will happen in the first and third quarters of the moon, when she appears precisely halved. The first case is that which is called *spring tides*, and the second, *neap tides*.

Now from a view of all these circumstances we should expect, *firstly*, that the time of high water should always agree with the arrival of the moon at the meridian; *secondly*, that spring tide should always be on the days of the new moon, and full moon; and *thirdly*, that neap tide, should, in like manner, precisely coincide with the quadratures of the moon. But none of these circumstances are found actually to happen, nor do they even happen so nearly as to lead to the belief, that some small disturbing cause only prevents the precise coincidence of observation with theory. Let us see then what other physical causes are in operation. If we suppose the earth uniformly covered with water to be in a state of rest, neither moon nor sun being supposed to exist, there would be no tide. Let us then suppose the moon suddenly to be called into existence, and to be placed at its present distance from the earth: a tide would then certainly be produced, but not instantaneously. The motion, which the attraction of the moon would impart to the waters, would commence, but the liquid mass would require some time, to acquire that position, in which it would finally rest under the influence of the moon's attraction, and which position would constitute a tide. Let us suppose that the time, necessary to accomplish this, is two hours: now the earth being in a state of revolution upon its axis, accompanied by its waters, the latter receive the effects of the moon's attraction as they pass under that luminary; but no sooner do they commence to form the tide in obedience to that attraction, than they are carried on by the revolution of the earth, and the tide, the formation of which commenced under the moon, is not completed until the increasing tide wave has

passed considerably beyond the attracting body. The same observations will of course be applicable to the tide formed upon the opposite side of the earth. The tide then, it appears, ought not to be directly under the moon, but a certain distance in advance of the moon, in the direction of the earth's rotation. The earth revolves on its axis from west to east, and consequently the crest of the tide wave, instead of being under the moon, will be a certain number of degrees east of it; or, in other wor ds, the moon will be west of the tide. Instead, therefore, of expecting, that we should have high water when the moon is in the meridian, we must expect the time of high water to arrive within a certain interval after the moon has passed the meridian. According to these circumstances, we should still expect the regular recurrence of the tides twice in every twenty-four hours, following the moon in the manner just stated.

But this again proceeds upon the supposition, that the moon itself maintains the same position with respect to the earth. Such, however, is not the case; the moon, on the other hand, is moving round the earth in the same direction as the earth itself is revolving on its axis; consequently, the interval of a single revolution of the earth is not sufficient to bring back the same part of it again, under the moon, since the latter has removed from its first position. The interval, therefore, between the times of high water will not correspond to the time of rotation of the earth, but will correspond to the interval between two successive transits of the moon over the meridian, an interval greater than that of the rotation of the earth, by reason of the moon's motion just adverted to. We see, therefore, several reasons why the tides should not precisely correspond with the position of the moon. Nevertheless, after making all the allowances suggested by these considerations, the phenomena of the tides, so far as they have been observed, offer scarcely any accordance with those immediate results of the theory, beyond the fact of occurring, generally speaking, at intervals of time corresponding with the lunar motion.

In order to arrive at a full and satisfactory solution of the phenomena, Mr. Whewell has begun by causing to be instituted regular series of tidal observations in various parts of the world. To accomplish this, the co-operation of the govern-

ment was necessary, and was of course gladly afforded. Similar observations had previously been attempted in England, under the direction of the Royal Society, and in France, under that of the Institute. After having been carried on for some time, the observers, either embarrassed with the difficulty of the inquiry, or exhausted by the labour attending it, abandoned their undertaking, before they obtained sufficient data to form the basis of any satisfactory investigation. Mr. Whewell directed the more recent inquiries to two distinct objects; first, to ascertain the rate, at which the great tidal wave moves, and secondly, the position of high and low water; or, in other words, the actual height of the tide waves at different places. During last year, observations were made by the coast guard on the coasts of the United Kingdom, and returns were obtained from about five hundred different places: during the present year, these observations are continued, and still further extended. Efforts have been made, through the intervention of the various embassies, to obtain like information from other countries; and such requests have been every where met with that liberal spirit, which so happily characterises the present times. Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, France, Spain, and the United States, have all joined in this interesting labour. In fact, there is not a single maritime state in the northern hemisphere to which application has been made, which has not at once afforded its cordial co-operation.

By such means, we may expect speedily to have before us a tolerably correct description of the tidal phenomena in every part of the globe: then, and not till then, shall we be in a position to enable us to apply the powers of theory to the solution of these phenomena. Meanwhile, however, Mr. Whewell has made some first essays towards the solution of the problem, which possess great interest, and which throw a strong light upon the difficulties, with which the inquiry has been surrounded.

From what has been already stated, it will easily be perceived, that, in an extensive ocean, uninterrupted and unbroken by the shores of continents or islands, the great tide wave would move with a slow and regular motion round the globe, from the east to the west, its point of greatest height being

at those parts of the earth, at which the moon has been vertical, that is, to points between the tropics. Let us then, in the first place, imagine such a wave continually flowing round the earth in the interval of time, which elapses between two successive southings of the moon: we shall call this the *primary tide*, and whatever coasts would be exposed to it, would have their tidal phenomena as nearly coincident with the immediate results of theory as possible. But let us now suppose this great tide wave to pass along a shore, running direct from east to west, so that the length of the wave would be at right angles to the direction of the coast, and the direction of its motion parallel to the coast. Every one, who has seen the effect of waves produced by a stone thrown into a pond, will comprehend, that the extremity of the tide wave abutting upon the coast just mentioned will be held back, and the wave itself, instead of extending in a straight line north and south, will be bent into a curve near the coast, and will belly forwards towards the west. The effect, therefore, of the coast will, in this case, be, to hold back the tide wave, and to cause the time of high water to be earlier at the several points of that coast, than it would be if this effect were not produced upon the form of the tide wave. Here then, is obviously another cause for the disagreement of the actual tidal phenomena, with what would seem to be the immediate results of theory.

But again, let us suppose this coast so running, west and east, to have a large inlet of the sea at some part of it, running north and south. As the great tide wave passes the mouth of this inlet, it will propagate a wave from the mouth to its head, which wave will, in fact, be a continuation, or part, of the great tide wave itself, driven up the inlet as the wave passes its mouth. This, which we shall call a *secondary tide* wave, will proceed up the inlet from south to north, while the primary tide wave, from which it has emanated, holds on its regular course from east to west. It is clear, then, that the tide in the inlet, which corresponds with the great tide wave which has just passed on, will necessarily occur at a very different time from that of the primary tide: they have parted company, and one moves along the meridian, while the other is transferred from meridian to meridian,

towards the west. The primary tide may, therefore, occur at one hour, while the corresponding secondary tide may have occurred several hours before.

Let us take another case. Suppose that in the inlet of the sea, which we have imagined to extend from south to north, there be an arm, or bay, on the east coast, and extending from west to east, forming an inlet on that coast of the first inlet. It is clear, that the secondary tide wave will perform the same part with respect to this latter bay, as the primary tide wave did with respect to the first inlet: it will throw off a wave into the mouth of the bay, which will be propagated to its head, and which, of course, will move from west to east, in a direction precisely contrary to the motion of the original or primary tide, from which, nevertheless, it has emanated. We have here then, two parts of the same tidal wave at the same time, moving in contrary directions, so that the time corresponding to the high water, produced by that tidal wave, may be different to any extent. It is possible, that high water in the bay last mentioned, may even be twelve hours earlier than the high water upon a coast swept by the original or primary tide wave.

The application of these principles to the actual state of the globe, will not, at least, in a general way, be difficult to comprehend. We shall suppose the great primary tide wave to sweep, without interruption, across the great Southern Ocean from east to west. The northern extremity of this wave will rest upon the southern shore of New Holland, where it will be held back in the manner first described, so as to present a slight belly, or curve, towards the west. When it has reached the western cape, which terminates the southern shore of New Holland, it will hang upon that point, and the bellying form will swell out towards the Cape of Good Hope, one part of the wave presenting a curve towards the Indian ocean, and the other preserving its course towards the west. At length, a part of this great undulation will touch the Cape of Good Hope, and at once the wave will be broken into two; one of which will continue its course towards the west, being the remaining fragment of the great primary wave, while the other, having its extremities, at the moment, resting upon the western Cape of New Holland, and the Cape of

Good Hope, will be propagated from south to north up the Indian ocean, its extremities sweeping the eastern coast of Africa, and the western coasts of New Holland, Sumatra, &c. Thus the tides in the Indian ocean must be *secondary tides*, and their motion must be from pole to pole, instead of being in the natural direction from east to west. As this great secondary tide wave is propagated up the Indian ocean, numbers of tertiary tides will be thrown off into the channels and seas which surround and intersect the islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and the Philippines.

To return to the great primary tide wave, which we left hanging upon the Cape of Good Hope, we shall find it again bellying out, one part in a northern, the other in a western direction—the former tending to turn up the Atlantic Ocean. A point of this great curve will at length strike upon the southern extremity of the American continent; and it will thus again be broken into two fragments, one of which will be propagated from south to north up the Atlantic Ocean, sweeping the eastern coast of America and the western coasts of Africa and of Europe. This will, of course, be a great secondary tide; the other fragment will continue its course towards the west, preserving its primary and original character. The tides of the Atlantic, therefore, like those of the Indian Ocean, move from south to north.

Enough has been already said, to show how far removed from immediate correspondence with the original operating cause the tides in various parts of the world may be expected to be, and how little in conformity with each other the tidal phenomena must needs be, where the great wave is successively broken, not merely into tides of the second and third orders, but into those, perhaps, of the fifth, sixth, or tenth orders; for indeed there seems to be scarcely any limit to the successive propagation of complicated undulations, by the varying boundaries of land and water. Nay, we may sometimes expect to find two tidal waves moving in contrary directions through the same sea, in which case, some curious and unexpected phenomena may ensue, from their mutual combination or interference.

The great secondary tide wave, which sweeps the Atlantic from south to north, encountering the southern coasts of the British islands, throws off a pair of tertiary tide waves, one of

which flows up St. George's Channel, and the other passes up the English Channel and through the straits of Dover. Meanwhile the secondary wave sweeps the west coast of Ireland and Scotland, throwing off another tertiary wave into the northern mouth of the Irish sea, or north channel, and a second tertiary wave into the mouth of the German ocean, between the northern extremity of Scotland and the coast of Norway. In the Irish sea, therefore, as well as in the German ocean, we have these two tides at the same time moving in contrary directions, one proceeding from north to south, and the other from south to north. It may so happen, that, at certain points in their course, these two tide waves may coincide, in which case a tide will be formed, the height of which would be the aggregate of the two. But it may also happen, that the crest of one of these tide waves may coincide with the hollow of the other, so that the high water of the one would coincide with the low water of the other; in which case, the tides would, as it were, obliterate each other, and there would be no change of altitude in the water at all. A similar phenomenon is well recognised in all theories of undulation, and is called *interference*. In sound, which is propagated by undulations in the atmosphere, it is known that two sounds may be produced together, each of which alone has considerable loudness, yet their combination produces almost silence. In the same manner, light, which is another example of undulation, exhibits cases, in which two rays of light, thrown upon the same point, instead of increasing each other's intensity, and illuminating the point with greater splendour, produce absolute darkness. But we must forbear these interesting inquiries; they would entice us far beyond the necessary limits of this article.

The other topic, to which we shall advert, is a view of the present state of locomotion, by steam, on railways. Dr. Lardner delivered a discourse upon this subject, to which one of the evening meetings was appropriated.

The enterprise and spirit of the body of capitalists, who undertook and perfected the Manchester and Liverpool railway, infused extraordinary energy and activity into the mechanical ingenuity of the country. This, combined with one of those felicitous accidents, which occasionally produce important

effects on the progress of civilisation, was the means of developing a quality of the Steam Engine, which, until then, had been altogether undiscovered. That an agent, possessing the powers, which steam had been long known to possess, should be capable of propelling loads of unusual amount, was only what might naturally have been expected. The projectors of the rail-road had, accordingly, laid their account to a large traffic in goods, and had looked forward to such as the staple of their enterprise. When we saw, therefore, a train of waggons, weighing from two to three hundred tons*, or a string of carriages containing six or seven hundred passengers†, transported by one steam engine, between Liverpool and Manchester, however much we might admire the agent, no person acquainted with the previous applications of the machine, could feel much surprise. The speed, however, of transport, which was effected in the very first experiments made upon the rail-road, was a result of startling importance, which was equally unforeseen by the practical engineer, and the speculative philosopher. It seemed, indeed, to exceed the bounds of credibility, and few could feel a practical conviction, or have a lively faith in it, without themselves being witnesses. In these experiments, an engine travelled at the astounding rate of thirty-five miles an hour. But even this has since been exceeded; we have ourselves witnessed an engine, loaded with a carriage containing thirty-six grown persons, moving at the rate of forty-eight miles per hour; and we believe that a case has occurred, in which an engine moved over fifteen miles in fifteen minutes. A short analysis of the means, by which such effects have been produced, cannot be uninteresting.

A locomotive engine is impelled by two steam cylinders, the

* On the 29th of May, 1832, in an experimental trip, conducted by Dr. Lardner, a single engine was loaded with fifty waggons, weighing 223 tons, 6 cwt. The engine transported this load from Liverpool to Manchester in two hours and forty minutes, being an average rate of little less than twelve miles an hour. The consumption of coke in this trip was at the rate of four ounces per ton per mile.

† On an occasion of races, held at Newton, a place about fifteen miles from Liverpool, two engines were sent, with trains of carriages, to carry the persons attending the races back to Liverpool. An accident occurred to one of the engines, which disabled it, and both trains were attached to the remaining engine. This engine took eight hundred persons from Newton to Liverpool, in the space of one hour.

piston rods of which lay hold of two revolving arms, which are attached to the larger pair of wheels of the engine. The pistons, as they work, cause these arms to revolve, and therefore the wheels to revolve with them, exactly in the same manner as a man turns a windlass, or as the hand turns the key which winds a clock, or a jack. The wheels, which are thus worked by the steam cylinders, are pressed against the rail-road by that portion of the weight of the locomotive engine which rests upon them, and they adhere to the rail with such force, that, sooner than slip upon it as they revolve, the engine, which is attached to the train of carriages or waggons, advances, so that its progressive motion in a single revolution of the working wheels is equal to their circumference. Supposing their diameter to be five feet, their circumference will be a little less than sixteen feet. One revolution of the wheels takes place during a double stroke of one of the pistons, that is, while the piston moves from one end of the cylinder to the other, and back again. As there are two cylinders working at the same time, it follows, therefore, that, to produce a progressive motion of sixteen feet, four cylinders full of steam are necessary, being at the rate of about a cylinder for every four feet. Now, from these circumstances, it is apparent, that the speed of the engine will depend upon the rate, at which the boiler is able to supply steam to the cylinders. If, for example, it can supply six hundred cylinders full of steam per minute, the progressive motion of the engine will be four times six hundred, or 2400 feet per minute, or about 27 miles an hour. The circumstances, which influence the rate, at which the boiler produces steam, are, then, the points to be considered. This rate will obviously depend upon the rate, at which the fire can impart heat to the water; and a great variety of contrivances have been adopted to expedite this communication of heat. All such contrivances, however, resolve themselves ultimately into this general principle, *viz.* that an extensive surface of water must be exposed to the radiation of the fire; that the air, which supports the combustion, and which passes from the fuel at a very high temperature, shall not be allowed to escape into the chimney until it has been reduced to a temperature not much above that of the water in the boiler; and that a current, or draft, be maintained in the chimney, sufficiently powerful to

draw a quantity of atmospheric air through the fuel to maintain the vivid combustion, which is indispensable for the production of so much heat.

To expose a large surface of water to the radiation of heat from the fire, the fire-place is usually surrounded on every side with a thin metal casing, filled with water, communicating freely with the larger chamber of the boiler, of which, in fact, it is only an extension. The roof, the sides, and the back of the fire-place, are formed by this casing, and it may even be extended to the front, except where the fire-door is placed, for the supply of fuel. The heat, radiating from the burning matter, strikes upon every part of this case, and, entering the water within, produces steam bubbles with great rapidity, which rise, by their buoyancy, to the upper part of the boiler. From the fire-place, the heated air finds its way to the chimney at the other end of the boiler, through one hundred tubes of about an inch and a half in diameter, which are extended through the water in the boiler, from one end to the other. The lengths and diameters of these tubes are, or ought to be, such, that the air shall be compelled to linger in them, until it be reduced to the temperature before mentioned. It then escapes into the chimney, and its lightness gives it a tendency to ascend, and form a draft. But this natural draft of the hot air would be altogether insufficient for so fierce a combustion as must be sustained, were it not aided by other means. As the hot air passes through these hundred tubes, it imparts its redundant heat to the water in contact with the tubes, and steam bubbles are formed, which, like the others, rise to the upper part of the boiler. The most beautiful part of the arrangement is that, by which a sufficiently powerful draft is maintained in the chimney, to support the combustion. After the steam has driven the pistons, it is necessary to eject it from the machines; pipes or tubes are provided for this purpose, in connection with each cylinder. These pipes are conducted to the chimney, and their mouths presented upwards, so that the steam rushes from them in an upward direction. Now, since the steam is worked in these engines at a pressure considerably greater than that of the atmosphere, it issues from these tubes up the chimney, with very great force, and causes a current of air, or draft, upwards, of proportionate power.

This, consequently, produces a corresponding draft through the fire, and it has this remarkable quality, that, in proportion as the speed of the engine is increased, so, in the same proportion, is the quantity of steam, thus projected up the chimney; and, therefore, the draft through the fire is stimulated, as it ought to be, in the proportion, in which steam is required to be supplied to the cylinders. It is said, that this beautiful method of blowing the fire was an accidental discovery: that an engine maker, not knowing how best to dispose of the waste steam, conducted it into the chimney.

Whatever may have been its origin, it is certain, that, to this contrivance mainly is due the extraordinary velocity, at which these machines have arrived. The extensive surface exposed to radiation, and the contrivance of the small tubular flues, would have effected nothing, unless a combustion could be sustained, to supply heat proportionate to the surface to be acted upon; and any mechanical means of blowing the fire, besides being subject to other objections, would have robbed the engine of a considerable part of its power. This improvement may be justly placed beside Watt's discovery of the method of separate condensation. It has produced effects upon locomotives not less important, than the latter principle did upon the stationary engine.

The form, which we have just described, is that, in which the locomotives are constructed for the Manchester and other railways in this country. In the attempts, which have been made, to adapt the locomotive engine to common roads, other varieties of form have, however, been proposed. They do not, indeed they cannot, differ in principle from that we have described; but their practical details are somewhat different. In some, instead of conducting the air from the fire-place through tubular flues, the water itself is conducted in tubes, which pass through the fire. In other cases, as well as the fire-place being filled with water, the grate bars themselves are likewise tubes containing water. Sometimes the roof and sides of the fire-place are formed of tubing filled with water. In some cases, the water is disposed between a series of parallel plates, the alternate intervals containing the fire. In others, a number of cylinders are placed one within another, so as to form a series of concentric cylindrical shells, every alternate

shell being filled with water, while the intermediate ones are filled with fire. Without going through these endless varieties of form, it will be seen, that they all resolve themselves into the principle of exposing to the action of the fire as great an extent of surface of water as possible.

Supposing the engine to be so constructed as to produce steam with all the necessary rapidity, it may be objected, that there must necessarily still be a limit to the possible velocity of the machine, for that the motion of the piston in the cylinder might be so rapid as to render the cylinder and piston even red hot. This objection is not without force; and if the present magnitude of the working wheels of the engine be maintained, it is probable, that we have already arrived at that limit of speed, which is compatible with the safe and efficient action of the machine. To increase the progressive velocity of the engine, without increasing the speed of the piston in the cylinder, two methods present themselves; the first, by making the cylinders shorter, and the second, by making the driving wheels larger. To the first of these expedients, there are several mechanical objections, which we shall not stop here to examine. The second appears the most plausible. If the working wheels be enlarged, and, at the same time, the superficial dimensions of the piston increased in the same proportion, then the progressive velocity of the engine will be increased in that ratio; and yet the velocity of the piston in the cylinder, as well as the pressure of the steam, will remain unaltered. To such an arrangement we see no serious objection. We are aware, that it is supposed, that in proportion to the increased size of the working wheels is the liability of the engine to run off the road. This increased liability, however, (which perhaps is somewhat exaggerated), may be obviated by various contrivances.

All the other requisite arrangements for the high rate of speed being supposed to be attained, it still remains to consider the nature and structure of the road, on which such extraordinary motion is intended to be produced. The effect of unevennesses and asperities of the road's surface, is always proportionate to the speed, with which they are encountered; and it is clear, therefore, that, as the speed of transport is increased, so, in proportion, must the road's surface be brought to perfec-

tion. The surface of the best-constructed stone road, whether formed by pavement, or with broken stone, ground down to an even surface by the wheels of carriages, is subject, from its very nature, to inequalities, which are utterly incompatible with a very high rate of speed. On such roads, it is possible, that speeds of twenty miles an hour may be attained, but not without considerable danger. Of all contrivances for the formation of roads, which have yet been suggested, the edge rail alone can be safely used with those high speeds. On these roads, the wheels roll upon smooth bars of iron, to which they are confined by a flange, or ledge, raised upon the inside of the tire of each wheel. Any tendency of the carriage to pass off the rail on either side, would be resisted by the pressure of these flanges against the inside of the rail. Nevertheless, even these roads, nearly as they attain perfect smoothness, are subject to inequalities at the joints of the rails, which, with high velocities, produce sensible jolts or shocks. Each rail is about fifteen long, and the successive rails are joined end to end, so that their surfaces should be perfectly flush, and always are so, when the rail-road is first constructed. After it has been worked for some time, the rails become more or less uneven at the joints; and, consequently, a shock is produced by the carriages rolling over the joints from rail to rail. Great progress has, however, been made in the improvement of the methods of laying the rails, so that it may reasonably be expected that these effects, which have been attended with some inconvenience and injury on the Manchester rail-road, will be, in a great degree, diminished on the various rail-roads, which are now in progress.

If smoothness of the road's surface be necessary for the prevention of jolts and shocks, its hardness is not less essential, where facility of draft is required. In this respect also, the iron rail-road has eminently the advantage over stone roads, and more especially over that class of stone roads, which are called Macadamized roads. However smooth the surface of a road may be, if it possess not the quality of hardness, the wheel of the carriage, as it passes over it, causes a momentary depression, into which it sinks, and out of which the drawing power is constantly endeavouring to lift it. This causes a considerably increased force of draft; and whatever be the

moving power, it will impose a narrow limit, either on the amount of the load, or on the rate of speed, or on both of these elements of locomotion. Even a rough surface, if hard, will frequently offer a greater facility of draft, than a smoother surface, which is soft and yielding; and, paradoxical as it may appear, the road, which is easiest to the passengers, is often the most severe upon the drawing power. A smooth Macadamized road, and still more, the even gravel roads, which are constructed through pleasure grounds, are far more severe upon horses, than the pavement of the London streets. This is a fact, which is not merely the result of theory, but which has been brought to the immediate test of experiment. To draw a ton weight along the pavement of Fleet Street and the Strand, was found to require a pull amounting to thirty-two pounds, while the best constructed Macadamized road, formed upon a paved foundation, required forty-three pounds, and a gravel road one hundred and fifty pounds. The same load of one ton may, however, be transported upon a level rail-road, with a drawing power of only nine pounds.

If a road were perfectly smooth, perfectly hard, and perfectly level, a carriage would move along it by a first impulse, without any continued drawing power. It would, in fact, offer no resistance, and the load put in motion at one extremity of it, would spontaneously proceed to the other extremity. This may be regarded as the ideal limit, to which it is the business of the road maker to approximate, and to which the nearer he approaches, the more perfectly will the road fulfil its purposes. From what we have just stated, it will be perceived, that iron rail-roads possess, in a very high degree, the two first of the above-mentioned qualities, *viz.* smoothness and hardness. Now it will be apparent, that, under such circumstances, the existence of any acclivities will produce a greater effect, in proportion, on the resistance, than would be produced by slight acclivities upon a less perfect road. A little consideration will make this point, which is very material in the theory of rail-roads, quite apparent.

It is demonstrable by the common principles of mechanics, that an acclivity, on whatever road it may exist, which rises seven feet in a mile, will increase the resistance, which is opposed to the drawing power, to the amount of three pounds per ton.

Thus, if the power necessary to draw a ton on the level road be thirty pounds, then the power required to draw it on an acclivity, rising seven feet per mile, would be thirty-three pounds. In like manner, if the acclivity rise fourteen feet in a mile, three pounds more would be added to the resistance, and the power, necessary to draw a ton, would be thirty-six pounds, and so on.

This being explained, let us consider the different effects, which the same acclivity would produce upon a rail-road and upon a well-constructed gravel road, requiring a drawing force of a hundred pounds per ton. To draw a ton on a level rail-road requires a force of nine pounds. Let us suppose an acclivity which rises twenty-one feet in a mile: this would add nine pounds to the resistance, and, consequently, the drawing power up such an acclivity on the rail-road would be eighteen pounds. The same acclivity on the gravel road would, likewise, add nine pounds to the resistance: the drawing power on the level, necessary to move one ton being one hundred pounds, the drawing power up an acclivity of twenty-one feet in the mile, would be one hundred and nine pounds. While, therefore, such an acclivity as this would require the drawing power on the railway to be doubled, it would add only nine per cent. to the drawing power upon the gravel road.

Whatever agent may be used for the purposes of locomotion, will necessarily have certain limits to the power, which it is capable of exerting, and in the construction of roads, these limits must be considered. A steam engine is constructed, so as to be capable of overcoming a certain resistance, and of moving against that resistance with a certain determinate speed. Its power, however, is not strictly limited to that particular resistance and speed. Though, when so exerted, its performance will be most efficient and economical, it will have a capability of working with a greater resistance, and a diminished speed, or with a less resistance, and increased speed. Still there is a practical limit to this variation of its power, beyond which it cannot work without injury; and there is another limit wider than this, beyond which it cannot work at all. A steam engine constructed to work upon a rail-road, if it be intended, as is usually the case, to transport the same load through the whole extent of the road, must, it is clear,

possess a capability of varying its power of draft, so as to overcome the greatest acclivities upon the road. Now, since we have already shown that an acclivity so gentle and imperceptible to the eye, as twenty-one feet in a mile, would require the engine to double its force of draft, it must be apparent, that rail-roads intended to be worked by locomotive engines, ought to be constructed so as to be free from any considerable acclivities. Indeed, it may be safely stated, that no acclivity exceeding twenty-one feet in a mile, ought to be permitted on any rail-road, unless it be intended to draw the loads up such acclivity by some auxiliary power.

Nevertheless, it may frequently happen, that the surface of a country is such, that the construction of a rail-road, subject to such conditions, is altogether impracticable. In that case, it is obvious, that some auxiliary power must be used to draw the load up those acclivities, which exceed the limits of the power of the ordinary locomotive engines. Two expedients are resorted to for this purpose: an auxiliary or assistant locomotive engine is provided to attend at such steep acclivities, so as to help up the loads, from time to time, as they arrive. This is by far the most simple and unobjectionable expedient; and it is one, which is always practicable, provided the acclivity does not exceed about fifty feet in a mile. With acclivities more steep than this, the loads must be drawn by a rope, extending from the top of the acclivity to the bottom, and worked by a stationary steam engine at the top. No rail-road, however, destined for a large intercourse of passengers, such as may be expected on the great rail-roads now being constructed from the metropolis to distant points of the kingdom, ought to be worked by any other power than that of locomotive engines, and it should, therefore, be made a condition of imperious necessity, that no acclivity should be permitted on the road exceeding fifty feet in a mile; but even this should be avoided, though at a large outlay of capital. Great sacrifices should, in every case, be made to keep down the acclivities, so that they shall not exceed twenty feet in a mile.

Since the steam engine works with greatest efficiency and economy when it has to overcome a perfectly uniform and unvarying resistance, it is clear, that, in all rail-roads, in which there is a nearly equal intercourse in both directions, the most perfect

is a perfectly level road. But, as this is a condition, which never can be attained in practice, it is material to determine, how the disadvantages arising from acclivities may be estimated; and whether there be any particular limit of acclivity, where these disadvantages suffer a very important addition.

In the proceedings of the section, appropriated to the useful arts, Dr. Lardner pointed out a circumstance, which we are not aware had been before noticed, and which, as it forms a very material element in the estimation of rail-roads, we shall here explain. An acclivity on a rail-road, which rises at a less rate than twenty-one feet in a mile, though it gives a tendency to the load to descend by its gravity, does not, nevertheless, produce its descent, the downward tendency on such acclivities being less than the resistance of the road; but, in descending an acclivity rising at the rate of twenty-one feet in a mile, or at any greater rate, the load, in its descent, will continue to move without any driving power. This affixes a peculiar character to that particular acclivity of twenty-one feet in a mile, as the boundary between those inclined planes, in the descent of which a drawing power is necessary, and those down which the load moves by its unassisted gravity. Now it is easy to demonstrate that, if a line of rail-road have no acclivity exceeding in steepness twenty-one feet in a mile, the total drawing power necessary to transport a given load from end to end in both directions, will be precisely the same as if the road were absolutely level. To explain this, let us suppose the most extreme case, *viz.*, that the road should rise from one extremity to the other by one continued inclination of twenty-one feet in a mile: let us suppose the road is one hundred miles long. We have already shown that the resistance ascending such an inclination would be eighteen pounds per ton; the resistance, however, in descending it, in the other direction, would be nothing, since the load would move down by its unassisted gravity. The total power necessary, therefore, to transport a ton weight from end to end, in both directions, would be a force able to exert a power of eighteen pounds, through one hundred miles. Now a road of the same length, absolutely level, would offer a resistance of nine pounds per ton, and the total quantity of power necessary to transport a ton from one end to the other, and back again, would be a force of nine pounds, acting through

the distance of two hundred miles. It is obvious, that eighteen pounds acting through one hundred miles, is mechanically equivalent to nine pounds acting through two hundred miles. But let us take another case, and suppose a rail-road ascending for fifty miles, at the rate of twenty-one feet in a mile, and then descending other fifty miles at the same rate, so that it shall be carried over a summit, the height of which shall be a thousand and fifty perpendicular feet. Let us compare this with another rail-road of the same length, absolutely level. To draw a load of one ton, on the first, in both directions, a power of eighteen pounds must be first exerted through fifty miles in ascending, the other fifty miles in descending, requiring no power. On returning, in like manner, a power of eighteen pounds must be exerted for fifty miles in ascending, while the other fifty miles, in descending, will consume no power. The total expenditure of power, therefore, in both directions, will be eighteen pounds exerted through one hundred miles. On the level rail-road, as before, the power necessary to transport a ton in both directions, will be nine pounds exerted through two hundred miles. Without going into further detail, it will, we presume, be quite apparent, from what we have just stated, that, whatever may be the acclivities upon the road, provided they do not exceed twenty-one feet in a mile, the total consumption of power in working it will be precisely the same as a level road. The general principle from which this conclusion may be at once deduced, is this:—Any inclination not exceeding twenty-one feet in a mile, will be descended with a less power of draft than a level, and ascended with a greater power, and the necessary increase in ascending it is precisely equal to the decrease in descending. The descent, therefore, forms a perfect compensation for the ascent, and the average of the two is the resistance upon a level road.

It may be supposed that too much is proved here, and that the same principle may be extended to all acclivities whatever. It is easy, however, to show the fallacy of this objection. Let us take the case of a rail-road having an acclivity greater than twenty-one feet in a mile,—suppose it to be an acclivity of forty-two feet in a mile. To ascend such an acclivity, with a load of one ton, would require a drawing power of twenty-seven pounds. In descending, no power

would be required, since the load will move down by its gravity; the total mechanical power, therefore, would be twenty-seven pounds exerted through one hundred miles, if that be supposed the length of the road. Now a level road, of the same length, would require a force of nine pounds, exerted through two hundred miles, which would be equivalent to eighteen pounds exerted through one hundred miles. Compared, therefore, with such an acclivity, the level would require a less amount of mechanical power, to the extent of nine pounds, exerted through one hundred miles. It will easily be perceived, that a like principle is universally applicable to all acclivities, more steep than twenty-one feet in a mile; and it may be explained generally thus:—No acclivity, compared with a level, can save more in the descent than the entire power necessary to draw the load upon the level; it can do no more than cause the load to come down without power. If, therefore, in the ascent, a greater addition be made to the resistance than the total amount of the resistance upon a level; in other words, if the total resistance, in ascending, be more than twice the resistance upon the level, then there is more power consumed in ascending than saved in descending, and, consequently, the difference of amount, as compared with a level, is so much power lost.

From this reasoning, it will be apparent that, independently of the difficulty and disadvantage of making the moving power change its energy, and supposing, that steam engines could be constructed, which could change their power without disadvantage, still there would be a loss of power on every rail-road possessing acclivities more steep than twenty-one feet in a mile, and such loss of power would be more considerable, in proportion to the length and steepness of such acclivities. But on the other hand, if a steam engine, or any other drawing power, could be contrived, possessing a capability of changing its force, to the extent of double its average power, without disadvantage, then the presence of acclivities, not exceeding twenty-one feet in a mile, would be no mechanical disadvantage whatever; and, however numerous such acclivities might be, the road would be worked by precisely the same moving power, as if it were level. Thus the steam engines, transporting a given amount of traffic upon it, would consume exactly the same quantity of fuel in the one case, as in the other.

We have explained this principle with detail, not only because we believe it to be novel*, but because it is startling and paradoxical. It must doubtless appear, at first view, extraordinary, that a load should be capable of being transported over any summit, however lofty, provided it can be approached on both sides by planes of a certain degree of acclivity, without more exertion of force than would be necessary to transport the same load over an absolute level rail-road of the same length.

Apart from the mere expenditure of force necessary to transport the load, there are, however, disadvantages, arising from acclivities, peculiar to the nature of the steam engine. The strength and weight of such a machine must always be regulated by the greatest resistance, which it has to overcome. If the road, on which it works, be absolutely level, it would never have to encounter a greater pull than nine pounds for every ton weight, which it has to draw; but when it has to encounter any acclivity, one pound per ton will be added to this for every two feet four inches in a mile, which the acclivity rises. The greatest acclivity, therefore, which the engine has to encounter, must be considered in its construction, and its strength and weight must be regulated by the resistance which it will have to encounter on that acclivity, with the requisite load. The same degree of strength and weight not being necessary on other less steep parts of the road, the moving power is burthened with a load in that additional weight of the engine itself in every other part of the road, which is unnecessary, save in the ascent of that one acclivity. The injury, arising from this, is not alone the loss of the power, necessary to draw this additional weight. The increased weight of the engine produces increased wear and fracture of the rails, and of the engine itself, and this perhaps constitutes the most serious objection to such acclivities. Either the danger, arising from accidental fractures, must be encountered, and the increased wear and tear of the road incurred, or

* The same principle was asserted by Dr. Lardner in his Evidence before the Committee of the House of Lords on the Great Western Railway Bill. The opponents of the bill, who promoted a rival line to be carried through Basing, from London to Bristol, produced a section of their line, which showed that no inclination exceeded twenty-one feet in a mile. Dr. Lardner proved, that, so far as the mere mechanical power necessary to work this road was concerned, it was equivalent to a level.

rails of sufficient additional weight and strength must, in the first instance, be laid down.

The great extension, which the application of steam, to the purpose of inland transport is about to receive, from the numerous rail-roads, which are already in progress, and from a still greater number of others, which are hourly projected, impart to these subjects of inquiry considerable interest. Neither the wisdom of the philosopher, nor the skill of the statistician, nor the foresight of the statesman, is sufficient to determine the important consequences, by which the realisation of these schemes must affect the progress of the human race. How much the spread of civilisation, the diffusion of knowledge, the cultivation of taste, and the refinement of habits and manners, depend upon the easy and rapid intermixture of the constituent elements of society, it is needless to point out. Whilst population exists in detached and independent masses, incapable of transfusion amongst each other, their dormant affinities are never called into action, and the most precious qualities of each are never imparted to the other. Like solids in physics, they are slow to form combinations; but when the quality of fluidity has been imparted to them, when their constituent atoms are loosened by fusion, and the particles of each flow freely through and among those of the other, then the affinities are awakened, new combinations are formed, a mutual interchange of qualities takes place, and compounds of value, far exceeding those of the original elements, are produced. Extreme facility of intercourse is the fluidity and fusion of the social masses, from whence such an activity of the affinities results, and from whence such an inestimable interchange of precious qualities must follow. We have, accordingly, observed, that the advancement in civilisation, and the promotion of intercourse between distant masses of people, have ever gone on with contemporaneous progress, each appearing occasionally to be the cause, or the consequence, of the other. Hence it is, that the Urban population is ever in advance of the rural, in its intellectual character. But without sacrificing the peculiar advantages of either, the benefits of intercourse may be extended to both, by the extraordinary facilities, which must be the consequence of the locomotive projects now in

progress. The intercourse between the towns of Manchester and Liverpool, exclusive of the travellers from intermediate places, already amount to fourteen hundred persons daily, the number being tripled, since the establishment of the rail-road. By the great line of rail-road, which is in progress from London to Birmingham, the expense of passing between these places will probably be halved, and the quantity of intercourse at least quadrupled, if we consider only the direct transit between the terminal points of the line; but if the innumerable tributary streams, which will flow from every adjacent point, be considered, we have no analogies, on which to build a calculation, of the enormous increase of intercommunication, which must ensue.

Perishable vegetable productions, necessary for the wants of towns, must at present be raised in their immediate suburbs: these, however, where they can be transported with a perfectly smooth motion, at the rate of twenty miles an hour, will be supplied by the agricultural labourer of more distant points. The population engaged in towns, no longer limited to their narrow streets, and piled story over story, in confined habitations, will be free to reside at distances, which would now place them far beyond reach of their daily occupations. Thus the advantages of the country will be conferred upon the town, and the refinement and civilisation of the town will spread their benefits among the rural population.

Much as has been said on the important effects of the economy of time, which has been consequent upon the increased speed on rail-roads, the extent, to which that benefit is capable of being carried, even at present, has been but imperfectly estimated. In the only cases, in which rail-roads, adapted to a large intercourse of passengers, have yet been constructed, their length has been extremely limited. The longest, we believe, has been that between Liverpool and Manchester; that journey of thirty miles is performed in an hour and a half, and ten strings of carriages, or *trains* as they are called, pass, daily, between these places. There is also a post for letters three times a day. It is obvious, that any greater speed than this, in so short a distance, would be quite needless, and, consequently, no attempt at an increase of expedition has been

made. The case, however, will be otherwise, when longer lines of road have been completed: the dispatch of mails, especially, will demand attention.

The powers, as to speed, of the present engines, supposing no improvement to take place, greatly exceed the rate of motion, maintained upon the Manchester rail-road. The full trains of passengers, usually transported upon that road by a single engine, weigh about fifty tons gross: with a lighter load, a lighter and far more expeditious engine might be used; the expense of transport would be somewhat, though not seriously, increased; but there would be no mechanical difficulty whatever in its accomplishment. When, therefore, London has been connected with Birmingham and Liverpool by a line of rail-road, the commercial interests of these places will naturally direct attention to the attainment of the greatest possible expedition of inter-communication. For the transmission of the mails, doubtless, peculiar engines will be built, adapted to light loads, and fitted for great speed. With such engines, the mails, together with a very limited number of passengers, will be dispatched; and setting aside any possible improvement, which locomotive steam engines may, and we may add must, receive; and confining our views to the actual state of the locomotive engines, as they exist at present, we do not hesitate to express our conviction, that such a load can be transported at the rate of from sixty to seventy miles an hour. If we would express expectations of what *may* be hereafter (the probable improvements of the steam engine being duly considered), instead of a conviction of what *can* be, the engine being in its present state, we should say, that even double that velocity is quite within the bounds of mechanical probability. We only await the completion of the line of railway from the metropolis to Liverpool, to witness the transport of mails and passengers between these points, in the short space of three hours. There will be, probably, three posts a day between these places. The necessary consequences, with respect to intermediate places, are so obvious, that we shall not enlarge upon them.

We regret, that our limits preclude us from noticing various other interesting and important topics, which engaged the

attention of the Association at the late meeting. In truth, the difficulty, which we have found, has been in the principle of selection. Where all was excellent, it was difficult to choose; and we have no doubt, that many of our readers would excuse us, if we trespassed even further upon their patience, with such treasures before us, as those, which the proceedings of the various sections produced. Never were these subdivisions of the Society more effective, than on the late occasion—never was the zeal and activity of their leading members more irrepressible—and never was the public interest in their discussions more unequivocally evinced. Indeed, our only apprehension for the future is, that the magnitude and importance of the Society will swell beyond the limited means of accommodation, which can be afforded by the places, where its visits are expected. Dublin possessed many advantages,—the magnificent halls of her university, the numerous theatres in the same establishment, the splendid lecture-rooms of the Royal Dublin Society, the spacious library and council rooms of the Royal Irish Academy, and, above all, the magnificent arena for the evening meetings, afforded by the Rotunda,—were such accessories, as can hardly be expected elsewhere. Besides these, the unbounded hospitality of the Irish people, the festivities, both public and private, with which the advent of the Association was hailed, the splendid natural scenery, with which the metropolis of Ireland is begirt, formed a combination of attractions, which, we fear, will not soon occur again. Still we may look forward to the advantages of greater proximity, which the place of the next meeting will present. Bristol will be easily accessible to foreigners, whether coming by Southampton, by Dover, or by London. The neighbourhood of Wales, of Devonshire, and of Cornwall, and the not very distant attractions of the south of Ireland, will form additions to the more legitimate attractions, arising from the immediate business of the Association. The warm and hospitable invitation of the civic authorities, and the inhabitants in general, of Bristol, give assurance, that no exertions will be spared, to afford every practicable accommodation.

From all that has been stated, it will be apparent, in how cordial and unqualified a manner the objects of the Society, its proceedings and its organisation, have received our approval. Shall we, then, be patiently indulged by its distinguished pro-

moters and supporters, while we advert to one or two points which, we consider, might be advantageously corrected?

The public press, with that freedom and independence, which so happily characterise it in this country, has canvassed the proceedings of the successive meetings of the Association, and, as must necessarily happen, some diversity of opinion has existed, and occasional disapprobation has been expressed. Among the leading and most influential members of the Association, we were sorry to observe a degree of soreness and tenderness on this subject, which we should have supposed that a very short continuance in public life must have removed. At the late meeting the press was spoken of in terms, which we listened to with distress. Essays, which appeared in periodical publications of the very highest character and respectability, have been stigmatised in language, which was as unworthy of the objects, to which it was applied, as of the distinguished abilities and high reputations of those who uttered it. It is not our present purpose to discuss the question as to the expediency of anonymous writing; but, speaking practically, has it not received the sanction of literary as well as scientific men of every party? Do the members of the Association mean to cast a stigma upon every contributor to our leading periodicals, when they designate the pen of a reviewer as "the dagger of "a skulking assassin?"

Do these learned persons not know, that the anonymous labours of Scott, and of Southey, and of Brougham, and of Wilson, and of Macaulay, and in short, of every name, which has adorned the annals of our literature, in these latter times, have enriched the pages of the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, of Blackwood's Magazine, and the other periodicals? Do they not know, that the leading statesmen of the day, however eminent their rank and station, have not regarded themselves as dishonoured by such labour? Can they be ignorant, that Playfair and Brinkley, and other illustrious deceased philosophers, besides the most splendid living names in their own immediate ranks, the Herschels, the Brewsters, the Whewells, and a galaxy of others, whom we shall not stop to enumerate, have all repeatedly exercised the functions of reviewers? And are such men as these, fitting objects to be sneered at, as "anonymous censors," if they happen to qualify their approbation

of the subjects under their consideration, or to be branded as "skulking assassins," if they express their disapprobation in language partaking of vigour or of force? We acknowledge, with unfeigned concern, our inability to account for the ebullitions, which it was our misfortune to witness on this occasion, and our difficulty is enhanced equally, whether we consider the persons, from whom such ill-judged and indecorous attacks proceeded, or those against whom they were notoriously directed. Both one and the other,—standing as they do, in the very highest ranks of science, hitherto linked together in the bonds of private amity, both respected, not less for the talents and endowments, which have advanced them to the most enviable stations in the philosophical community, than for their private and domestic virtues,—are surely the last from whom, or towards whom, such harsh expressions ought to proceed. But we will dismiss this distressing subject, in the hope that such scenes will never again occur between such parties, either in the British Association, or elsewhere.

We are far from defending every attack, which has been made upon certain distinguished members of the Association; we admit, that expressions may have found their way into such strictures, which good taste, and more calm feeling, should have excluded; yet it was surely below the dignity of the Association to make such ebullitions the objects of vituperation, at their annual solemnities*.

* At the late meeting of the Association at Dublin, reporters were excluded. One of the Dublin newspapers, and, we believe, one only, happened to provide for itself the means of reporting, by getting its reporters elected as members of the Association. Other papers either neglected this step until the time at which, by the rules of the Society, they could be elected, had passed, or, as is more likely, they declined availing themselves of this mode of obtaining a report of the proceedings of the Association, which we think they were fully justified in doing. It is impossible to imagine any thing more unwise than this strange proceeding of shutting the doors of the meeting against so powerful a means of diffusing the influence of the Society as the daily press. It will doubtless be answered, that the members of the press, like other residents in Dublin, might have become members of the Association; but we reply, without hesitation, that, *as reporters*, and in that character only ought they to have sought admission. If they came in the character of *members*, and acted *sub rosâ* as *reporters*, they would be doing an act of questionable propriety. As reporters, and as reporters only, whether members or not, should they have presented themselves at the doors of the meeting, and as such they should instantly have been admitted, and not only admitted, but fitly and conveniently accommodated. Their exclusion betrayed,

So much has been said, both in private and public circles, as well as through the medium of the press, on the impropriety and bad taste of the speeches of some members of the Association in which, in rather unmeasured terms, they publicly eulogise each other, that we would willingly have left the matter as it stands, rather than add to what has been already expressed. This feeling of disapprobation has been so universal and unequivocal, that we had looked forward to its discontinuance at the recent meeting. We are, however, with regret, compelled to say, that the late congress was as obnoxious to the objection, as any of the former. Indeed, the amiable, though, in our view, mistaken zeal, of some of the speakers, carried them so far into the extravagance of panegyric, that they became flagrantly absurd; and nothing but the respect, which the endowments of the speakers commanded, could have prevented the general assembly from occasionally bursting into laughter. The charge of mutual adulation was even noticed by the speakers, in the same speeches, which confirmed its truth. These distinguished persons, however, seemed to us to entertain, in perfect good faith, the conviction, not only that the charge was groundless, but that it met with no public sympathy. In the most friendly spirit, we beg, however, to assure them, that they are, in this respect, under a delusion. Never was a feeling more universal and unequivocal, than the pain and distress with which these reciprocal *éloges* have been listened to; and we do sincerely trust, that this conviction will speedily find its way to the minds of the speakers themselves, who, in other respects, have, and cannot but have, the admiration and esteem of every individual, in and out of the Association.

The Association have heretofore published volumes, professing to contain reports of their annual proceedings. From these, however, we should form a very inadequate notion

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on the part of those who managed the details of the late meeting, a deplorable want of knowledge of public feeling and of public usage. We trust that a like error will not be again committed.

A charge was made, in some of the Dublin papers, against those who arranged the details of the meeting, that, in the admission of the reporters of the one newspaper above mentioned, they were influenced by political party feeling. It is scarcely necessary to say, that there was not a shadow of foundation for such a charge.

indeed of the usefulness and efficiency of the society; they contain, for the most part, reports of the progress of different branches of science, very similar to those historical sketches which are to be found in every encyclopædia. It has been objected, with great truth, that, if the task of drawing up these reports, be committed to men of the first eminence, their talents will be misapplied, and their labour diverted from its proper channels. If, on the other hand, they be entrusted to men of inferior pretensions, they will become mere compilations, fitted only for an encyclopædia, and altogether in a false position, when placed among the proceedings of the British Association*. Add to this, that the progress of science is slow,—that one hundred years would scarcely fill a report of one hundred pages—that, consequently, these reports must speedily have a termination—that when they do come to their close, the so-called proceedings of the Association will terminate; for all that is contained in the volumes, which we have referred to, beyond these reports, would not fill a sixpenny pamphlet.

In a word, the proceedings of the society, and of its sections, are not of a nature suited to publication in such a form: they are generally lively and animated discussions upon the current topics of the day, in the several departments of science, carried on between men, who have devoted the labour of their lives to such researches. These discussions are full of attraction, and of usefulness, as is proved by the profound attention, with which they are heard by crowded assemblies; but they would lose all their freshness, animation, and beauty, when transferred to a "volume of transactions." We are convinced, however, that this error of the Association in the publication of Proceedings, must correct itself; and we, therefore, finally dismiss the topic.

In London, in Edinburgh, and in Dublin, there are established national societies, devoted specially to various departments of science. Besides the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh, and the Royal Irish Academy, whose

* Among the reports already published, there is at least one which is very little removed from a literal transcript of an article in a popular encyclopædia.

objects are general, there are others, for more specific purposes, such as the Linnæan, the Geological, the Astronomical, and Zoological Societies These, with scarcely an exception, date their establishment antecedently to that of the British Association. Upon the general principle of the division of labour, each society might be assumed to be more competent to work out the details of its objects, than any association, partaking of a universal character. When the British Association was first established it was avowed, with a very laudable intention and feeling, that it had objects peculiar to itself, which, without interfering, would conspire with, the various societies of a more special nature. It will evidently tend to the advantage of all these bodies, if this original condition be kept in view. To fulfil it, the British Association should, in a great degree, attain its ends through the instrumentality of those more limited societies: it should act with them, and through them, and not independently of them. It should use them as committees, or sub-committees, far more efficient in dealing with the details of projects, than a large migratory and evanescent body, like the Association. It is clear, also, that, in proportion to the weight of character which the Association will ever carry with it, its wishes and its suggestions, will become equivalent to commands: it will be relieved, also, from tedious and embarrassing details, to which the limited duration of its annual sessions are inadequate; added to all which, the bonds of connection, which would thus be established, between this great society and the smaller, though older institutions, would transfer fresh and young blood into such of them as have been supposed (perhaps erroneously) to be falling into decrepitude, and would give additional vigour and activity, even to those younger societies, whose exertions, of late years, have done so much towards the progress of science. The facility, with which these views may be realised, is further increased by the fact, that every active member of the Association, without a single exception, is also a member of those societies, which are specially devoted to the cultivation of the sciences to which he has consecrated his exertions.

At the annual congresses, which have been held hitherto by the Association, the division of the session has been usually limited

to five days: a sixth is devoted to a general meeting, by which the assembly is closed. These six days have been always appointed in uninterrupted succession, the session being opened on Monday, and terminated on the following Saturday. Since the magnitude of the Association has increased to such an unforeseen extent, as that which it has recently reached, and the public interest, excited by its proceedings, has attained a point which its most sanguine promoters could hardly have anticipated, the exertions of its members have been stimulated, and the proceedings in its sections have been greatly extended and increased. The evening meetings also, which were originally intended merely as re-unions, have likewise been devoted, as we have already stated, to the delivery of scientific discourses. Under such circumstances, the labour, to which the leading members have been subjected, during the session, and the demands, even on the attention of those who have merely formed the audience, have been so severe, and uninterrupted, as to produce a very general wish, that some modification might be adopted which, without abridging the valuable fund of discussion and instruction, afforded in the sections, and at the general evening meetings, would still leave intervals of rest, which might be also appropriated to social and convivial enjoyment. Against this has been objected the inconvenience of a protracted session. We cannot help, however, recommending some extension of the duration of the congress, and the advantage of alternate days of labour and of rest. Let the congress open its business on Tuesday, and continue it on alternate days, until its six days of business be completed. This will extend the duration of the session not beyond eleven days, the six working days being interrupted by six days of rest, including the sabbath. We would recommend the council of the Association, the only part of it which have a permanent existence, and who possess full discretionary power for the purpose, to make a trial of this change on the occasion of the next meeting at Bristol.

Article V.

General Treaty of Vienna.

Additional Treaty relating to Cracow concluded on the 21st of April (3rd of May), 1815.

Accustomed as we are to the sinister and unscrupulous manœuvres of Russian diplomacy, which have, for the last twenty years, been more boldly designed, and more ably executed than those of any other power in Europe, we think that the secret and gradual influence of the court of St. Petersburgh has attracted less attention than it deserves; whilst even the more brilliant successes of its armies and its fleet have been regarded with a sluggish or a despondent apathy, by the statesmen of Europe. The secret influence to which we here more especially allude, is that which the councils of Russia have exercised, and are still exercising, upon those cities, provinces, and states, over which it has acquired by treaty, or assumed by force, an ostensible right of protection. Whenever a right of this kind was obtained by Russia at the settlement of Europe, in 1815, in conjunction with other powers, the influence of those powers has been paralysed, as surely as that of the northern court, or of its most intimate allies, has been promoted; until it could be safely abused, and converted into a more absolute display of authority. Whenever the cities and provinces of some other power have been made the object of this protection, Russia has affected to look upon the duties or the privileges of its charge as equivalent to actual co-domination; and it has begun its own work of subjugation by conferring a species of semi-independence upon those provinces, which were first detached from their habits and practice of allegiance to their former master, by the perfidious suggestions or skilful policy of their future oppressor. Greece, Moldavia, Wallachia, Servia, and a number of other tracts of country, not less favoured by natural and commercial advantages than these, have already been impelled to assert their independence, or supported in the maintenance of rights which they trust may one day confirm their entire emancipation. The suggestions which have awakened or fostered a spirit of disaffection in these provinces,

have had the two-fold aim, and the two-fold advantage of detaching them from the Ottoman Empire, and thereby weakening the power of the Porte, whilst they have themselves been prepared for a further change, more directly advantageous to Russia. For the powerful assistance and interested encouragement which has enabled them to attain their present semi-independence—a state which their imperfect resources, and backward civilisation, renders them but little fit to maintain—are only the preludes to their ultimate and absolute subjugation by a power which is ever ready to barter the temporary support of arms and counsel, for the constant and precious birth-right of national independence. If we go back to the history of the separation of Poland itself—where the more recent aggressions of brutal force are apt to make us forget the long and early aggressions of intrigue—we shall find the same ready zeal on the part of the Muscovites to protect, and the same unfailing progress from advice to protection, from protection to the rigours of oppression, domination, and final destruction.

The case, indeed, is not exactly illustrative of our remark, which was applied more especially to the arts by which the Russian policy wrests a portion of territory and population from the sway of another prince, or the protection of other nations, before any party, except the false guardian and active plunderer, is aware of the change. It is, however, evident that a state, a province, or a nation, which enjoys the protection of one or more powers, foreign to its own immediate sovereign, may, and, to a certain extent, must, be considered as placed in a state of *transition*. Under these circumstances, a change will sooner or later take place, by which it will either dispense with that protection of the two or more powers, which it previously enjoyed; or it will be subjected to the more exclusive interference and direction of one of its protectors. This consequence is inevitable, it belongs to the very nature of political relations, and it is corroborated by the most constant experience. But it is sufficiently clear, that the conduct, or at least the secret agency of the power possessing, or aspiring to possess, the larger share of authority, must exercise the greatest possible influence on the issue of this change. Unfortunately, the experience of the last few years shows

that Russia alone has had the art of turning the modification to her own advantage, whilst her co-adjutors have either not been unprincipled enough to rival her projects, or not bold enough to counteract them. The nations over which she already extends her protecting sway are rapidly shaking off the bonds of their old allegiance, but they are still unconscious of the secret disease which consumes the inner springs of their national existence. If treaties have awarded a joint right, and accordingly imposed a joint duty of protection, upon foreign powers over any Russian subjects, or over such provinces as are destined to be swallowed up in the empire, Russia has always found means to render that protection ineffectual; the rights which it established have been disused or forgotten by the other parties, in proportion as they have been exerted and abused by her; until the state of semi-independence, which those treaties established and promised to maintain, has been succeeded by one of absolute and lasting subjection.

The example of Poland—of the country which occupied so prominent a place in the General Treaty of Vienna, and of the nation which was specified in that Treaty as the "*Polonais de l'ancienne Pologne telle qu'elle était avant* 1772," (the period of the first partition),—the example of Poland, indeed, is uppermost in our minds, whenever we speak of the encroaching ability of Russia, and of the ineffectual guaranty which the pledged faith and subscription of assembled Europe has been found to afford. But however little inclined we may be to justify the plea of inability, which has been urged by some of the contracting powers of the Treaty of Vienna; however we may be disposed to deplore the want of alacrity and energy, with which the representations of England and of France were made—those representations which should have been remonstrances, strengthened by all the dignity of our national promise, and all the dangers to which the events of that time expose our foreign relations;—however convinced we may be that the conditions upon which the Polish nation was given over to the three powers by the other contracting parties were never duly enforced, nor their infractions pointed out for redress; we are ready to admit that the objection which the governments of France and England, parties to the Treaty, make

to taking those steps to which they were morally and politically bound, was a specious one. They asserted, that nothing was more difficult than to maintain, or to regulate, the relations between a sovereign nation and a dependent state, by foreign interference. It is true, that this assertion throws no small degree of blame upon the treaty itself, and upon the foresight of those by whom it was concluded; since it at once denies the existence of that compensation which they proffered to the Polish nation for its independent existence, and abandons that people to the supreme pleasure of its first enemies. But the objection is by no means void of foundation, for in order to remedy the mischief the treaty itself must have been discussed, its imperfections revealed, and its provisions and expressions so changed, in conformity to the spirit by which it was first dictated, as to ensure a more exact compliance with the wishes of the contracting parties for the future. Difficult as the task of enforcing the stipulations of that treaty is now asserted to be, and arduous as the fulfilment of the moral obligation which the contracting parties had imposed upon themselves was found to become, it is incontestable that the most ordinary precautions were not taken in the affair. The solicitude of that English cabinet which first demanded the existence of "an independent power established in Poland, under a dis-"tinct dynasty of its own," and afterwards appeared in the light of a protector and of a security for the existence of Polish institutions; or the slightest reflection, on the part of the minister, must have demonstrated the duty which he had contracted, of maintaining a diplomatic agent upon the spot. Without an agent of this kind, the protective functions of England and France became a mere abstraction: the infractions of the contract they had signed, were matters of hearsay. But the presence of individuals empowered to represent the influence which those courts thought proper to assert in 1815, might have tempered the sway of the sovereign to whom they would have been accredited; might have kept alive the sparks of a liberal and hopeful feeling in the minds of the governed; might have prevented frequent and early collisions; or lastly, might have signalised the flagrant abuses of authority, before it was too late to obtain redress. Had such envoys existed, the state of Poland would have been known to the cabinets of

western Europe; the insurrection might have been foreseen, and must have been better understood; and the policy of England and France, during the struggle, would not have been hood-winked by their unparalleled ignorance of the long oppression which preceded it. Such is not the policy of Russian protection; unlike the distant and neglectful promises of England and of France, she does not bury her eggs in the sand, and imagine her work to be accomplished; but by unceasing vigilance, she perfects every project her monarchs have ever conceived; using the wariest means of beguiling the shepherd, and the surest of seizing her prey; profiting as much by the omissions of her antagonists as by her own fertile schemes; nay, even turning the hostile designs in which they have not patience or skill to persevere to her own ultimate aggrandisement. It is not our intention to recall the numerous instances in which the Russian cabinet has swept away the impediments or baffled the precautions of other powers, which, by some strange mis-management, more fatal than Russian artifice, have been set up too early, or recollected too late. The time will come, when every successive step of Russian dominion, when every line of territory which has been won by a power so accustomed in the words of the poet to

' S'appuyer sur l'obstacle, et s'élancer plus loin,'

will be traced back to the faults and failings of the indifferent stewards and sleepy warders of the civilised states of Europe. But our more immediate purpose is to point out the last outwork, which is still tenable in that frontier fortress of western Europe which we have lost; and to describe the position of a state, declared to be " a free, independent, and strictly neutral " town," by the eight powers which assented and subscribed to the Treaty of Vienna, whilst it was placed by its constitution under the more immediate protection of three of those powers. We allude to the ancient city of Cracow.

It would be difficult to determine the exact motives which gave rise to this last stipulation, and which placed a limit to the independence of that little state, by placing it under the special protection of Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Those motives were, unquestionably, very different in the minds of the several contracting parties of the Treaty of Vienna; although the more evident and assignable reason was the

jealousy of the three surrounding powers, who were equally interested in preserving the strict neutrality of the territory of Cracow. But, however this may be, the functions of the protecting powers were determined by a Constitution which was, from this very circumstance, appended to the General Act of the Treaty of Vienna, and declared to constitute an 'integral part of the arrangements of the Congress' (Article 118). The future destiny of Cracow, and the form of its constitution, were not regulated by a special treaty concluded between the three protecting powers, but by the general assent of all the Courts of Europe. Now this was clearly intended to show, that, although the northern powers were specially interested in the preservation of the *neutrality* of that territory (which was consequently assigned to their guardianship), the other contracting parties were no less interested in maintaining the two former conditions of *freedom and independence*, which were solemnly conferred upon the town of Cracow; and of maintaining these conditions against the possible aggressions of the triple protectorate itself, or any member of it. If such was the intention of the contracting parties, it remains for us to inquire how it has been realised.

The neutrality of the territory has been repeatedly violated by parties of Cossacks in the most flagrant manner. But, without alluding to the frequent incursions and oppressive acts of the protecting powers, during more than fifteen years, we pass at once to more recent and more violent measures. In 1831, a division of the Russian army, under the Generals Rüdiger and Krassowski, occupied that territory for two months. Pretexts were not wanting to justify this aggression, but the Austrian government remonstrated with great energy; and the Russian division at length quitted the territory, though it still remained upon the frontier. During this occupation every kind of abuse was perpetrated with impunity; the Bishop of Cracow, a prelate eminently distinguished for piety and virtue, was arrested in his palace, and kept in close confinement; it was with the greatest difficulty that he succeeded in transmitting two protests to Prince Metternich, and the Papal Nuncio at Vienna; and, during his detention, the vast and religious population of the city was deprived of the benefit of the sacraments of the Church. The Russian troops imposed

the cost of their maintenance upon the little Republic, and left lasting marks behind them of their contempt for the tranquillity of the town, and the opinion of the other powers of Europe. At length, however, Austria and Prussia acceded to the reiterated demands of Russia, which represented Cracow as a nest of disaffection, and an agreement was entered into, in 1832, by which it was determined, that in future troops should be held in readiness by each of the three powers, and that upon the demand of two of their resident agents, detachments, consisting of an equal number of men of each nation, should be allowed to occupy the territory of the Republic.

What opinion would be entertained—we will not say by statesmen—but by men of common sense and common feeling, if the neutrality of Switzerland, for instance, were guaranteed by a stipulation, authorising the invasion of its territory by a French, an Austrian, and a Sardinian army, provided the number of those troops were equal? Hitherto the fundamental principle of neutrality, as recognised by the law of nations, has been allowed to consist in the inviolable sanctity of the territory from all foreign invasion. But it was reserved for the ingenious constructions of Russian policy, to teach its allies and Europe this new method of preserving the *strict neutrality* of a state. And here we cannot forbear alluding to the skilful use which Russia makes of the *occasional* assent of her allies, to forward her own *invariable* ends. We do not question that the ultimate purpose of the Russian government is to occupy the territory of Cracow, to pluck the white eagle down from its last hold, and to break into the last refuge of the Polish language and the Polish name. To attain this fixed end, it will find means to turn the occasional compliance or present interest of one of the other two protecting powers to its own advantage; the demand of two of the residents will be followed by the occupation of the town; the remonstrances of the third party are paralysed beforehand by the arrangement of 1832; and when the Russian troops re-enter Cracow, a degree of jealousy will be sown between the consenting and the opposing ally, which may end in leaving the lion's share at its own disposal. However the neutrality of Cracow may be affected by such a measure, it is certain that the independence and liberty of that republic will be wholly lost; and if the

former be a subject of concern to the three powers alike, the latter is more peculiarly obnoxious to the purposes of Russia.

The object of the Congress of Vienna, in creating the independent state of Cracow, was to confer upon a very small portion of the Polish nation institutions fitted to maintain some vestiges of the national character*. The senate of the republic was elective; the banner of Poland still floated on those walls; and the University of Cracow was opened to the inhabitants of the adjacent Polish provinces for study (Additional Treaty of the 3rd May, 1815, art. 15), and the purposes of a

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* The importance which was attached to the Constitution of Cracow at the Congress of Vienna, and the fact of its being the only document of the kind drawn up at that important conclave of European statesmen, and textually inserted in the Treaty, induce us to give our readers some idea of its contents. The reason of the remarkable attention paid to this subject by the plenipotentiaries of the greatest states in Europe was that it was regarded as a necessary counterpoise to the protecting authority then awarded to the three powers of the north.

The first articles of the Constitution proclaim the Roman Catholic religion to be that of the country, though all sects are tolerated alike, and all citizens are equal before the law. The government of the free town of Cracow consists in a Senate composed of twelve members, called Senators, and a President; nine of whom are chosen by the Representative Assembly, and the four others by the Chapter and the University. The elective franchise is possessed by the members of the secular clergy and the University, by all owners of real property paying a land-tax to the amount of fifty Polish florins, manufacturers, merchants, artists, and professors. The Representative Assembly thus elected was invested with a control over the expenditure of the state, the right of impeaching all public officers, and of deliberating on all laws which had previously been passed by the Senate. Article 12 directs that the Representative Assembly should immediately appoint a Committee to form a civil and criminal code, in which due attention is to be paid *to the localities of the countries*, and *the spirit of its inhabitants*. The judicial functionaries, composing the Tribunals of First Instance and of Appeal, were to be in part named for life, and in part elected by the townships. In some cases the University was empowered to refer causes a second time to the Court of Appeal. By the concluding articles, all public acts were to be drawn up in the Polish language; the revenues and expenditure of the University were declared to form part of the budget of the town; and the interior military service was to be conducted by the municipal militia, and a certain number of gens d'armes.

Such is a brief abstract of this document, which bore the date of the 3rd May, 1815, a day of evil augury to Polish freedom. It will be observed, that the protecting powers are not mentioned in the whole act; and that all the rights of legislation, taxation, justice, education, and public security, are vested in the inhabitants of the city. This, however, is now changed.

national education. But the constitution of the state has long been overlooked by the Commissioners of the protecting powers; and Russia has not only forbidden any of its Polish subjects to frequent the University, but has, on more than one occasion, removed individuals thence who had excited its supreme displeasure.

We may, perhaps, be required to produce authentic documents in support of our assertions; but in calling public attention to these facts, we freely confess that we have not the means of access to documents of this kind. We are bound to presume, that the agreement of the year 1832, to which we have alluded, was duly communicated to all the courts that subscribed the Treaty of Vienna, by which the freedom, independence, and neutrality of Cracow were acknowledged: we cannot but suppose that the substitution of another constitution by the three resident commissioners, for that which was declared to be an integral part of the Treaty of Vienna, is well known to the ministers of England and of France—although the threats, and hostile bayonets, by which that substitution was effected, may possibly have escaped their attention. The abrogation of the privileges of the University, the pillage of its libraries, and the arbitrary control exercised over its landed and funded property, as well as the numerous violations of the special and common rights of the inhabitants of that unfortunate, though free, independent, and strictly neutral city, cannot but have been matters of observation in the cabinets of Europe.

But if such were indeed the case—if the charms of novelty do indeed belong to the shameful and public occurrences we here denounce—if the courts which participated in the Treaty of Vienna, are only apprised of the breaches of that contract by rumour—and if the diplomatic relations, which they maintain with the protecting powers, are insufficient to check or to make known the abuses of that protecting authority—we do, indeed, feel ourselves justified in asking, how it comes to pass that the duty of maintaining a solemn pledge has been forgotten, and the suggestions of a clear and immediate interest, involving their own security, and the principles on which the politics of Europe rest, have been disregarded?

That all the contracting powers of the Congress of Vienna

enjoy an indefeasible right of forming any kind of relations with a state, which, like that of Cracow, has been declared to be free, independent, and sovereign: and that this right is not barred by the protecting authority of the three powers of the north, is an undoubted point of international law. To adduce an example, we may mention the commercial treaty which was recently concluded by Great Britain with the town of Frankfort; a town which has never professed to enjoy the exclusive and sovereign privileges with which Cracow was invested, and which is only possessed of a quasi-sovereignty under the Germanic confederation. Nor can the small extent of the state of Cracow be admitted to annul this right of independence, unless the validity of a contract is to be appreciated by the dimensions of the contracting parties, and unless Russia is to obtain by her size that preponderance which she seeks to establish by her arts.

That the contracting parties of the Treaty of Vienna, have incurred the moral duty of maintaining such relations as may be needful to prevent the abuses of that treaty, we have endeavoured to show.

Lastly, it remains for us to say something of the direct interest which those parties, and more especially the cabinets of England and of France, have in placing diplomatic agents at Cracow, who may be able to counterbalance the excessive influence of the resident commissioners of the three protecting powers. We shall not, for this purpose, enlarge on the commercial importance of the town. Though, indeed, placed as Cracow is, on the banks of a large navigable river, and in immediate contiguity to the commercial systems of Austria, Prussia, and Russia; exempted as it is from custom-house restrictions, by which means it serves as a market for goods prohibited in those countries; and favoured by all the natural productions of the adjacent provinces, such as wheat, zinc, timber, &c., this spot cannot but possess a certain degree of commercial importance, and furnish an important point for observation. Nevertheless, we do not hesitate to admit, that commercial motives alone would be insufficient to justify the establishment of a British or French consulate there. The missions which England and France are interested in sending to that spot, are more of a political than a commercial nature;

and the commercial motive could at best furnish a pretext for their establishment. But political interests, and the necessity of paying a vigilant attention to those conditions which the experience of the last twenty years has shown to be but too easily eluded, furnish imperious reasons for the measure we propose, and these it may be well openly and firmly to avow. The part which it befits the agents of England and of France to act at Cracow, requires that they should be placed, as much as possible, upon the same rank as the residents of the protecting powers. We shall conclude, by pointing out some of the principal objects which would necessarily and naturally claim their attention.

The little state of Cracow, with a territorial extent of 496 square miles, and a population of 120,000 inhabitants, is the only portion of the ancient kingdom of Poland, whose independence was recognised and guranteed by Europe at the Congress of Vienna. The other provinces which once composed that empire, and which now contain a population of 20,000,000 of inhabitants, were divided into four distinct portions, and subjected to different sovereigns, under very different conditions. This arrangement, or to speak more correctly, this partition, was ratified in 1815, professedly with a view to the general interests of Europe; but at the same time, a feeling of justice, and possibly a presentiment of a future change, induced the contracting powers, in all the transactions of Vienna, to treat the Polish provinces as parts of one nation, connected by inseparable interests, and possessing common claims to the respect of stipulated rights at the hands of the several rulers, under whose sway the Poles had fallen. The nature of those rights is well known. But our present object induces us to remind the reader, that they were placed under the guaranty of all the contracting powers of the Treaty, and that the condition of the Polish nation must *ipso facto* be looked upon (in conformity with the principles we have already pointed out) as one of transition. That condition was such as must in time have brought about, either the gradual political regeneration of those several provinces and their ultimate reconstruction on the one hand, or the final destruction of their separate existence, by the gradual suppression of

the rights which were stipulated, but insufficiently guaranteed, by the powers of Europe. Until one or other of these results shall be obtained, and obtained in conformity with the spirit of the Treaty of Vienna, Poland must remain in a state of continued crisis. And we affirm without fear of contradiction, that the former alternative is the only one which does not violate the spirit and the letter of that treaty; the only one which the interests of England and of France can allow them to sanction; and at the same time, that nothing but decided and persevering measures can obtain a result which is no less important to the welfare of Europe, than it is essential to the maintenance of strict principles of international justice.

From what we have already remarked, it may easily be seen that the Free Town of Cracow, as it was constituted by the Treaty of Vienna, represents in miniature, and comprises within its narrow boundaries, the sole remnant of the provisions made by the Treaty of Vienna with regard to the four other portions of ancient Poland. The meaning of those provisions was clearly to waive the purpose of immediately recomposing the ancient monarchy, but to preserve its nationality unimpaired. The three powers to whom Poland was made over solemnly contracted to respect that nationality. Rigorous conditions were imposed upon them, as a *sine qua non*, with a view to enforce their observance of the promise. The same powers were also invested with the protectorate of the free town of Cracow, to which, not only its nationality, but its independence was secured; and this independence, added to the stipulations which opened the University of Cracow as a resort of study to the natives of the other provinces, cannot but be looked upon as an additional, and a most important guaranty, given to all the Poles for the maintenance of their nationality. For this reason the contracting powers, whose right, duty, and interest it is to maintain that nationality, are bound to pay especial attention to the fulfilment of those clauses of the Treaty of Vienna which concern the University of Cracow. Those clauses are, in themselves, of the utmost importance—an importance, which is increased by the gross violations to which they have been subjected, and by the total evasion of the end for which they were drawn up. Unless it

be admitted that the powers of the north are to construe and pervert treaties at their pleasure, the stipulations which have been so boldly broken, must at some future time be renewed by more effectual negotiations, and at the present moment they form no unfitting theme for just and warm remonstrance.

Cracow is then, as we have already observed, a point well adapted for commercial observation, and pre-eminently suited for a watchful attention to the political conduct of the three powers towards the Polish nation, which was surrendered to them by Europe IN TRUST. In consequence of the stipulations made in favour of the Polish interests, which to a certain extent affect the three powers alike, these three governments are united in a common opposition to the nation, and to those very stipulations which were made in its favour *. From no one spot can this united action, this summary bent of their policy with regard to Poland, and this determined prosecution of the means most conducive to its final annihilation, be so accurately observed as from Cracow. There the three protecting residents are to be seen actively at work, animated for the most part by an ominous unanimity, and yet distinguished by characteristic traits of policy, which may serve even better than more important proceedings, to betray the disposition of their respective governments, not only with regard to Poland, but with regard to some of the most serious matters of the policy of Europe. Cracow may justly be considered as having once more become the capital of Poland, as it was for ten centuries; and upon no other spot in that country, is it possible to collect permanent diplomatic representatives of all the great powers of Europe, at the present time. On this point alone is the independence of a Polish community ostensibly recognised; on this point alone, neither Cossack, nor Prussian, nor Austrain, can domineer, or indulge in unbridled violence, without infringing the treaties of a European Congress. In the capitals of the three powers we can only cope with them singly; but in Cracow, the agents of

* See the Convention of München Gratz, in 1834, for the reciprocal extradition of Poles, and the entry of the troops of the three powers upon their several territories in case of *disorder* in Poland.

a British government may contest the violations of plighted faith, and resist the united action of the councils of the Holy Alliance. There, and there alone, can we meet, under a palpable form, that Union which was founded in a criminal conspiracy, which has been cemented by the protectorate of Cracow (a circumstance which might have been turned to no bad account by proper management), and that coalition which exists indeed in the other parts of Poland, but which may escape your observation, and baffle your remonstrances elsewhere. If you urge, at Vienna, the maintenance of Polish nationality, and the representative institutions promised to the Poles by the 1st Article of the Treaty of Vienna, you can only be understood to allude to the Poles of Gallicia; at Petersburgh, and at Berlin, the claims which may be preferred apply in like manner to certain portions of Poland exclusively; but at Cracow, on the other hand, stipulations which interest all the Poles alike, may be enforced; and the representations which might be made would be addressed to the three protecting powers conjointly, to their residents acting in concert, and exercising, as such, a kind of usurped sovereignty over that little state, which it would be the duty of a diplomatic representative to reduce to a strict conformity with the limits of the protectorate, as laid down by the Treaty.

Nor are these the only reasons that can be alleged: Cracow presents still further advantages as a point of observation; it is a frequent and favourite residence of the Polish subjects of the three adjacent states; they seem to breathe more freely within its walls; the police of the three powers, though scarcely less inquisitorial, is less violent in its proceedings; the occurrences which take place in the other parts of Poland are discussed with more freedom, and by this means Cracow furnishes a rare opportunity of observing the separate policy of Austria, Prussia, and Russia.

We have already observed the use which Russia has made, and is still making, of the circumstance of her having two coadjutors, one or other of whom may always be ready to support her measures, and to overpower the resistance of the third. But this same circumstance might be made no less available in the hands of a foreign power, in enforcing the stipulations

which have been made in favour of Poland, by supporting the views of the minority. It is clear, that, since there were three parties to the original partition, two of those parties are always more intimately united to each other than they are to the third. The history of the last fifty years amply confirms this assertion, which is founded upon the nature of things.

At the time of the first partition, in 1772, the more intimate union subsisted between Russia and Prussia; Austria only consented to accept her share of the spoils. In 1790, Prussia was alarmed by the progress of Catherine in Turkey, and concluded an alliance at Warsaw against her. In 1799 and 1805, Austria and Russia fought together, whilst Prussia had concluded a separate peace with France. In 1812, there were bodies of Austrian and Prussian troops in Napoleon's great army which invaded Russia. In 1828, the anxiety and the jealousy with which Austria witnessed the passage of the Russians across the Balcan, did not allow her to desist from her warlike preparations until the peace of Adrianople was concluded. Lastly, at the present moment, it cannot be doubted that, of these three powers, Austria is the one which it may be the most easy to associate in the political interests of western Europe, as soon as the alarm with which she contemplates that alliance can be dispelled.

It is, moreover, evident that these alternations cannot but have exercised a degree of influence upon the condition of Polish affairs. The Poles have been mixed up in all the important changes which Europe has witnessed; and although sixty years have elapsed since the epoch of the first partition, they have not ceased to retain their weight in the scale of events. The modifications which have taken place in the policy of the three northern powers with regard to Poland, have served instantaneously to betray the occasional differences which have crept into their councils. As these modifications have been effected by administrative and domestic measures, they have invariably preceded the more overt demonstrations of international rivalry; but they have most frequently served merely to betray the existence of incipient dissention, which produced no adequate results, for want of being duly known and cultivated by the cabinets of the west.

These various considerations appear to us to show that it is incumbent on the powers which were parties to the Treaty of Vienna, to resolve, in concert, or severally, upon the appointment and immediate mission of agents, bearing the title of "CONSUL-GENERAL and RESIDENT at the free, independent, "and strictly neutral town of CRACOW."

*** The Conductors of the *British and Foreign Review* feel it incumbent upon them to contradict the report, that this work is connected with, or controlled by, the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland. With whatever zeal they may advocate the cause of that oppressed nation, their feelings of sympathy with its sufferings, and of indignation against the barbarous tyranny of its oppressor, are excited by an independent consideration of treaties violated, and wrongs and cruelties unmerited and unjustifiable. It would, indeed, be a subject of the greatest satisfaction to them, if, by their humble labours, they could assist the exertions of the Literary Association, by keeping alive the public attention to the degraded situation, and the melancholy fate, of the Poles. But their design has a more extensive aim. They contend for the restoration of Poland, as a barrier against the spread of Russian despotism, as a bulwark against the encroachments of savage hordes on the cultivated plains and civilised societies of Europe. The independence of Poland is sought for not only on its own account, as an act of justice, and an atonement for the most heinous political crimes, but also as being necessary to the protection of those, who, in almost every country of Europe, are struggling for their rights against privileges, guarded by force or sheltered by hypocrisy. It is to defend liberty against its false friends and avowed enemies, that this journal has been undertaken, and every effort in the cause of freedom will be hailed, with equal pleasure, in whatever country it may be perceived.—ED.

Article VI.

Greece and the Levant; or, Diary of a Summer Excursion. By the Rev. R. Burgess.
Steam Voyage down the Danube. By M. Quin.

Important as is every question at this moment connected with the state and destinies of Turkey—arduous as the investigations are into the long-neglected, but deeply-interesting social state of the east—still may we seek these scenes at times, to look with less elevated aim for humbler objects. Apollo's bow is not always bent, and Reviewers' shafts are not all destined for noble quarry. From the consideration of the eastern questions that hitherto have occupied our pages, we turn to the tourist's outpourings of the last few months, with a feeling of contentment, not indeed inspired by the able investigation, the faithful exposition, or the luxurious illustration of eastern policy and manners, but by the reflection that such volumes as those which lie before us can no longer satisfy the inquiry, or pervert the judgment of the European public. Happily the spirit of philosophical investigation has been awakened, and this change will soon be followed by a similar one in the character of writers.

Most emphatically do we confirm the statements of a contemporary*, who has exposed the impracticability of a tourist arriving at a knowledge of the real condition and sentiments of the Turks. The essay to which we refer has combined, in the compass of a single Review, more information on the state of Turkey than can be collected from the whole periodical press during a series of years; but it has done more; it has thrown out, beyond what it has stated, inducements to serious reflection.

Our contemporary has ably described the baneful influence, on our diplomatic relations, of the *Dragoman* system. He has likewise laid bare the errors into which travellers necessarily fall, not so much by their ignorance of the language, which is only a negative evil, as by the false impressions conveyed to them

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* *Foreign Quarterly*, No. 30, 424 *et seq.*

through their interpreters. We are anxious to add the testimony of our own experience, drawn from a residence at Constantinople. An Englishman residing in Constantinople, able to converse in French, Italian, and Greek, employs a *Dragoman*, who is generally (it was our own case) an Armenian, conversant with one or more of these languages. Now it was our daily task to correct our long-practised *Dragoman*, who had been in the constant habit of interpreting our forms of speech. Such being the fact in the case of persons familiar with each other, and with the subject of their discourse, what must be the position of a stranger, investigating the abstract questions of government, religion, and morals! The title page, dedication, or preface, of most authors, would make it appear, however, that no such obstacles exist. A "summer excursion," an "autumn residence," or "Tartar trip," has sufficed to gain such a knowledge of the prevalent opinions and propensities of the people, as to enable the stranger to comprehend, what is commonly called, their genius and national character. Long residence, familiar acquaintance with the language, and confidential intimacy, are necessary to acquire this information, in all countries; and the difficulty of obtaining the latter facility in Turkey is proverbial. Yet to dogmatise upon the political, religious, and legal institutions of the Turks, is the self-sufficient function of travellers, after a residence of a few months.

Another source of fallacy is the pride of quickness in observation—the affectation of intuitive perception, that requires only a *moment* and a *part* to judge of a *perpetuity* and a *whole*. They witness the exhibition of the dancing *Dervishes*, and pronounce on the absurdities of the Koran*—they are arrested in their passage through the streets, by the prompt punishment of a falsifier of weights, without other trial than the production of the imperial standard, and expatiate on the absence of juries.

A third source of grave error is, the tendency to found observation on a system, not a system on observation. The

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* The dancing Dervishes are rather Catholics than Mussulmans, as they believe in the Virgin Mary.

fact is, few travellers in Turkey have possessed original eyes and ears. Their guides commonly point to the same class of persons, customs, and institutions, as fit objects of notice, and give one uniform explanation. When diverging from the ordinary vague notions of the country (for example, those concerning opium eating, and a plurality of wives, which have been carried home and amplified in their closets for half a century back, without verification or change), the cause of divergence in every case can be traced to a peculiar source of information. But even if the opportunities in Turkey for prosecuting political investigations with advantage, were commensurate with the difficulties of the subject, and the ability for pursuing them as great as the number of eastern books of travels, and both equal to the pretensions of their authors; still the common sense of Europeans would expect, that a period something longer than "five months" might be advantageously bestowed on the labour. Yet this, Mr. Quin's working term, is above rather than below the usual time given to investigate, comprehend, and detail the household economy, public institutions, civil administration, and national policy of Turkey.

We are, however, wasting our space and reader's time in explaining the ground-work of the faults of travellers, when we can exemplify them.

First, we have "*Diary of a Summer Excursion*," by the Rev. Richard Burgess, B.D. a note book of trivial observations, and remarks gathered from consuls and dragomans, and subsequently swelled with ancient names from Lempriere, or other school books. Mr. Burgess has seized the opportunity of conducting a few school boys over Greece to place his name on the title page of a couple of duodecimos. We select a few passages:—

"We were invited to sit down, which we ought to have done before the invitation was given; for that which would be considered vulgar and impertinent in our notions, secures greater respect in the eyes of a Turk. I was strongly recommended, although I did not adopt the system, always to treat a Pasha with the most sovereign contempt."—(Vol. I., p. 67.)

An admirable frame of mind for an observer of mankind to commence his acquaintance with an unknown country.

"The religion of the Albanians is neither Mahometanism nor Christianity, but a counterfeit of both."—(p. 60.)

As a churchman, Mr. Burgess was bound in duty to describe this new doctrine, but his views turn more on history.

" If St. Paul preached round about into Illyricum, he *must* have comprised the province of Epirus. We are almost constrained to recognise the curse which rested upon the land whose inhabitants *appeared* to have refused the offer of the Gospel. The Turkish yoke almost *appears* to have been *reserved* as a punishment to the generation *that came after*."

Here is a specimen of the logic applied in investigating a state of society different from our own, and of which one of the diversities is a difference of religion—in exploring the wide and instructive pages of the volume of humanity!

A few contradictions.

" To a man who values human life, or can feel for the degradation of his species, no city on earth can be less tempting as a residence than Constantinople." —(Vol. II., p. 229.)

" It may appear strange that such a mighty population should be governed *without an army, and a police.* There is *something* wise in the administration of justice, but that system *necessarily* contains in it the seeds of decay."—(p. 237.)

" This heterogeneous mass is kept together by allowing each body to decide their own causes; in this manner, too, the direct taxes are levied, by allowing each community to collect the stipulated sum, by assessing themselves."—(p. 238.)

" He (the traveller) is condemned to witness the demi-barbarism of a people which he has no hope of contributing to ameliorate."—(p. 229.)

" The avidity with which they *(the Turks)* seize learning is remarkable. Mr. Goodall says, he can compare them only to a man who has suddenly awoke from a deep sleep, to see novel wonders standing around him."—(p. 231.)

" The missionaries have made use of something like a *pious fraud* in inserting passages from the Proverbs of Solomon, and even from the Psalms. The Mussulman teachers are ignorant whence the words of wisdom are drawn, otherwise they would not be admitted by the side of the Koran."—(p. 231.)

Is Mr. Burgess so ignorant of the dogmas of a country whither he was conducting his pupils, and which he was describing to Europe, as not to know, that the Old and the New Testaments are as holy in the eyes of the Mussulmans as the Koran? Did he never learn the title conferred on Christ by the prophet of Islamism—the Spirit of God? A young Turk, lately at Cambridge, gave so severe a chastisement to that unfortunate spirit of fanaticism that has hitherto disgraced Christians in Europe, and distorted their judgment in the east, that we cannot refrain from repeating it. Some junior member of the university, displeased at having to make way in Trinity chapel for these young Turkish officers, made some intelligible remarks on Turks entering a house of Christian worship; one of the Turks turned round, and

exclaimed, "Their house of worship! Is this not the house "of God?"

A few more contradictions.

"As we passed through a wide valley, I was struck with the abundance of cattle, and the comparative number of the population. The peasantry have the most happy appearance, and their demeanour is respectful to travellers."—(Vol. II., p. 271.)

"Let us describe things as they are:—These are, a lawless state of society, and imbecility of the government. The business of the police is *not* to bring the murderer to justice, but to facilitate his escape. In this way, reciprocal vengeance goes on increasing, until one whole family, or tribe, rises in arms against another."—(Vol. I., p. 97.)

"I could scarcely believe this to be the country into which travellers dare scarcely venture; so tranquil the scenes—so hushed now the wildness of the peasantry."—(Vol. I., p. 87.)

"Mr. Urquhart has written a book to show the benefit of direct taxation, and the working of the system which allows municipalities to tax themselves for the gross contributions required by the government. This system, laid down by the Arabs, and pursued in Turkey, excites the Author's admiration; to it he attributes the hitherto durability of the Turkish power, and to a contrary system all the evils which commercial nations suffer!"—(Vol. II., p. 238.)

Mr. Urquhart has written no book to prove any theory of taxation whatever; he has analyzed the system of Turkey—he has shown that Turkey had a system. He has found, and pointed out the principles of conservation that exist in Turkey—he has also exposed and classified her abuses; but Mr. Burgess, knowing nothing of Turkey, has referred his own impressions to Europe, and instead of following this guide in the investigation of the institutions of Turkey, turns round in his dogmatic style, and exclaims, "This is a book to prove "the benefit of 'direct taxation.'"

We conclude with a specimen of the learning of the "*Summer Excursion*," addressed, be it observed, to a lady. "Beware of bottles, or anything of a fragile nature—be not "tempted by hot pickles and Harvey's sauce (or Burgess's), "*unless you would know the latin of luggage.*" As this fair correspondent may not have been so recently studying Cæsar's Commentaries as the travelling tutor, we beg to inform her that the latin for baggage is *impedimenta.* The continuation of the "useful information" is worthy of the attention of other embryo tourists—"Let your robes be as "light as the zephyrs." Did the B.D. of St. John's College, Cambridge, walk about in this costume? "and your mantle as

" thick as the folds of Minerva Medica." We suspect something mysteriously learned here, but we must not neglect advice of a practical and intelligible nature. " I would " recommend a jug of brandy, some tea, and a little mac- " caroni."—" You may boil your water under a fig tree."— " Take thick sandals for the rough mountains; and never " refuse private letters of introduction."

" How much learning, and how little knowledge!" Such were the words with which a lady, in our hearing, laid down the couple of duodecimos; to her verdict we have not a syllable to add.

We now turn to Mr. Quin's " Steam Navigation down the " Danube," an excursion of "*five months*" through Hungary! Turkey!! Greece!!! and Italy!!!!

Mr. Quin places on his first page a dedication to " Mrs. Michael Quin," which we present to our readers as a refreshing instance, in this degenerate age, of domestic love and patriarchal simplicity; encouraging attributes in one whom we are to accompany to regions where man is still left to the waywardness of his nature, and can best be appreciated by congenial minds!

" To Mrs. Michael I. Quin.

" To you I dedicate these volumes, trusting that you may find in them some compensation for my late absence from a home, where, as you well know, all my happiness resides. When our dear children shall be able to read this work, you will tell them that *their* interests only could have detained me from that home during the five months necessarily occupied in my journey.

" Always most affectionately your's,"

" *Haverstock Hill, Hampstead.*"

The first few pages of this work stamp its literary character. The author does not relate ordinary things in an ordinary manner. For instance, he arrives on board the steam ship at Pesth:—

" The guardians of the vessel were all wrapped in sleep, so imperturbable that I could find nobody to marshal me the way to a berth in the cabin.

" By the glimmering light of a lamp, which was suspended from the roof, I at length discerned a vacant corner, and having doubled up a seat cushion, by way of a pillow, and arranged another, as no mean apology for a bed, I threw myself upon it, wrapt in my cloak, resolved to subside at once into profound repose."

Of course, a page at least must be bestowed on his awaking. Here is a portion of it:—

" Morning was far below the horizon, and I, of course, concluded that our

invaders would soon be tired of their rather premature entertainment. But vain were all calculations of that description; anecdote followed anecdote; interrogation — answer — reply — rejoinder — sur-reply, and sur-rejoinder — slight titters—partial laughter—general shouts—coursed each other with indefatigable speed round the circle of the merry congress, until the broad daylight streamed through the windows, and dissipated every hope of peace. I was shocked at my ungallant thoughts, when I surveyed my fair enemies, and found that there were amongst them two or three really pretty Hungarian ladies." (Think of your dedication, Mr. Q——)—"I confess, God forgive me! that I had, more than once, wished them all at the Antipodes."—(Vol. I., p. 3.)

We commend Mr. Quin for independence of spirit, in filling his pages in perfect disregard of the cost of printing.

"TYROLESE EMIGRANTS SLEEPING.

"While I was admiring the felicity in which these sleepers appeared to be immersed, a woman, with a child, the wife, I presume, of one of them, came and awoke him. He rose, and she took his place. Throwing a handkerchief over her otherwise bare head, she settled herself to sleep. The sun is blazing on her ladyship; the child, a round, chubby little urchin, has no fancy at present for following her example. He would very much prefer a game at romps. Trying what he can do in that way, he slily, laughing, pulls the handkerchief off her face. Half angry, she gives him a tap; but he returns to the charge, and succeeds for a while in attracting her attention by his artless tricks, until at length he falls asleep on her bosom. She then gladly resumes her interrupted slumber. She is arrayed in a, &c.

"At the feet of this happy matron, a Tyrolese boy is fast asleep. Near the mast, a group of men, all Tyrolese, are engaged in the several offices of talking, listening, smoking, musing, whistling, singing, and gazing at the dense cloud that rushes into the firmament from our black chimney. They are all rather better dressed than my immediate neighbours," &c.—(p. 13.)

"Dinner. We sat down, a large and merry party, to the table. I must honestly confess that I enjoy a good dinner at all times, and in all places; but I fancy that I entertain a particular relish for the performance of my duties in that way on board a steam boat. The air, the exercise, the novelty of the scene, the emulation kindled amongst a number of candidates for a participation in the spoil, and perhaps, above all, the savoury odours of soups and stews which mingle beforehand with the atmosphere of the deck, conspire to whet the appetite to a degree of keenness almost unknown on terra firma. We commenced operations with rice soup, which was followed, of course, by bouilli; some sundry dishes of roast fowl, and of fowl cooked as giblets, and well cooked, too. By way of relaxation, we were then invited to admit a layer of bread pudding upon the said fowls, with a view to prevent them from finding fault with what was to come after—a prudent measure. The dinner was closed by capon, served up with plums, in their own syrup for sauce. Upon the whole, notwithstanding the monotony of the entertainment, it went off, as the theatrical critics say, with *eclat.*"—(p. 23.)

These selections have been made by turning over ten pages at a time. If we had undertaken to select according to the matter, our task would have been, indeed, Herculean.

We shall presume once more on the patience of our readers, still decimating the author's pages. The following extract accords somewhat equivocally with Mr. Quin's Dedication.—(p. 54.)

"Parting Game—kissing.—I have no objections myself to a merry round game for an hour or so at night. This my new friends soon found out, and they could not account for it, though I explained it as an affair of habit. However, one auction game they said we must have before we separated, in which the whole cabin must be interested, and the first prize was to be accompanied by a licence to the winner, if a gentleman, to kiss every lady on board. My gallantry was touched by this proposal, and, of course, I sat down at the table, upon which there was a general shout of triumph.

"The ladies joined in the game, as they said, for their own protection.

"In due course, the cards were drawn for the prizes, and placed under them; the ladies were already preparing, by coquettish smiles, and transient blushes, and gentle palpitations, for the visitation they were about to undergo. At length the ominous card was called out, when, lo! the serjeant proved to be the happy man! Her Ladyship, with inimitable grace, allowed the cyclop to kiss her hand, with which he had the good taste to be contented; but he had ample revenge, amidst peals of laughter, on a dry old maid, whom nobody would have kissed but himself."

In what manner the public is to be improved, or even amused, by all this, is beyond our comprehension. In our younger days our merriment would have been more excited, and our mind not less edified, by the adventures of Little Red Riding Hood, illustrated as this book is by penny pictures.

Instead of singling out particular excellences, we must be content to classify a few of them.

Mythological lore.—(p. 114.)

"Wherever I looked around me, it appeared as if I had found a mystic portion of the globe, which, like the face of Satan, 'deep scars of thunder had intrenched;' where Chaos still held her reign, and none but the Titans of elder time could hope to dwell in security."

Of the same character.—(p. 119.)

"A looking-glass, hoary with age, and cobwebbed, was suspended in the old-fashioned slanting position between two coloured old Jack Tar prints of Juno in her car, drawn by swans, with a rainbow in the distance; one of Cybele in her chariot, to which a lion and a panther were yoked. Beneath the wheels, a rabbit, a rat, and a mouse, were gambling; and behind her a great camel was star-gazing. Her ladyship was about to drive over a pyramid."

Early lessons in household affairs, designated "Hungarian Civilization."—(p. 119.)

"I asked for some warm water to shave with. The waiter brought it to me in a dinner plate: I could not help laughing at this extraordinary novelty; and he then brought me the kettle, and compromised the matter at last for a tumbler, which was rather an improvement on the steam-boat, where I never could succeed in getting hot water, except in a tea-pot.

"This reminds me of an anecdote which the Count tells with the most ludicrous effect, as a proof of the barbarism in which his country is yet enveloped. An old lady, a friend of his, received a present of porcelain from England, including cups, saucers, plates, dishes, and basons, of every kind; amongst the rest a bidet. When the latter article was examined, nobody belonging to her household could at all make out for what purpose it was destined; but as it was a handsome piece of manufacture, they were resolved that it should not be thrown by in a corner. One day, the good dame invited, as the custom is in Hungary, a very large party to dinner, at which the Count, and some other noblemen who had visited foreign countries, were present. To the ordinary luxuries of the table, was added a roast pig, which, to the great amusement of the civilised part of the company, was served up in the *bidet*."

It was well Mr. Quin's appetite was always good.

Mr. Quin records, in terms of admiration and wonder, the general intelligence of the Hungarians on subjects almost foreign to them, and the liberal opinions that he found diffused even among the lower orders of this people; our own experience enables us to corroborate this fact; we chanced to be in the country at the time when Catholic Emancipation was discussed in the British Parliament. The debates were read, the divisions watched, the sentiments of the speakers scrutinised, the names and opinions of the leaders known, with an accuracy and earnestness not surpassed by higher classes at home. We have seen the coffee-houses thronged with village politicians, anxiously waiting the arrival of the newspapers. One person read aloud the intelligence, and then all entered upon the discussion of the topics suggested, with a calmness and sagacity that astonished and delighted us. It gives us entire satisfaction, to refer to p. 135, *et seq.*, on the subject of the censorship. The matter is well treated by the author, and deserves careful perusal. The style and substance of these pages, as also p. 146, which treats of the corporation, finances, education, &c. are so different from the portions painfully cited by us, that we can scarcely believe the whole to be the work of the same hand. We cannot imagine how the intelligence which dictate those inquiries should be again suddenly lost at p. 151, where the author makes the "discovery," and brings away a "rude memorial" of "Trajan's celebrated bridge" across the Danube. The scite of this ruin he might have found—without quitting the fire-side he loved so much—on the map.

Mr. Q. has redeemed many faults, in our opinion, by laying before the English public a translation of Prince Milosch's

speech. This document is so valuable, that we earnestly recommend it to the attention of our readers. We have heard it designated by a German statesman as "the most important "state paper he had ever read." Not only does the substance of this speech, but its composition also, carry back our memory to the former ages of our own history.

Our ancient chronicles furnish many beautiful illustrations of the value of that form of government designed by Prince Milosch. Unhappily for Servia, Russia has been too clear sighted in detecting the independence, power, and tranquillity, that the carrying out the prince's plans for his country's regeneration would effect. Prince Milosch has been reprimanded by Nesselrode.

One or two observations on the road side, are recorded, which we transcribe with great pleasure. Speaking of a village in Bulgaria, through which he passed, he says—

"The road through the street was the natural sod, trod into dust, and hardened by use. With all these symptoms of poverty, there appeared everywhere an abundance of all the necessaries of life, and a degree of personal ease, or rather of indifference, about the inhabitants, who, by the way, were mostly armed in the Turkish fashion, which induced me to conclude that those who are remote from the haunts of civilisation, even Zitara Palanka, was not without its share of the general happiness bestowed by a benignant Providence on mankind."—(p. 200.)

At Rutschuck he saw several shops of artisans and of merchandise, "which were well stored. I saw nobody attending. "They were quite open to the street; as when the shutters are "taken down there is no glass window to prevent any person "who chooses from entering."—(p. 234.) The same thing is daily witnessed in the most thronged parts of Constantinople. The following incident, highly characteristic of rural life in the east, is very properly noticed by him with admiration.

"There was a waggon in the yard, filled with grapes, which a Turk was preparing to tread out. I went to the waggon, and, selecting a cluster of the grapes, helped myself, looking, at the same time, round for some person to whom I might pay the price of them. The owner made his appearance, with a very surly frown on his face; but when I tendered him some pieces of silver, he, with a very different expression of features, not only refused them, but picking out two or three of the best clusters he could find, substituted them for the inferior one which I had chosen for myself."—(p. 250.)

Our traveller, in pursuing his journey, learns, very much to his consternation, that the Russians were in the Bosphorus, preparing to take possession of Constantinople, and assured

that "unless England should in time prevent them, they would "be masters not only of the capital, but of Turkey."

"While this conversation was going on, they gathered gradually around me, and expressed themselves quite anxious to know whether I thought that my countrymen would really come to their protection. They appeared to despair of being able to do any thing in their own defence, and *even accustomed to the idea of resigning themselves to Russian supremacy, unless England interposed in their behalf.*"—(p. 273.)

The acknowledgment of the moral influence of England over Turkey is described in Mr. Quin's most natural manner.

"I began to feel myself somebody of distinction, to have doubts of my personal identity, as all my habits and tastes were formed amid the shades of life, wherever I could find them. But here I was invested with a character which seemed, in the opinion of the Turks, to place me at an immeasurable distance above themselves in the scale of existence. They saw in me a simple, dusty-coated, jack-booted, unshaven, travel-stained equestrian; nothing but my country, *of whose power to accomplish whatever she resolves to do in any quarter of the world, they entertain the most entire conviction.*"—(p. 276.)

The truth of this statement is verified by our own experience, and that of every English traveller. England has always exercised a moral influence over Turkey; and this too, in spite of severe provocations to a contrary feeling. How strong, indeed, must be the attachment which has resisted the repeated injuries inflicted by us on her government. We have most singularly misused every opportunity of conferring benefits, and seized every opportunity we could possibly find or make of committing acts of aggression. Even now do we commend Turkey for her kindly attachment to our countrymen, and deep veneration for our national character? Do we protect and support her against the vexatious abuse she thereby incurs? No. We look on with apathy, while those who have a direct interest in injuring her, act systematically upon her weakness. Mr. Quin, the latest authority, vouches for this fact; he shows the anxiety with which all classes of Turks, in 1829, turned to England for relief; and depicts the miserable effects produced on their welfare and our reputation by England's deserting her. As he approached Constantinople, the report of Russians being at the capital was repeated by every tongue. "As I was mounting my horse," he says, "several of my new friends pressed their hands on my "shoulder in a warm and even affectionate manner, exclaiming, "in energetic terms, 'England and the Sultan at Stamboul, the

"Russians *in the sea.*"—(p. 287.) Petty disturbances are magnified into national feelings of insecurity. People who are most disposed to settle down in quietness are sure to be harassed by some fresh report or change. Tranquillity is the best restorative for the weakness of Turkey. To be let alone, is all she craves from her friends; but such a condition is most opposed to the results sought by Russia, and hence confusion and doubt are disseminated with an earnestness, and at a cost, which it is hard to make the honest English statesman credit.

We now approach Constantinople with our author.

"The capital of the Constantines," Mr. Quin writes, "has no rival in this planet of ours, in external appearance, at least, and in peculiar advantages of its position. Having free access to the Mediterranean through the Hellespont, it may, with every possible facility, defend itself at the Dardanelles from a maritime force; and having shut its gates at that point, may withdraw to the Marmora, the Bosphorus, or the Euxine, repair its ships, build new fleets, equip, and abundantly provision them, from a populous and fertile territory, and rush out again upon its enemies with an overflowing force.

"Or if the chieftain, who is master of Stamboul, choose not to run the further risk of maritime war, he need only put the key of his gates at the Dardanelles in his pocket, turn his men-of-war into merchant ships, and find employment for them in trading along the coast of Turkey, Asia Minor, the whole of the borders of the Black Sea, to which the silks of Broussa, the carpets and brocades of Persia, the rice, and fruits, and corn, of all that territory, and the riches of Central and Southern Russia, are brought.

"If not content with the field of the Euxine, he may extend his commerce, without a single convoy, along the Danube to Wallachia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Servia, and Austria, attracting within his reach, in exchange for the productions of the east, the spoils of all Germany. When the Danube shall be united with the Rhine, by means of the canal now about to be formed, the ruler of Constantinople, though at war with Syria, the Barbary States, Egypt, Greece, France, Spain, England, and the two Americas, may not only live in safety within the castles of his Dardanelles, but carry his trade to the very verge of the British channel, fearless of all the naval powers in the world!"—(p. 294.)

It is truly painful, after this passage, to find the following:—

"Two little pug dogs were busy at a game of romps, running here and there, grappling with each other, rolling each other over, biting the back of each other's neck, leg, or tail, without hurting it,—barking in well-feigned passion, the fugitive turning on the pursuer, who, in his turn, effected a retreat. Some sturdy cocks were gadding about, crowing at intervals, to remind the world of their importance. Geese and ducks frequented the pool, and every time a cock crew, they gabbled in chorus. The sound made a pelican tremble on his throne."—(p. 280.)

We have given a view of the contents of the first volume, excepting the appendix, which consists of a copy of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. The nature and substance of this transaction have been long known to the public, but the

author deserves credit for being the first to produce authentic copies of the instrument.

That a great change in the relations of the Porte to the other European powers, has been caused by the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, is manifest. No diplomatic cunning can disguise the fact that Russia, by menace, craft, or some means seeking concealment, in a secret article, has overmatched Turkey at a period of dependency, and coerced her into a measure hostile to the terms and spirit of former treaties. *Prior* to this treaty, Turkey had the right to exclude ships of war, of all nations, from sailing from the Mediterranean into the Black Sea. This power of prohibition she exercised according to her own pleasure, she having an equal power to withdraw this exclusion, at her own discretion, in favour of any other state, both in time of war and of peace, whether she was a belligerent or not. At *present*, Turkey is not a free agent, cannot act on her own responsibility, and must obey Russia in opening or shutting the passage. She is bound to defend the entrance against the enemies of Russia, in case they should desire to pass into the Black Sea, even if such passage were for the protection of Turkey herself. *Prior* to that treaty, Russia might go to war without involving Turkey in a like calamity; *now*, Turkey is necessarily a defensive ally, and must co-operate, to whatever extent the Autocrat may dictate. With great reason, indeed, may Mr. Quin ask, and we put the question in his own words, conceiving they possess here a peculiar authority—

"Are we to acknowledge the Czar, the sovereign lord of Turkey, dictating the law of the Dardanelles—the law of nations to the whole commercial world? Are we to endure the continuance of those relations between Russsia and the Porte, by the instrumentality of which, under the mask of a treaty concluded between two powers, one independent of the other, and upon a footing of equality with it only by diplomatic fiction, a rule of warfare is enacted in a clandestine form, to be carried into execution whenever it suits the convenience of the party with whom it originated?"—(Vol. II., p. 41.)

It is very important that the English public should know that the ministers of England and France addressed notes to the Porte, and to Russia, to the effect that their governments should not recognise the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi as valid. The reply of the Autocrat was precisely what we had a right to expect. "Russia would act as if those notes had never been

" written."—(p. 60.)—At this point remonstrance apparently has rested. Turkey still remains under the *protection* of Russia. Mahmoud is not sovereign of his own capital. The treaty has not been cancelled. The Autocrat commands the Dardanelles. We should feel shame to argue with an Englishman so blind as not to perceive that this treaty is a stride onwards in the progress of the final accomplishment of that object, which the passage of the Balkan, the treaty of Adrianople, had for aim,—namely, the possession of Constantinople by Russia. And we should be equally mortified to have to discuss, at this day, the vital necessity to England to prevent the consummation of this design. The pamphlet entitled " England, France, Russia, and Turkey," has " done the state some service" in this matter, by removing every doubt as to the character of the recent acts, and the future objects, of Russia *. Russia, the protector of Turkey! What the nature of this protection is, we can infer, from its workings. These have hitherto been to drive the Porte from all that is estimable in native principle, or civil administration—to stir up the discontent of the people against those very changes which Russian counsel forces on the state. With the sway which the Muscovite ambassador now holds over the Divan, he will not probably try to *crush* the outward symbol of Turkish government, by direct hostility and instant aggression, but, by a skilful policy, *disable* its influence. This the Autocrat will do, by hidden means and stealthy steps, and only have recourse to open violence when alliance and intrigue have done all that is in their nature to do.

We ask any man, who has not written a book on Turkey, if Turkey is not better fitted at this than at any former period of her national existence to manage her own concerns? But even if she do require to be supported and

* We believe this pamphlet is from the pen of Mr. Urquhart—the author of " Turkey and its Resources." The latter work unfolded the first authentic view of the civil and political institutions of Turkey. As to this celebrated pamphlet, we need only re-echo the judgment already pronounced by the English, French, German, and *Turkish* press and public. It is written with a firmness and manliness that stoops to no disguise or equivocation on the one hand, and breaks out into no intemperance on the other. Those who are most likely to be offended with his opinions will have the greatest difficulty to refute them.

propped up, is Russia the staff on which she or we should wish her to lean? Can any one, not the hired panderer to Russia, pretend that the safety and welfare of Russia are so thoroughly identified with the prosperity of Turkey, that the Autocrat takes on himself all the responsibility and watchfulness of her conservation and growth, from pure affection? If not, is England a nation to admit a conviction, and to shrink from its consequences? We interpret the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi as the death stroke of Turkish independence, and the stepping stone to Russsian aggrandisement at the cost of British commerce.

Yet it is not the loss of our present traffic; it is not the substitution of American for English cottons, or the exclusion of our ships and merchandise by the combination of Russian policy and American enterprise, that we have to dread alone, from the existence of the treaties of Adrianople and Unkiar Skelessi, but we deprecate them as being ever-ready instruments for replunging Turkey into anarchy, and of menacing the peace of Europe. What would be the effect on Europe if the absolute possession of Constantinople by Russia is no mystery to the most superficial reader of her history and politics,—thanks to a recent writer, already mentioned, who has exposed her policy with a force and eloquence that has carried conviction into quarters hitherto deemed inaccessible. In Greece, in Servia, in Egypt, in Albania, Russian policy has been traced in characters of blood. The recklessness of the means to which this power resorts for the furtherance of her designs has every where been demonstrated.

Believing, then, as we do, conscientiously, that an unjustifiable and great change has been forced upon the internal condition and external policy of Turkey, dangerous in a high degree to this country, we shall not hesitate to justify, as we best can, England, if she should attempt, even by hostile interference, the restoration of an order of things, safe to Turkey, safe to ourselves, and safe to Europe; and counterbalance, by active operations, the new force clandestinely and nefariously obtained by Russia. If a highwayman pulls out a pistol from his bosom, shall we wait till he loads and presents it? We shall not attack Russia for plundering Turkey of territory,—or the Autocrat, because he has tricked from the

Sultan a share of the command of the Dardanelles, but because we shall be ourselves injured and endangered by the consequences to which the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi leads.

We place the view of the question of interference in a broad and comprehensive light, to accustom men's eyes to look steadily upon its worst aspect—the alternative of war. In this we do not seek to humour the feelings of the multitude, and cause them to take part in the discussion, by working on their passions. We desire to address ourselves particularly to the mercantile interest of the land: they are the parties first interested in the decision. But, as a writer well qualified to lead our opinions on this serious subject eloquently and forcibly writes—

"War is at present impossible between Russia and England,—because the regulation of England's tariff suffices to deprive Russia of half her revenue, and her nobles of all her allegiance—because the Dardanelles are yet Turkish—because the Caucasus is erect—because the practical and visible union of England and Turkey causes Russia and Turkey to change places, rendering the first defensive, and the second offensive—because Sevastopol is *yet* defenceless; and finally, because Russia can injure England only through attacking Turkey—clearly an impossibility with England, committed on the side of Turkey. We therefore conclude, that a conviction on the part of the English Ministry, of the necessity of supporting Turkey, and a knowledge of the means of doing so, will even yet not only save Turkey from absorption, but Europe from a conflict which no one can anticipate without the darkest forebodings*."

We shall conclude this paper, with a few extracts from Mr. Quin, to establish the fact, sometimes doubted by well-meaning persons, that the salvation of Turkish independence is an object worthy of achievement for the benefit of mankind:—

"It is a remarkable fact, though unknown in England, where religious differences even very lately produced very serious differences in political privileges and rights, that the most perfect equality in this respect prevails in Turkey."—"The Divan, under the directions of the Sultan, has prepared, and commenced putting into execution, extensive plans for the education of the community, without, I believe, any distinction of religion. The plan contemplates the erection of colleges and universities."—(pp. 69, 70.)

"The press exists—it affords the example of sound, and, I must add, even of free discussion, upon the most important subjects: and this is more than any of the northern capitals of Europe can boast of."

"One would think that Mr. Hume had been lately a member of the Divan; for there is hardly any class of expenditure which has not undergone a thorough revision, with a view to cut off every source of outlay not absolutely indispensable to the service of the state."—(pp. 71, 72.) "The judicial institutions of

* *British and Foreign Review*, No. I., p. 130.

Turkey are all based upon principles of simplicity, equity, plain good sense, and economy. In the foundations of its jurisprudence no essential change is required; but the officers charged with its administration are frequently incompetent to the performance of their duties, and open to corruption. These abuses must be wholly eradicated in the course of a few years, if the Sultan be *left free to follow his own course.* So also the ancient municipal institutions of Turkey are famed for their simplicity and excellence in every respect."—(pp. 72, 73.)

"Let us protect the Sultan until he shall have matured the reforms which at present exist, principally on paper—until he shall have again become a *power*—until he shall have recovered Silistria—built new fortresses on the Danube—signed the acts of absolute independence for Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia—and opened his first parliament; then Turkey will be safe. And whether Christian or Mahometan, as to the majority of its population, it cannot long remain behind the other nations of Europe in the career of prosperity, freedom, and, above all, of religion."—(p. 77.)

Article VII.

The Fudges in England; being a Sequel to the "Fudge Family in Paris." By Thomas Brown the Younger. 1835.

Thoughts on the Ladies of the Aristocracy. By Lydia Tomkins. Second Edition. 1835.

We confess that we have a great liking for an ancient family. This affection for the antiquity of a name, is, in some degree, independent of the merit and celebrity which may be attached to it. We like it as a sign of continuance; as something belonging to a fellow-creature which presents a contrast of endurance amidst the endless changes of the earth, and links the past to the present. Though it may not be extensively famed, yet, in the fancy of its friends, there cluster around it many imaginings of greatness that might have been, and of good and interesting beings who have borne it during their lives of romance, it may be, and of strange vicissitudes, but who have long since been carried to where "the weary are at "rest." In a very high degree does the representative of an ancient family attract our liking to his name, if by his own deeds he has added to its reputation, and shows a desire of bequeathing it to his children as unblemished as he received it from his ancestors.

With a due respect to their antiquity, and the unchanged reputation always attached to the name, we have long held in high

consideration the ancient family of "Fudges." Some of them, as we know, have long resided in England, and have been ever ready to assist in her domestic squabbles and political changes. But their favourite place of residence, we understand, to be in Ireland. Their usual modes of expression, indeed, are akin to the figurative talk of the emerald islanders.

In the year 1818, some members of this large Irish branch of Fudges made a journey to Paris. The party consisted of Philip Fudge, the father, Biddy Fudge and Robert Fudge, his daughter and son, and a Mr. Phelim Connor, who, apparently, was a friend of the family; and though not bearing their name, yet seems to have been well entitled to it. Mr. Fudge, senior, went abroad professedly to write a book, under the patronage of Lord Castlereagh; this book being to explain and inculcate the principles of the Holy Alliance; but the intended "quarto" was never published, that we know; nor in any sized volume did Mr. Fudge assume the character of an author. Mr. Thomas Brown the younger, a gentleman of high literary reputation, gratified the public by publishing some letters from "the family," written whilst they remained in France. These are generally very interesting. Those of the father, indeed, are too political and rather too prosing, whilst those of Mr. Phelim Connor are too sublime to satisfy us. We attached ourselves in preference to the brother and sister, who landed in France with that buoyancy of spirits, and disposition to be pleased with every thing, because every thing was new, which gives so great a charm to the letters of young travellers. If it is a high gratification to be with children when, for the first time, they see a play or pantomime, to observe their looks of astonishment and pleasure, and to listen to their naïve expressions of feeling,—it has been almost as gratifying to read the accounts given by the affectionate brother and sister Fudge of their experience in Paris. Biddy Fudge, although delighted to find herself in "la "belle France," was yet somewhat disappointed at the unpicturesqueness of the country betwixt Calais and Amiens. Her first letter, written from Amiens, must still live in the recollection of our readers.

"Dear Doll, while the tails of our horses are plaiting,
The trunks tying on, and Papa, at the door,
Into very bad French is, as usual, translating
His English resolve not to give a *sou* more,

I sit down to write you a line—only think!—
A letter from France, with French pens and French ink,
How delightful! though, would you believe it, my dear?
I have seen nothing yet *very* wonderful here;
No adventure, no sentiment, far as we've come,
But the corn-fields and trees quite as dull as at home;
And *but* for the post-boy, his boots and his queue,
I might *just* as well be at Clonskilty with you!"

It was one amongst many lamentable consequences of our long exclusion from the continent during the ascendancy of Napoleon, that English ladies were kept, comparatively speaking, in a most melancholy state of ignorance as to the proper mode of dressing themselves. Their bonnets resembled, in some degree, the bason-like helmets worn by the body guards of some kings in the times of chivalry,—they were low, small, and neither fitted to protect the face from the sun's rays, nor the prying looks of man. Their gowns had no breadth of flounce, on which the eye might rest satisfied, on its descent from the figure; the waist was of an unseemly length, and unfinished by a picturesque "bustle," to allow a graceful falling of the train. The female dress was consequently no great adornment of the person, and it was quite an epoch in a young girl's life when she for the first time found herself amidst the refinements of high chapeaux, ruffs, full flounces, and bustles. Miss Fudge felt acutely the inferiority of her style of dress, and she was too desirous of self-improvement, not eagerly to desire that it should be reformed as soon as possible. But the progress of reform is sometimes interfered with, and greatly retarded, by irresponsible power.

"How provoking of Pa! he will not let me stop,
Just to run in and rummage some milliner's shop;
And my début in Paris, I blush to think on it,
Must now, Doll, be made in a hideous low bonnet;
But Paris, dear Paris! oh, there will be joy,
And romance, and high bonnets, and Madame le Roi."

We trespass upon our readers with another familiar extract —the joyous description of a French breakfast, by Mr. Robert Fudge. They will then, with memories refreshed, be in a situation to determine whether the raciness and spirit of the "Family" have been affected by the lapse of time, or the gloom of our less genial climate:

Oh Dick! you may talk of your writing and reading,
Your Logic and Greek, but there's nothing like feeding

And *this* is the place for it, Dicky, you dog,
Of all places on earth—the head-quarters of Prog!
Talk of England—her fam'd Magna Charta, I swear, is
A humbug, a flam, to the Carte* at old Véry's.
* * * *
Dick, Dick, what a place is this Paris!—but stay—
* * * *
I strut to the old Café Hardy, which yet
Beats the field at a *déjeûner à la fourchette.*
There, Dick, what a breakfast!—oh, not like your ghost
Of a breakfast in England, your curst tea and toast;
But a side-board, you dog, where one's eye roves about,
Like a Turk's in the Harem, and thence singles out
One's *pâté* of larks, just to tune up the throat,
One's small limbs of chickens, done *en papillote,*
One's erudite cutlets, drest all ways but plain,
Or one's kidnies—imagine, Dick—done with champagne!
Then, some glasses of *Beaume,* to dilute—or, mayhap,
Chambertin†, which you know's the pet tipple of Nap,
And which Dad, by the by, that legitimate stickler,
Much scruples to taste, but *I*'m not so partic'lar.—
Your coffee comes next, by prescription; and then, Dick,
The coffee's ne'er-failing and glorious appendix,
A neat glass of *parfait-amour,* which one sips
Just as if bottled velvet‡ tipp'd over one's lips!"

Before we rejoin the Fudges in England, however, it may be remarked, how much greater liberty is enjoyed by the females in France than by those on this side the channel; and how enviable the destiny of French ladies is, compared with that of our fair countrywomen. In what a cruel state of degradation Englishwomen are kept, how obstinately blind they themselves are, in not "seeing, and understanding, and estimating, the "noble aim, the high and honourable importance, that stands "within their reach," has been shown by one of the sex, yclep'd Lydia Tomkins, in her "Thoughts on the Ladies of the Aris-"tocracy." It is by no means irrelevant to allude to this masculine production whilst engaged with the "Fudge Family," for it will afterwards be seen how exactly Lydia's notions of the rights and powers of women harmonise with some "Pro-"posals" made in their favour by Mr. Thomas Brown the Younger.

"Even to their sacred home," says Lydia, "women are pursued by their unfriendly destiny, and stand restricted by the strong barriers of habit and igno-

* The Bill of Fare.—Véry, a well-known Restaurateur.
† The favourite wine of Napoleon.
‡ *Velours en bouteille.*

rance from sharing, or even comprehending the aims, and cares, and occupations, of their nearest and dearest friend."—(pp. 31, 32.) "We might learn on this point," she continues, "a blameless and most useful lesson from our neighbours on the other side the Channel, whose fascination all the world acknowledges; they enjoy a large portion of the means of happiness, which in England men have kept to themselves; the laws are more equal to them."—(p. 9.)

Miss Fudge certainly found this to be the case. With every inclination to oblige his sister, Robert could never, with propriety, have taken her to dine in the coffee room at Stevens's Hotel, or in that of the New Hummums. Biddy must have been left "standing" in her "sacred home, restricted by the "strong barriers of habit and ignorance," from joining in the pleasures of a tavern dinner in public. In Paris she is no longer pursued by her "unfriendly destiny," but is at liberty to go with her brother to Beauvilliers', or the Café de Paris, where she may "share, and even comprehend, the aim, and care, and "occupation, of her nearest and dearest friend—"

> "We din'd at a tavern—La! what do I say?
> If Bob was to know!—a *Restaurateur's*, dear;
> Where your *properest* ladies go dine every day,
> And drink Burgundy out of large tumblers, like beer—"

which, in warm weather, and whilst writing out "Thoughts," might be refreshing, perhaps, even to a temperate Lydia Tomkins.

Let us now suppose an interval of seventeen years to pass, and we have the "Fudge Family" in England." They reappear with the comet; but where it and they have been since the last appearance, we are not informed. Here the "Fudges" are, however, and "Thomas Brown the younger," with them; but we grieve to observe that both he and they have lost some of the vigour and the liveliness of youth, and we fear that Mr. Brown's *liaison* with the "Family" may continue too long for his own reputation.

In the course of seventeen years very great changes are to be expected in the person and mind of an individual, however durable may be his or her family name. Miss Biddy Fudge has, in that time, become more serious in mind, and less attractive in person. Her father is gathered to *his* fathers, and at the commencement of her letters from England, she had not yet found a man worthy to receive her hand and fortune. The Fudges are always attended by an Irishman! In Paris, Mr. Phelim Connor was their attaché—in London, it is Mr. Patrick Magan;

and in *his* first letter, we are told of the changes in Miss Biddy and her circumstances :—

" Who d'ye think we've got here ?—quite reformed from the giddy,
Fantastic young thing that once made such a noise—
Why, the famous Miss Fudge—that delectable Biddy,
Whom you and I saw once at Paris, when boys,
In the full blaze of bonnets, and ribands, and airs,—
Such a thing as no rainbow hath colours to paint ;
Ere time had reduced her to wrinkles and prayers,
And the Flirt found a decent retreat in the Saint.

" Poor 'Pa' hath popp'd off—gone, as charity judges,
To some choice Elysium reserv'd for the Fudges ;
And Miss, with a fortune, besides expectations
From some much revered and much-palsied relations,
Now wants but a husband, with requisites meet,—
Age thirty, or thereabouts—stature six feet,
And warranted godly,—to make all complete.
Nota bene—a churchman would suit, if he's *high*,
But Socinians or Catholics need not apply."

We see no reason to suppose, from Miss Fudge's own two letters, that she would have been at all exclusive in her choice of a husband. The " flirt" had not so completely retreated into the " saint," but that she still looked out, as the susceptible vivacious Biddy of seventeen years back. How favourably she would have received a Catholic lover, may be judged from her account of a dream, in which appeared to her Mr. Magan, a young Irish *Catholic*, we presume, from his hostility to the established church, and Mr. O'Mulligan, the renowned champion of Protestantism, but a much more elderly, and a less attractive personage than Patrick :—

" Last night had a dream so odd and funny,
I cannot resist recording it here.—
Methought that the Genius of Matrimony
Before me stood, with a joyous leer,
Leading a husband in each hand,
And both for *me*, which look'd rather queer ;—
One I could perfectly understand,
But why there were *two* wasn't quite so clear.
'T was meant, however, I soon could see,
To afford me a *choice*,—a most excellent plan ;
And—who should this brace of candidates be
But Messrs. O'Mulligan and Magan :—
A thing, I suppose, unheard of till then,
To dream, at once, of *two* Irishmen !—

" That handsome Magan, too, with wings on his shoulders,
(For all this pass'd in the realms of the Blest)

And quite a creature to dazzle beholders;
While even O'Mulligan, feather'd and drest
As an elderly cherub, was looking his best.
Ah Liz, you, who know me, scarce can doubt
As to *which* of the two I singled out.
But,—awful to tell,—when, all in dread
Of losing so bright a vision's charms,
I grasp'd at Magan, his image fled,
Like a mist away, and I found but the head
Of O'Mulligan, wings and all, in my arms!
The Angel had flown to some nest divine,
And the elderly cherub alone was mine!

"Heigho!—it is certain that foolish Magan
Either can't or *won't* see that he *might* be the man;
And, perhaps, dear,—who knows?—if nought better befal—
But—O'Mulligan *may* be the man, after all."

Mr. O'Mulligan *was* "the man after all," and the Biddy "of wrinkles and prayers," was eventually married to him. He is, in fact, the hero of these "Fudge" letters, and, playing, as he does, a part of great importance, deserves our especial notice. The Rev. Mortimer O'Mulligan, or, as some read the name, O'Sullivan, comes from Ireland to attend a "great" meeting of Protestants convened at Exeter Hall, by nineteen clergymen; amongst them were three Deans, two Doctors of Divinity, the Reverend Mortimer himself, and thirteen simple Reverends besides. Some of these gentlemen, having discovered a "mare's nest," within the *dens* of the Romish church, felt, with their brother conveners, that it was their "imperative, though painful duty" to make the public aware of its existence; and no one denies that they had a perfect right to do so, at the time, and in the place that might best suit them. But, in the joy of their heart at having found such a nest—in their eager exultation at possessing the means to cry down a very troublesome set of opponents, they called loudly upon certain Catholic Prelates to appear, and themselves disprove, or disprove by delegates, if they chose, the detestable nature of the nest.

They pointed with loud cries to one Dominus Dens sitting in the middle of it, a most intolerant and indecent person, who had declared that heretics should be punished with "confiscation of "property, exile, imprisonment, and death," and who had written things more unfit for modest eyes or ears, than even Mr. Thomas Little's poems. This Mr. Dens they proclaimed, à

haute voix, to be the exact representative of Popery, and, in their confidence of this fact, they ventured to challenge the great O'Connell, to appear and deny it,—if he could with truth do so. But the great agitator, as might be expected, treated their challenge with contempt; and for "agitation," there was quite enough of it without his assistance. The Catholic Prelates, of course, did not appear, nor did they send delegates; so that Mr. O' Mulligan and the other reverend conveners, were lords of the ascendant. They began their meetings, for they met twice, by prayer—as the Emperor of Russia in a most solemn manner appeals to the Deity, whilst he outrages the independence of Poland—and then, gave utterance to most unchristian abuse of the Romish church, and the Irish people. Some Roman Catholic gentlemen were ready, and well disposed to reply, but they were refused a hearing; and the hall of Protestantism was a scene of an uproar and confusion that would have astonished St. Jerome, had he been then visiting the earth, even more than the ubiquity of Mr. Hodgson, the pluralist*. It must be confessed, that the exposure of Dens was very complete, and it was satisfactorily shown that his "Theology" *is* patronised by the Catholic prelates of Ireland, and especially by Dr. Murray, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, himself, notwithstanding the discreditable evasive letter he wrote to Lord Melbourne. But at the same time, there was an exposure, as complete as it was melancholy, of a pharisaic intolerant spirit, which could, with delight, fling abuse on the morals and the religion of seven millions of fellow christians; a spirit quite as little akin to that charity which "is not puffed up," "thinketh no evil," but "suffereth long, and is kind," as the most objectionable parts of Dens' theology. The true friends of Protestantism mourned over such an exhibition of intemperate zeal and fiery animosity, pursuing as an end, not so much truth as victory, and quite as eager to vilify as to convince†. The public, generally, were disgusted and silent,

* See page 32, of *the Fudge Family in England.*

† We strongly recommend to the perusal of Messrs. O'Sullivan, M. Ghee, Daly, Cooke, and the company of their admirers, in and out of Exeter Hall, an admirable sermon by Dr. Chalmers, preached in 1818, before the Auxiliary Hibernian Society in Glasgow. The text is, "And why beholdest thou the mote, &c. &c." Matthew vii., 3rd, 4th, and 5th verses. We shall make no apology for submitting to the itinerant outcriers against Popery the following extracts:

but Mr. Thomas Brown the younger, was unwilling to let Mr. O'Mulligan get back unscathed to Ireland, so he attacks him by Mr. Magan, and also by one Larry O'Branigan, who for a short time is Mr. O'Mulligan's valet, but being a good Catholic, "discharges" his master, and quits his service, after hearing his vituperations in Exeter Hall*. Mr. Magan gives the following announcement of Mr. O'Mulligan's arrival in England, and explains the purpose of his visit.

"He comes from Erin's speechful shore,
Like fervid kettle, bubbling o'er
With hot effusions,—hot and weak;
Sound, Humbug, all your hollowest drums,
He comes, of Erin's martyrdoms
To Britain's well-fed Church to speak.
Puff him, ye Journals of the Lord†,
Twin prosers, Watchman and Record!

"May there not be all the violence of an antipathy within us at Popery, and there be at the same time within us all the faults and all the errors of Popery? May not the thorn be in our own eye, while the mote in our neighbour's eye is calling forth all the severity of our indignation? While we are sitting in the chair of judgment, and dealing forth from the eminence of a superior discernment, our invectives against what we think to be sacrilegious in the creed and practice of others, may it not be possible to detect *in ourselves the same perversion of principle, the same idolatrous resistance to truth and righteousness;* and surely it well becomes us in this case, while we are so ready to precipitate our invective upon the head of bystanders, to pass a humbling examination upon ourselves, *that we may come to a more enlightened estimate of that which is the object of our condemnation; and that when we condemn, we may do it with wisdom, and with the meekness of wisdom.*"

* * * * *

"Have a care, ye who think yourselves of the favoured few, how you ever transgress the mildness, and charity, and unostentatious virtues of the Gospel, lest you hold out a distorted picture of Christianity in your neighbourhood, and impose that as religion on the fancy of the credulous, *which stands at as wide a distance from the religion of the New Testament, as do the services of an exploded superstition, or the mummeries of an antiquated ritual.*"

We ardently desire that the reverend orators of Exeter Hall would lay to heart, not these extracts only, but the whole of that most excellent sermon from which they have been taken. Its influence might then, perhaps, be visible in what future endeavours they may think proper to make in spreading the light of reformation among a Catholic people. "It might," we use Dr. Chalmers's own words, "purify their aim, and give it a judicious direction, and chase away from their proceedings *that offensive tone of arrogance which is calculated to irritate, and to beget a more determined obstinacy of prejudice than ever.*"

* Page 80, et seq.

† "Our anxious desire is to be found on the side of the Lord."—*Record Newspaper.*

Journals reserv'd for realms of bliss,
Being much too good to sell in this.

" Prepare, ye wealthier Saints, your dinners,
Ye Spinsters, spread your tea and crumpets;
And you, ye countless Tracts for Sinners,
Blow all your little penny trumpets.

" He comes, the reverend man, to tell
To all who still the Church's part take,
Tales of parsonic woe, that well
Might make ev'n grim Dissenter's heart ache:—

" Of ten whole Bishops snatched away
For ever from the light of day;
(With God knows, too, how many more,
For whom that doom is yet in store)—
Of Rectors cruelly compelled
From Bath and Cheltenham to haste home,
Because the tithes, by Pat withheld,
Will *not* to Bath or Cheltenham come;
Nor will the flocks consent to pay
Their parsons thus to stay away;—
Though, with *such* parsons, one may doubt
If 'tis n't money well laid out;—
Of all, in short, and each degree
Of that once happy Hierarchy,
Which used to roll in wealth so pleasantly;
But now, alas, is doom'd to see
Its surplus brought to nonplus presently!
Such are the themes this man of pathos,
Priest of prose and Lord of bathos,
Will preach and preach t' ye, till you're dull again;
Then, hail him, Saints, with joint acclaim,
Shout to the stars his tuneful name,
Which Murtagh *was*, ere known to fame,
But now is *Mortimer* O'Mulligan!

" All true, Dick, true as you're alive—
I've seen him, some hours since, arrive.
Murtagh is come, the great Itinerant,
And Tuesday, in the Market-place,
Intends, to every saint and sinner in 't,
To state what *he* calls Ireland's Case;
Meaning thereby the case of *his* shop,—
Of curate, vicar, rector, bishop,
And all those other grades seraphic,
That make men's souls their special traffic,
Though seldom minding much *which* way
Th' erratic souls go, so they *pay*.—
Just as some roguish country nurse,
Who takes a foundling babe to suckle,

First pops the payment in her purse,
Then leaves poor dear to—suck its knuckle:
Ev'n so these reverend rigmaroles
Pocket the money—starve the souls.

" Murtagh, however, in his glory,
Will tell, next week, a different story;
Will make out all these men of barter,
As each a saint, a downright martyr,
Brought to the *stake*—i. e. a *beef* one,
Of all their martyrdoms the chief one;
Though try them ev'n at this, they'll bear it,
If tender, and wash'd down with claret."

Mr. O'Mulligan is not more unjust towards the Catholics than Mr. Magan is towards the Protestants. It is well known that in many places these " renowned rigmaroles" are incumbents or curates, who, on a small stipend, render considerable services, even to the Catholic peasantry; that their lives are in general exemplary, and that, instead of their martyrdom being confined to a *beef steak* washed down with claret, some of them have endured the hardships of a potatoe diet, with a fortitude which should preserve them from indiscriminate censure.

It is very easy to defend the *working* Protestant clergy in Ireland; but the plan of their establishment we condemn, as utterly indefensible. The following " trifle," from the set " reprinted" in the " Fudge family in England," exposes, in an admirable manner, the unfair principle on which the established church of Ireland has been hitherto supported: it is entitled " The Dream of Hindostan."

" The longer one lives, the more one learns,"
Said I, as off to sleep I went,
Bemus'd with thinking of Tithe concerns,
And reading a book, by the Bishop of FERNS *,
On the Irish Church Establishment.
But, lo, in sleep, not long I lay,
When Fancy her usual tricks began,
And I found myself bewitch'd away
To a goodly city in Hindostan,—
A city, where he, who dares to dine
On aught but rice, is deemed a sinner;
Where sheep and kine are held divine,
And, accordingly—never drest for dinner.
" But how is this?" I wondering cried,—
As I walk'd that city, fair and wide,

* An indefatigable scribbler of Anti-Catholic pamphlets.

And saw, in every marble street,
A row of beautiful butcher's shops,—
"What means, for men who don't eat meat,
This grand display of loins and chops?"
In vain I ask'd—'t was plain to see
That nobody dared to answer me.

So, on from street to street I strode;
And you can't conceive how vastly odd
The butchers look'd,—a roseate crew,
Inshrin'd in *stalls*, with nought to do;
While some on a *bench*, half dozing, sat,
And the Sacred Cows were not more fat.

Still posed to think, what all this scene
Of sinecure trade was *meant* to mean,
"And pray," ask'd I—"By whom is paid
The expense of this strange masquerade?"—
"Th' expense!—oh, that's of course defrayed
(Said one of these well-fed Hecatombers)
By yonder rascally rice-consumers."
"What! they, who never must eat——"
"No matter—
(And, while he spoke, his cheeks grew fatter)
The rogues may munch their *Paddy* crop,
But the rogues must still support our shop.
And, depend upon it, the way to treat
Heretical stomachs that thus dissent,
Is to burden all that won't eat meat,
With a costly MEAT ESTABLISHMENT."
On hearing these words so gravely said,
With a volley of laughter loud I shook;
And my slumber fled, and my dream was sped,
And I found I was lying snug in bed,
With my nose in the Bishop of FERNS' book.

The orators of Exeter Hall, in their zeal against popery, quite forgot, or did not choose to account for this grievance, of which the poor Irish Catholics so very justly complain—the being obliged to support an establishment of which they have no need. Why did Mr. M'Ghee, instead of his clap-trap striking of two books together, as an illustration of "the minis-"ters of that dark and anti-christian apostacy in which murder "and treachery have met each other, popery and perjury have "kissed each other *,"—why did the reverend gentleman not show, if he could, the justice of making Catholics maintain Protestant ministers—

* For an account of this *coup de theatre*, see "Authentic Reports of the two great Protestant Meetings," p. 16.

" In places where Protestants never yet were."

Why did he not say, with the frankness of Biddy Fudge—
" Who knows but young Protestants *may* be born there;"

" And granting such accident, think what a shame,
If they did not find rector and clerk when they came.
It is clear, that without such a staff on full pay,
These little church embryos must go astray;
And while fools are computing what parsons would cost,
Precious souls are meanwhile to th' Establishment lost."

But, we ask, is it right,—

" if while all, choosing each his own road,
Journey on as we can, tow'rds the Heavenly abode,
Is it right that *seven*-eighths of the travellers should pay
For *one*-eighth that goes a different way."

If Mr. O'Mulligan, instead of talking about the " noxious " and abominable doctrines" of the Romish church, asserting that that church had " become acquainted with fouler cor- " ruptions than those of the tomb, and was possessed with " a spirit baser and worse than human*"—if he had shown that it *was* right to compel eaters of rice to maintain, not themselves only, but those who, with good appetites, prefer to eat meat;—he might have set at rest a most important question. We are quite sure, that if Protestants were the rice-eaters, Mr. O'Mulligan and his Exeter Hall confrères, would be amongst the first to exclaim against the iniquity of taxing *them* for the support of " a one-eighth" minority requiring animal food. But, " do unto others, as ye would that men " should do unto you," was lost sight of at the two " great " Protestant meetings," and as the reverend speakers, with a considerable part of their auditors, — we fear, — were not, in the least degree, " merciful," so they cannot expect to " obtain mercy."

We turn from the unpleasant consideration of what O'Connell might, with some justice, term " the insolent triumph of " the church †," to the more gratifying task of showing, further, what Lydia Tomkins has done to effect the emancipation of English women from their state of bondage. Lydia quotes, with great approbation, " the author of Pelham," whose

* See his speech, in the " Authentic Report of the two great Protestant " Meetings," p. 35.

† See his Letter to the Duke of Wellington.

opinion it is, that, "in the present state of the world, the "position of women is unhappy and false. They are not "taught the broad and sound principles of life; all that they "know of morals, is its decencies and forms. Thus they are "incapable of estimating the public virtue, and the public "deficiencies of a brother and son; and one reason why the "men of these times have no Brutus, is, that the women have "no Portia. When I see in them so many noble germs, so "much pure enthusiasm, so divine a forgetfulnes of self, and "when, owing to the corruptions of society, these very quali-"ties are too often rendered only dangerous to their possessor, "I cannot too deeply lament, that women, themselves, instead "of hugging their fetters, do not unite for their emancipa-"tion." This "eloquent writer," as Lydia Tomkins terms him, is evidently a master of the "flowery style" of writing, which, however ridiculous to good taste, might yet have an effect on some of the Irish ladies in St. Giles's, who have not all of them so much "pure enthusiasm," or "divine forgetfulness of self," as contentedly to hug what they once feel to be "fetters." What end is it that Miss Tomkins has in view? "The writings of "women," as she says, "are full of eloquent complaints of "the unhappy destiny of their sex; but they do not ascend "to its cause, and suggest a remedy." Lydia, we suppose, intends to do this, when she offers, with pleasure, the following assertion:—

"The power of man over women is constantly misemployed; and it may be doubted, whether the relation of the sexes to each other, will ever be placed on a just and proper footing, till they have *both their share of control over the enactments of the legislature.*"

Women, then should, we presume, have votes at elections; and that they may more effectively control the legislature, it will be advisable so further to reform the next parliament, as that one half of the people's representatives shall be ladies. How capable of "controlling the legislature" would be such a creature as Fanny Fudge, niece to Biddy; a girl extremely pretty, but extremely blue!

"For, alas! nothing's perfect on earth,—even she,
This divine little gypsy, does odd things sometimes;
Talks learning,—looks wise (rather painful to see);
Prints already in two county papers her rhymes;
And raves—the sweet, charming, absurd little dear!
About Amulets, Bijous, and Keepsakes next year,

In a manner which plainly bad symptoms portends
Of that Annual *blue* fit, so distressing to friends.

" ——————such a creature! with eyes
Like those sparklers that peep out from summer night skies
At astronomers royal, and laugh with delight
To see elderly gentlemen spying all night;
While her figure—oh! bring all the gracefullest things
That are borne thro' the light air by feet or by wings,
Not a single new grace to that form could they teach,
Which combines in itself the perfection of each;
While rapid or slow, as her fairy feet fall,
The mute music of symmetry modulates all."

What a legislatress to sit by the side of Joseph Hume! How Fanny's "eyes" would "laugh" at his arithmetic! How delightful, to witness *his* sensibility diverted from the attraction of figures, to the figure of Miss Fudge! even decorum would pardon the offence, if Fanny only proved the harmlessness of Fudge-influence by restricting her triumphs to the captivity of Joseph.

Mr. Thomas Brown desires, with Lydia Tomkins, that a wider scope should be allowed for the exercise of female powers; but his views are entirely *radical*, and go to the *up-rooting* of all the present gentlemen M.P.s, and the substitution of a female parliament. He makes the following startling

"PROPOSALS FOR A GYNŒCOCRACY."

ADDRESSED TO A LATE RADICAL MEETING.

——— "Quas ipsa decus sibi dia Camilla
Delegit, pacisque bonas bellique ministras."—*Virgil.*

" As Whig Reform has had its range,
And none of us are yet content,
Suppose, my friends, by way of change,
We try a *Female Parliament;*
And since, of late, with *he* M. P.s
We've fared so badly, take to shes,—
Petticoat patriots, flounc'd John Russells,
Burdetts in *blonde*, and Broughams in *bustles.*

" The plan is startling, I confess,—
But 'tis but an affair of dress;
Nor see I much there is to choose
'Twixt Ladies (so they're thorough bred ones)
In ribands of all sorts of hues,
Or Lords in only blue or red ones.

" At least, the fiddlers will be winners,
Whatever other trade advances;
As then, instead of Cabinet dinners,
We'll have, at Almack's, Cabinet dances;
Nor let this world's important questions
Depend on Ministers' digestions.

" If Ude's receipts have done things ill,
To Weippert's band they may go better;
There's Lady * *, in one quadrille,
Would settle Europe, if you'd let her:
And who the deuce or asks, or cares,
When Whigs or Tories have undone 'em,
Whether they've *danced* through State affairs,
Or simply, dully, *dined* upon 'em?

" Hurra then for the Petticoats!
To them we pledge our free-born votes;
We'll have all *she*, and only *she*,—
Pert blues shall act as " best debaters,"
Old dowagers our Bishops be,
And termagants our Agitators.

" If Vestris, to oblige the nation,
Her own Olympus will abandon.
And help to prop th' Administration,
It *can't* have better legs to stand on.
The famed Macaulay (Miss) shall show,
Each evening, forth in learn'd oration;
Shall move (midst general cries of ' Oh!')
For full returns of population.

" And, finally, to crown the whole,
The Princess Olive, Royal soul,
Shall from her bower in Banco Regis,
Descend, to bless her faithful lieges,
And, mid our Unions' loyal chorus,
Reign jollily for ever o'er us."

It is time that we take our leave of the " Fudge Family in " England," and we do so with a " wonder when we shall meet " again." It cannot be expected that Miss Biddy, " at her " age," will ever travel far from Armagh; or that Fanny, if she travel, will ever write with the wit and the vivacity of her aunt. We are told, that on her marriage with Mr. Magan, she " devoted to the gods her whole stock of M.S."

" This she did, like a heroine;—smack went to bits
The whole produce sublime of her dear little wits,—
Sonnets, elegies, epigrams, odes, canzonets,—
Some twisted up neatly, to form *allumettes*,
Some turned into *papillotes*."—(p. 103.)

Perhaps the young Fudges of future years, children of Mrs. Magan Fudge, and Mrs. Mortimer O'Mulligan Fudge, may travel, and may write their travels. But where will be Thomas Brown the younger, to edit their letters? Without this able *conducteur*, their literary *diligence* could not, with any hopes of progress, venture to leave the publisher's inn yard; and Mr. Brown, we fear, by the time it is ready to set out, may be away to the "undiscovered country." Long may it be before he departs thither. Were he the bard of Ireland himself—had he contributed to the refined pleasures of society by his "Lalla Rookh," his most beautiful "Irish Melodies," his "National Airs," and "Sacred Songs," we could not feel a greater admiration of his talents.

Article VIII.

Travels in Bokhara. By Lieut. Alexander Burnes, F.R.S., 3 Vols., post 8vo.

While considerable sums have been expended in attempts to explore the most inhospitable regions of the earth, for the purpose of solving abstract problems — the source or the course of a river, or the extent of an uninhabitable continent or island — the mission of Lieutenant Burnes is the first successful attempt that has been made by the British government to illustrate the geography of Central Asia. We must not be supposed to think lightly of the labours of Franklin, or Parry, or Lyons, or many of the less fortunate individuals, who, from the days of Mungo Park to the present time, have sacrificed, in Africa, lives devoted to the advancement of human knowledge. We honour the man who encounters privations, and hardships, and dangers, in such a cause; and we have no hesitation in saying, that so far from regarding the sums expended on such expeditions, when undertaken with due consideration, as an injudicious application of a moderate portion of the public funds, we, on the contrary, believe, that no equal amount has been expended in a manner tending more immediately, or certainly, to exalt the national character—one of the most important duties of a government,

and one of the most valuable results to be derived from any measures.

But while Africa and America have been explored at a considerable cost, not of money only, but of valuable lives, how comes it that Asia has been so long neglected, and that no national attempt has hitherto been made to improve and extend our knowledge of countries in which every educated man must be more deeply interested, one would imagine, than in the ice-bound coasts of Greenland and America, or the course of a river in Africa; and which, independent of these considerations, are of vast political importance to the nation that holds the empire of India.

We cannot help thinking it a reproach to us, that more has not been done to improve our knowledge of Central Asia, and that neither the interests of science, nor the demands of an obvious policy, have been sufficient to call forth any sustained efforts to put us in possession of authentic information regarding a portion of the globe which it concerns us to know well, and of which, till within a few months, we absolutely knew nothing certain. Whole regions still remain to be explored, of which we know little more than that they exist, but which we cannot prudently neglect any longer. Of Khiva, we know little—of Kokan and Budukshan, Hissar, and Durwaz, absolutely nothing; and even of the countries with which the labours of individuals have made us more familiar, how imperfect is our knowledge. The natural history of Central Asia is a field untouched, except by Olivier, who did little more than was necessary to protect him from the imputation of having altogether neglected it. In comparative geography, we have nothing to show but the labours of Macdonald Kinneir, and Renell, which, meritorious and creditable as they are, still leave much more to be done. The ingenious and able essays of Dr. Williams, so far from exhausting the subject, serve, by disturbing received opinions, to open up new fields for inquiry. The antiquarian researches of the French officers in the Punjab, and the active exertions of that intelligent and enterprising traveller, Mr. Lewis, in Afghanistan, serve but to make us more impatient—to whet our appetites for knowledge. Let us hope that the success which has attended Mr. Burnes, and the satisfaction which his employers, in common with all his countrymen, must

derive from the admirable manner in which he has acquitted himself of the task assigned him, will be a sufficient inducement to the Governors of India to pursue the course which the enlightened mind of Lord William Bentinck has chalked out; and that not content with a single effort, however successful, or the examination of a single line, or the pursuit of objects purely political, we may hereafter find the ruler of our eastern empire directing a series of scientific researches in all the accessible countries of Asia. At least let our knowledge of the surface of these countries, of the people who inhabit them, of their resources and their capabilities, be perfected, and let us not again be told, as Mr. Burnes distinctly tells us, that the French (and we will add the Russians) have a more accurate knowledge of the countries bordering on India than we have.

That Asia, the cradle of the human race—the birth-place of all true religion—the scene of the earliest temporal greatness, and the first source of all temporal as well as spiritual instruction—a land adorned by the pomp of her great kings, in which we still tread in the path of Xenophon, and trace the march of the Macedonian conqueror by the ruins of the cities that fell beneath his arms, or sprung up in his footsteps—the field on which his successors struggled—the scene of the victories of Pompey, and the defeat of Crassus—the successes of Lucullus—the retreat of Antony—and the destruction of Julian—of Heraclius's triumphs, and Bajazet's fall. The soil from which sprung up and spread abroad that mightiest of religious impostures, and most fruitful source of political power, which threatened to overshadow the whole earth, and still broods in darkness over her people—where the courts of the Caliphs shed lustre and learning around them, while the light of knowledge was hid from all the nations of Europe—the land that endured the atrocities of Chengiz, and the curse of Timour's sword. That Asia, every mountain and valley of whose broad surface is planted thick with traces of all that is most striking, most instructive, in the early history of the human race, whether sacred or profane, and which teems with modern associations of deepest interest, should claim, comparatively, so small a share of the attention or the sympathies of civilised Europe as she receives, is a curious illustration of the caprice of the human mind.

Enough has not been done to give us a full *feeling* of the identity of ancient and modern Asia; and it is an effort of the reason, rather than an emotion of the heart, that connects in our minds the columns of Persepolis, or the towers of Rhages, with the march of the Macedonian—the ruins of Babylon with the glory of Semiramis, the victories of Cyrus, and the death of Alexander; or the mounds that are scattered on the plains of Shus, with the story of Esther, or the Prophecies of Daniel. Yet he who lingers in the shade of the Parthenon, or muses amidst the broken shadows of the Colliseum, is moved by no loftier associations than crowd on the mind of him who checks his steed in the desert, to survey the desolation of "the "glory of the kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excel- "lency, which shall never be inhabited from generation to "generation."

What are the wars of Hannibal in Italy, or of Cæsar in Gaul, to the conquests of Alexander? If Macedonia be classic ground, because it was the place of his birth, how much more the Granicus, and Issus, and Arbela, the Persian and the Caspian straits, the Oxus, the Jaxartes, and the Indus, which were the birth-places of his glory?

The growing conviction, that the most important questions of foreign policy, with which, not England only, but all the cabinets of Europe, are called upon to deal, have direct reference to the state of Asia, must give to every authentic account of any considerable portion of that continent, a value, independent of its literary merit, the scientific information it contains, or the amusement that may be derived from perusing a skilful narrative of adventures possessing in themselves no ordinary interest. The great majority of readers, however, will take up these delightful volumes, without any previous knowledge of the political importance that attaches to the countries they describe, and will lay them down without being conscious of any other feeling than the pleasure they have derived from an admirable story of stirring incidents, and an unaffected and graphic description of the habits, customs, and institutions, of nations and tribes, which are new to them, or with which, even the best informed were imperfectly acquainted. But while they are merely seeking enjoyment, they are insensibly preparing themselves to exert a salutary influence on the fate of nations, and

extending to the remote people of Asia the protection which public opinion, growing from more perfect knowledge, is capable of affording. He who has read Mr. Burnes's work, will retain some interest in the countries he describes; and should he hear or read of a scheme to overthrow their governments, or subjugate their inhabitants, would perhaps not receive the intelligence with the utter indifference with which he would have regarded it twelve months ago.

It is thus that our enlightened traveller confers a benefit on his nation; and while he awakens our sympathy for a people far removed from us, prepares the way for that political and commercial intercourse, which is a reciprocal advantage to the more barbarous and the more civilised.

Even the works of fiction, which familiarise us with the domestic habits and feelings, and the historical names and incidents of the nations of Asia, have done much to attract to them the public attention, which, on more important, perhaps, but less popular grounds, they demand from us. The poetry of Byron and of Moore, the tales of Hope, Morier, Fraser, and Malcolm, have probably done more to make eastern names and eastern matters familiar to our minds, than any graver writings, and in an equal proportion have contributed to fit us for, or at least lead us to, the consideration of the weightier matters connected with the east, which are day by day becoming more and more important elements in the political calculations of European states.

Though the frontier of the British dominions in India no where touches the Indus, and does not extend to any considerable distance along the Sutlege, the only one of the tributary streams with which it is in contact, the line of the Indus must, nevertheless, be regarded as the true frontier, for all practical purposes, of the Indian empire, whoever may possess it; and the first appearance of danger from the north-west, the first threat of invasion by land, must, at any time, since our power there has been consolidated, have carried our troops to its banks, and imposed upon us the necessity of occupying and commanding the resources of the whole country that interposes between our present frontier and that river, throughout its course, from the mountains to the sea. To

obtain an accurate knowledge of that territory in its whole extent, and to ascertain the capabilities of the Indus, and its tributary streams, for purposes of defence, was an indispensable duty of those to whom the government of India was entrusted. But independent of these prospective considerations, the facilities which the application of steam has afforded to the extension of commerce by river navigation, and the value of every such extension to Great Britain, made it a matter of great and immediate importance to ascertain how far the Indus might be made available as a channel for supplying with our manufactures, not only the countries on its banks, but those other countries of Central Asia which had been deterred from using our commodities to so great an extent as they would otherwise have consumed them, by the great additional cost of so long and tedious a land carriage as had hitherto been necessary to convey them to those markets.

With these two important objects in view, the public authorities, both in India and in England, were desirous to avail themselves of the first favourable opportunity that might be presented for examining the Indus; of the greater part of whose course, strange to say, we had no authentic information of a later date *than the days of Alexander**. The transmission of presents from the King of England to the Chief of the Seik nation at Lahore, of such a description as could not easily be conveyed by land, afforded an occasion to make the attempt with some hope of disarming the jealousy with which the governors of Sinde had at all times obstructed our endeavours to navigate the river, which they naturally enough, though erroneously as it would seem, regarded as the easiest road to the conquest of their country.

With his usual admirable judgment in the selection of public servants, the management of this enterprise was entrusted by Sir John Malcolm, with the approbation of Lord W. Bentinck, to Lieutenant Burnes. The first volume of the

* We ought, perhaps, to except the Voyage of Sebastian Manrique, a Portuguese Missionary, who sailed down the Indus from Moultan to Tatta, where he laid the foundation of a church, about 1712. He performed the voyage in nineteen days, in a boat which was laden with merchandise, belonging to a native of Moultan, and, except an attack from banditti, encountered no difficulty.

work before us details the progress of the expedition, and contains a full and perspicuous account of the river itself, and of the countries through which it flows.

After encountering, and with unwearied perseverance and the greatest address foiling the repeated and pertinacious attempts of the Sinde government to obstruct his progress, and deter him from ascending the Indus, he at length overcame all obstacles, and, having made his very difficulties subservient to his purposes, proceeded up the river to Hydrabad, the present capital of the kingdom. Having there visited the Ameer, and made every arrangement necessary to facilitate his progress, so far as the jurisdiction of that chief extended, he advanced without further impediment to Lahore, receiving from the other chiefs, through whose territory he was navigating, not only every assistance he could require, but every honour and distinction, and a splendid, though rude, hospitality.

A careful examination of the Indus has proved, that though this river discharges nearly twice as much water as the Ganges, yet no one of its mouths has at any season a sufficient depth of water to admit large vessels, and there is no commodious harbour, or even safe anchorage, in their immediate vicinity; but on the other hand, there is an uninterrupted navigation from the sea to Lahore, a distance, by the course of the river, of about a thousand British miles.

"The Indus," says Mr. Burnes, "when joined by the Punjab rivers, never shallows in the dry season to less than fifteen feet, and seldom preserves so great a breadth as half a mile. The Chenab, or Acesines, has a medium depth of twelve feet; and the Rauvee, or Hydraotes, is about half the size of that river. These are the *minima* of soundings on the voyage; but the usual depth of the three rivers cannot be rated at less than four, three, and two fathoms."

Throughout the whole of this distance there are no rocks or rapids to obstruct the ascent, and the current does not exceed two miles and a half an hour. Coals have been discovered, both in Cutch, near the mouth, and in the vicinity of Attock, near the highest point to which it would be desirable to navigate the Indus, and an abundant supply of wood for fuel can be procured on the banks of the lower portion of the river. There is, therefore, no physical impediment to the navigation of the Indus, or its tributary streams, by flat-bottomed steamers of a very considerable size; but the policy of the government of Sinde, and the predatory character of some of the tribes inhabiting its

banks, are serious, and Mr. Burnes thinks may prove, for the present at least, insuperable obstacles to the regular navigation of that great river for the purposes of commerce. We think it quite obvious that the barbarous jealousy of such a government as that of Sinde cannot long continue to debar men from the use of so valuable a line of communication, and that the rulers of that country must ultimately acquiesce with sincerity in such arrangements as may be necessary to protect trade in its passage through their territories, or will be borne down or removed—and this is, perhaps, the more probable result—as all other impediments must be that obstruct the progress of civilisation, and the general advancement of the interests of mankind.

There is another point of view in which the condition of Sinde becomes an object of interest to Great Britain. One of the most practicable routes for an army invading India passes through its territory.

"The first territory which we meet in ascending the Indus is Sinde. The subversion of the Cabool monarchy has greatly raised the political importance of this country; and, while it has freed the rulers of it from the payment of a yearly tribute, has enabled them widely to extend the limits of their once circumscribed dominion. The principality at present is, perhaps, in the zenith of its power, and comprises no less than 100,000 square miles, extending from the longitude of 69° to 71° east, and from the latitude of 23° to 29° north. The Indian ocean washes it on the south, and a diagonal line of 400 miles is terminated a short distance below the junction of the waters of the Punjab with the Indus. The eastern portion of this fine territory is sterile and unproductive; but the Indus fertilises its banks by the periodical swell, and the waters are conducted, by canals, far beyond the limit of inundation.

"The territory is divided among three different branches of the Belooche tribe of Talpoor, who are nearly independent of one another. The principal family resides at Hydrabad, at the head of which is Meer Moorad Ali Khan, and, since the death of his three elder brothers, its sole representative*. The next family of importance consists of the descendants of Meer Sohrab Khan of Khyrpoor, whose son, Meer Roostum Khan, is the reigning Ameer, and holds the fortress of Bukkur, with the northern portion of Sinde. The third family, descended of Meer Thara Khan, at the head of which is Ali Morad, resides at Meerpoor, and possesses the country south-east of the capital. These three chiefs are, properly speaking, the 'Ameers of Sinde,' a name which has been sometimes applied to the members of the Hydrabad family. The relative importance of the Ameers is pointed out in their revenues; fifteen, ten, and five lacs of rupees are the receipts of the different chiefs; and their aggregate amount, thirty lacs of rupees, shows the annual revenue of Sinde. The treasure, it is said, amounts to about twenty millions sterling, thirteen of

* "As this work is passing through the press, intelligence has reached England of the death of this Ameer, which has been followed by a civil war."

which are in money, and the remainder in jewels. The greater portion of this cash lies deposited in the fort of Hydrabad, and is divided between Moorad Ali and the wives of his late brother, Kurm Ali.

"If we except the Seiks, the Ameers are more powerful than any of the native princes, to whose dominions the territories of Sinde adjoin; for on every side they have seized, and maintained by force, the lands of their neighbours."—(*Vol. I., pp.* 223, 224.)

"Trade and agriculture languish in this land. The duties exacted on goods, forwarded by the Indus, are so exorbitant, that there is no merchandise transported by that river, and yet some of the manufactures of Europe were to be purchased as cheap at Shikarpoor as in Bombay.

"The Indus can only become a channel for commerce when the chiefs possessing it shall entertain more enlightened notions. At present, much of the fertile banks of this river, so admirably adapted for agriculture, are only used for pasture."—(*Vol. I., p.* 228.)

"While I represent the mouths of the Indus as unfavourable for conducting an attack from India on Sinde, I do not wish to be understood as hazarding at this time any opinion on like obstacles presenting themselves in an attack from its banks on India.

"With regard to the supplies which an army is to expect in the lower parts of Sinde, my report will be more favourable. Grain, that is, rice and bajree, will be found in great abundance. Horned cattle and sheep are numerous. The pasturage is not good, but near the sea abundant. Camels would be found in great abundance, as also horses; these are of a small and diminutive breed, but the camels are very superior. From the number of buffaloes, milk and ghee are to be had in great abundance, and all the rivers abound in fish.

"It is difficult to fix the population of Sinde, and I bear in mind that I have seen the fairest portion of the country in my progress through it by the Indus. The number of people in the delta does not exceed 30,000; and the parts away from the river, both to the east and west, are thinly peopled; for pastoral countries are not populous. The villages within reach of the inundation are, however, large and numerous; and, including the whole face of the country, there cannot be less than a million of human beings. One fourth of this number may be Hindoos; and the greater portion of the Mahommedans are descended from converts to that religion."—(*Vol. I., pp.* 235, 236.)

"The climate of Lower Sinde is sultry and disagreeable. The thermometer ranges as high as 90° in March, and though the soil is a rich alluvium, the dust blows incessantly. The dews are very heavy and dangerous. It is in every respect a trying country to the human constitution, and this was observable in the premature old age of the inhabitants.

"I shall not enter on a description of the Court of Sinde, as it may be found in Lieut.-Colonel Pottinger's work, and in a narrative lately published by my brother*. Its splendor must have faded; for though the Ameer and his family certainly wore some superb jewels, there was not much to attract our notice in their palace or durbar: they met in a dirty hall without a carpet; they sat in a room which was filled by a rabble of greasy soldiery, and the noise and dust were hardly to be endured. The orders of the Ameer himself to procure silence, though repeated several times, were ineffectual, and some of the conversation was inau-

* Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sinde. By James Burnes, Surgeon. Edin. 1831.

dible on that account. We were, however, informed that the crowd had been collected to display the legions of Sinde; and they certainly contrived to fill the alleys and passages every where, nor could we pass out of the fort without some exertion on the part of the nobles, who were our conductors."

On the morning of the 23rd of April, Mr. Burnes and his party set out from Hydrabad, and found the Ameer's state barge a very commodious boat, adorned with scarlet pavilions and silken screens, and floating pendants. In eight days they had proceeded 100 miles, and reached Sehwun, passing through a thinly peopled and uninteresting country, destitute of wood.

On the evening of the 14th, the party landed, and on the 15th proceeded to Khyrpoor, where they were most cordially and politely received by the Ameer.

"He expressed sorrow that we could not stay a month with him; but since we were resolved to proceed, we must take his state barge, and the son of his vizier, to the frontier, and accept the poor hospitality of a Belooche soldier, meaning himself, so long as we were in the Khyrpoor territory. I must mention that the hospitality, which he so modestly named, consisted of eight or ten sheep, with all sorts of provisions for 150 people daily; and that, while at Khyrpoor, he sent for our use, twice a day, a meal of seventy-two dishes. They consisted of pillaos, and other native viands. The cookery was rich, and some of them delicious. They were served up in silver.

"It would be difficult to conceive a more unpopular rule, with all classes of their subjects, than that of the Ameers of Sinde: nor is the feeling disguised; many a fervent hope did we hear expressed, in every part of the country, that we were the forerunners of conquest, the advance-guard of a conquering army. The persons of the Ameers are secure from danger, by the number of slaves which they entertain around their persons. These people are called 'Khaskelees,' and enjoy the confidence of their masters, with a considerable share of power: they are hereditary slaves, and a distinct class of the community, who marry only among themselves."—(*Vol. I. pp.* 60, 61, 62.)

On the 19th, the party marched to Bukkur, a fortress which occupies the whole of a small rocky island in the middle of the stream, and which, with the towns of Roree on one side, and the deserted Sukkur on the other, seem to have risen from the ruin of the ancient Brahminical city Alore, once the capital of a great kingdom, which appears to have existed in the days of Alexander, and not to have been finally subverted till the Mahommedan conquest of these countries, in the seventh century of our era. Bukkur, from its command of the navigation of the river, and its vicinity to the southern extremity of the Bolan Pass, the great route from Kandahar, is undoubtedly the most important position on the Indus.

The Vizier of the Khyrpoor chief, before taking leave, en-

deavoured to induce Mr. Burnes to conclude with him a treaty of alliance between the British government and his master; for he said there was a prophecy that the English were to possess all India, and "the stars and heaven proclaimed the fortune "of the English!"

An Afghan chief too, who had so far profited by his recent mission to Calcutta as to ride an English saddle, with which he, no doubt, proposed to astonish the untravelled of his own country, was, much to Mr. Burnes's regret, deprived of this gratification by a discovery of the horrible fact, that he had all the while been treasuring, not, as he simply imagined, an article constructed with the skins of ordinary domestic animals, but had been unfortunate enough, wretched man that he was, to have been daily applying his *faithful* person, with the intervention of only a thin pair of trousers, to the very hide of the unclean beast.

On the 26th they took their leave of Sinde, and entered the country of the Khan of Bhawulpoor, chief of the tribe of Daoodpootras, or Sons of David.

"On the 30th of May, our fleet, now swelled to eighteen boats, quitted the Indus at Mittuncote, where it receives the united waters of the Punjab rivers: as if to remind us of its magnitude, the stream was here wider than in any other part of its course, exceeding 2000 yards. We took a last farewell of its waters, and entered the Chenab, or Acesines of the Greeks."—(*Vol. I.*, *p.* 77.)

From Bhawul Khan, the chief of the principality, Mr. Burnes experienced a most friendly and hospitable reception. He is "a handsome man, about thirty years of age, somewhat grave "in his demeanour, though most affable and gentlemanlike."

"We left him, quite charmed with his kindness, and the sincere manner in which he had shown it. In the evening the Khan sent for our perusal the testimonials that had been given to his grandfather by Mr. Elphinstone, which are preserved with great pride and care in the archives of his government. For my own part, I felt equal satisfaction to find the English character stand so high in this remote corner of India, and the just appreciation of the high-minded individual who had been the means of fixing it."—(*Vol. I.*, *p.* 81.)

"The chief is of a mechanical turn of mind; he produced a detonating gun, which had been made under his directions, from an European pattern, and certainly did credit to the artificer; he had also manufactured the necessary caps, and fulminating powder."—(*Vol. I.*, *p.* 83.)

This chief has a limited territory, yielding a revenue of about 100,000*l.* a year, with which he maintains two thousand regular infantry, and some artillery. The whole force of his territories may be about twenty thousand men.

"The merchants of Bhawulpoor deal extensively in goods of European manufacture, which they receive from Pallee, in Marwar, by way of Beecaneer and the desert, and send into the Dooranee country, by the route of Moultan and Leia, crossing the Indus at Kaheree. The Hindoos of Bhawulpoor, and, indeed, of all this country, are a most enterprising race of men; they often travel to Balkh and Bokhara, and sometimes to Astracan, for purposes of commerce: they take the route of Peshawur, Cabool, and Bamean, and, crossing the Oxus, exchange at Bokhara the productions of India, for this quarter of Asia and Russia, which are annually brought by the merchants of that country. They spoke highly of the Uzbek king, and praised Dost Mahommed, of Cabool, for the protection he afforded to trade."—(*Vol. I., p.* 281.)

Passing from the country of the Daoodpootras, our travellers entered the territory of the Seiks, the kingdom of the Punjab, or five waters, for whose ruler, the presents of which they were the bearers were destined, and whose capital, Lahore, was therefore the limit of their journey.

The Seiks, originally a religious sect, became, after a lapse of several generations, a military confederacy, which within the last twenty or thirty years has been consolidated by the genius of Runjeet Sing into one kingdom, under his own despotic but not oppressive rule. The Punjab is a triangle, of which the Indus and the Sutlege form the two sides, and the Himalaya mountains the base—from the semountains descend three great navigable rivers, which, passing through the whole length of the kingdom, unite near the apex of the triangle, and with the Sutlege contribute to swell the waters of the Indus. The greater part of this well-defined territory is fruitful and populous, and, under the dominion of its present chief, has become powerful in military resources. Prudent as well as powerful, it has been his policy to seek security rather from humbling his neighbours than extending his dominions, and with the exception of the insulated and impregnable valley of Cashmere, he has scarcely retained any portion of the territory; he has repeatedly over-run beyond the limits we have described.

With a revenue of two millions and a half sterling, a disciplined army, commanded by European officers, of 25,000 infantry, 5000 cavalry, and above 100 pieces of artillery, besides double that number of irregular troops, in a territory so compact and well-defined as the Punjab, Runjeet Sing must be considered one of the most powerful of the native sovereigns of Asia. But the dragon's teeth have been sown in the land, and the curse that awaits on Asiatic usurpation is

prepared for his people. The death of Runjeet, an event that cannot be far distant, will, in all probability, be the signal for a civil war, which, there is every reason to fear, must shatter the fabric he has raised, and reduce to its original elements that mass which is held together by the assimilating power of his individual genius.

So long as Runjeet Sing lives, there is every reason to hope that his territories will be governed with vigour and with moderation. Whatever may have been the jealousy he at one time entertained of the British government, it has long since given place to a just confidence, derived from the scrupulous observance, on our part, of all the engagements into which we have entered with him and his neighbours; and a more accurate appreciation of our general system of policy, as well as of the community of our political and commercial interests. The energy of his government, on the other hand, the prosperity of his dominions, and the efficiency of the military force he maintains, give us all the security we could desire for the preservation of tranquillity, the protection of commerce, and an effective and cordial assistance in defending what is, in fact, our common frontier against any enemy who may approach it; but with his life will terminate these reasonable grounds of confidence.

The death of the Ameer of Hydrabad has already lighted up a civil war in Sinde. The chief of Bhawulpoor, too weak to protect himself, has been deprived of a large portion of his territory which he held of the Seik government, and when, in the course of nature, the talented chief of that government, now an infirm old man, shall have been removed from the stage on which he has enacted so distinguished a part, there will not remain, on the banks of the Indus, or between our possessions and that river, one chief capable of repelling, or efficiently aiding us to repel, the aggressions of any powerful enemy; and there will no longer exist the means of giving security to commerce on any portion of the Indus or its tributary streams. Our own territories, or those of the neighbouring princes and chiefs, which we have engaged to protect, will be exposed along the whole line, as they have hitherto been from Sinde, to continual inroads from the predatory hordes, that internal discord, or a pusillanimous ruler, never fail in those countries to let loose on the peaceful part of the population. Where no established

government exists, there can be no responsibility to foreign states—treaties necessarily become "a dead letter"—the lawless, the desperate, the enterprising, and the dissolute, attracted by the hope of plunder abroad, and restrained by no authority at home, reap, with their swords, a harvest where they have not sown; and, preferring the excitement of such a life to the toils of husbandry, the fruits of which, by the depredation of robbers like themselves, are rendered daily more precarious, gradually convert the most fertile and populous provinces into deserts, and drive the more adventurous of the impoverished peasantry to the necessity of inflicting upon others the violence from which they have suffered, and of living by the rapine which has ruined them. Witness the condition of a large portion of the finest provinces of India during the supremacy of the Mahratta power, of Kandeish and Malwa, in the days of the Pindarees, and of almost every portion of India at some per od of its modern history, from the same causes, generated by a similar course of events.

The British government in India cannot permit such a state of things to endure, and ought not to allow it to arise. It is not enough that our troops should be ready to march against the depredators, and to extirpate the evil when it shall have become intolerable; or that we shall be prepared to interpose, and re-establish order and good government along the banks of the Indus, when they shall have been laid waste and depopulated. The political and commercial interests of England and of India, a regard to the security of our own territories, and the property of our fellow-subjects, as well as to the interests of humanity, demand, that, having knowledge and experience sufficient to enable us to foresee, and power enough to prevent, these evils, we should not permit our own position to be weakened—our frontier to be rendered indefensible for half a century to come—our commerce in Central Asia to be annihilated—the Indus to be rendered unavailable for any good purpose at the moment when its value has been discovered, and those whom we are bound to protect, to be plundered and massacred, or demoralised, and driven from their homes, because, forsooth, we must abstain from interfering in the affairs of other states, and permit every chief who can collect a hundred men, and possess himself of an enclosed village, to contribute his

share to the desolation of the country, and the destruction of our means of defence against a foreign enemy, before we feel ourselves entitled to use the ample resources at our disposal for our own protection, and that of every industrious and well-disposed member of the community.

We shall denounce every usurpation—we protest against every unprovoked aggression—we shall oppose, by all the means we can command, every abuse of power, every oppression of the weak by the strong; but we will not subscribe to the opinions of those who would sacrifice to a fancied theory of impracticable political morals the best interests of mankind; and call upon us to permit the growth of evils, and sanction, by our forbearance, the progress of crime and misery, which we, and we alone, can prevent, and which we know we shall at length be called upon to put down with the sword; because that kind of excuse for interfering has *not yet* been afforded, which they are pleased to point out as necessary to justify the protection of our own means of defence, and the temperate assertion of the claims of humanity.

The first duty of the governors of British India is to ensure the safety, tranquillity, and prosperity of that country; they are as fully and equitably responsible for the evils they can and do not prevent or remedy, as for any ills they may inflict; and they must answer to England and to India for the neglect, if, when danger approaches, the line of the Indus should not be found to be in a defensible condition; or, if the nations on its banks, instead of contributing to our means of resistance, should not only have dissipated their own resources, but drawn largely upon our's, and become causes of disorganisation and of weakness to our allies and ourselves. Let it be remembered, that preparations for defence are not best made when the danger against which we have to prepare is close upon us, and that all organisations in a new country are slowly matured; that the best guarantee for the preservation of peace is to be derived from maintaining an attitude and position which offers no prospect of advantage to an assailant; and that it is not enough—and this is emphatically true of our eastern empire—that a government should be strong and vigilant; it must also *show* that it is both, and give to its peaceful subjects not only safety, but the confidence of security.

We do not mean to assert that an advantageous adjustment of our relations with all the states on the Indus, or even an occupation of the banks of that river, which sooner or later will be forced upon us, would comprise all that is necessary to be done for the security of India; but we do say, that in every plan for the defence and good government of that country, in every attempt to extend its commerce, and promote the prosperity and internal tranquillity of the empire, so far as these are dependent on our relations with the countries to the west and north, a primary,—a preliminary and indespensable condition, is the perfect security, so far as it *can* be secured, of our north western frontier, that is the line of the Indus, and an open navigation of that river. These, therefore, are objects which must be attained.

We fear that such of our readers as have followed us through these observations, will scarcely forgive us for having led them away from the more attractive pages of Mr. Burnes's narrative, to which we must refer them for a very amusing detail of the pomps and ceremonies, the feastings and revelries, the camp and court, of Runjeet Sing. In the mean time, we follow the traveller on his second journey, to explore the countries of Central Asia.

It is not our intention, however, to give an abstract of a work, which every one has no doubt read; but rather to attract attention to some particular points, and to deduce from the information conveyed to us by Mr. Burnes, or collected from other authentic sources, some inferences which we believe not to be altogether unimportant.

The success of his expedition to explore the Indus, and the ignorance in which the unhappy fate of Moorcroft and his companions had left us, of the countries of Toorkistan, seem to have induced Mr. Burnes to suggest, and the Governor-General of India to determine on his being employed to explore those regions which lie between India and the Oxus, Bokhara and the Caspian sea, of which we possessed no authentic account. Even Afghanistan had undergone so many changes since Mr. Elphinstone's mission to that country in 1809, that little was accurately known of its present condition; while of the Oxus, we only conjectured its source, knew that it fell into the sea of Aral, and had read that Nadir Shah had navi-

gated it from Kilif, near Balkh, to the vicinity of Oorgunje. The countries between Cabool and that river, including the great line of road across the Hindoocoosh, had in modern times been visited by only one European, who had survived the journey; and he had not given to the world the result of his inquiries and observations*.

Setting out from Lahore, Mr. Burnes, as he advanced, judiciously reduced his baggage, to the amount which a poor traveller might be supposed to carry with him, and assuming the garb of the countries through which he was to pass, for the purpose of avoiding unnecessary observation, while he avowed his real character, when questioned by any one entitled to inquire, took the most prudent and best concerted measures to ensure his safety and success. He was accompanied by Dr. Gerard, of the Bengal medical service, a gentleman, whose researches in the Himalaya mountains had inured him to the privations of travelling in those countries, and evinced a love of science, and an enterprising character, which seemed to point him out as a fit companion in the undertaking, hazardous and difficult as it was, in which Mr. Burnes was engaged.

After traversing the Punjab from the Sutlege to the banks of the Indus, he forded that river above Attock; thus proving, what till then was doubted, that it is fordable after it enters the plains; a fact which, in a military point of view, is of obvious importance. From thence, he returned to Attock, a fortress of no strength, which, however, commands the principal ferry on this part of the Indus. He there found the river only two hundred and sixty yards broad, but thirty-five fathoms deep, and running with a current of six miles an hour. The passage occupied only four minutes. Three miles beyond the river, he found himself in the country of the Afghans.

It is curious enough, that a people so near India as the Afghans, and whose hostility was at one time so formidable to us, that it led to our first modern alliance with Persia†, should

* Mr. E. Stirling, of the Bengal civil service, was, we believe, the first European, except Moorcroft and his companions, who, for a century or two, has crossed the mountains between Balkh and Cabool. Mr. Woolff, the missionary, was the second, and Mr. Burnes, the third.

† One of the principal objects of Sir John Malcolm's mission to Persia, in 1800, which re-established our connection with that country, was to induce the Shah to attack the Afghans, should they invade India.

not have been visited by any Englishmen, except the intelligent Forster, who passed through it in 1783, until the threatened invasion of India by Napoleon, and the connection he had formed with the court of Tehran, induced the Governor-General of India to send a mission to the court of Cabool, in 1809; and that, nevertheless, we should have a more perfect account of that people than perhaps of any other in Asia*. But the political condition of the kingdom has undergone so great a change since Mr. Elphinstone's work was published, that though we must still refer to it all those who desire to have an accurate knowledge of the people, their various tribes, their habits, manners, and singular institutions, we must beg the indulgence of our readers, while we attempt to lay before them a hasty sketch of the present condition of that nation.

Afghanistan may be described as extending from the Indus on the east to a short distance beyond Herat and Furrah on the west, and from the Hindoocoosh on the north to the banks of the Helmund and the Bolan Pass on the south, both being included within it. The whole country comprised in these limits, with the exception of the mountainous districts of the Hazarahs and Oimaks in the north-western angle, is inhabited chiefly by the Afghans, and possessed exclusively by that people.

They appear to be a distinct race, speaking a peculiar language, and preserving institutions and a frame of society which either have never prevailed, or have long since ceased to exist amongst the fixed populations by which they are surrounded. At all times of their known history they have been a warlike nation, and under the families of Ghuzni and Ghoree, and the descendants of Timour, extended their conquests far into India, in which they established extensive colonies, and two successive dynasties of Mahommedan rulers, the last of which is still represented by the present sovereign of Delhi, who, if he retains none of their power, preserves, at least, the title of his Mogul ancestors. In the latter days of the Suffoveeah (Sophy), kings of Persia, they made themselves masters of the greater part of that country. From thence they were expelled by Nadir Shah, to whose rule they submitted, and who was mainly

* There does not, we believe, exist so full, true, and comprehensive an account of any Asiatic nation, as is to be found in Mr. Elphinstone's account of Cabool.

indebted to their valour for the success that attended his expeditions against India—Balkh—Bokhara—Kharazm, and the Caucasian tribes, and his wars with the Turks. On the death of that conqueror, Ahmed Khan, Afghan of the Dooranee tribe, and much respected clan of Suddozie, having collected a large body of his countrymen, who were present in Nadir's camp when he was murdered, and seized some of the most valuable jewels and other treasures, which the Persian monarch had brought from India, succeeded in placing himself on the throne of his native country. Emulating the military achievements of his late master, he extended his dominions on every side; twice entered Delhi as a conqueror, and bequeathed to his son an empire, which extended from Neshapore, in western Khorasan, to Sirhind, which lies east of the Sutlege, and from the Oxus to the sea. It therefore included, beyond the limits that we have assigned to Afghanistan, the whole of the Punjab and Sinde, with a portion of India beyond the Sutlege, Beloochistan, Cashmere, Koondooz, Balkh, and the greater part of Persian Khorasan.

But the Afghans, while they submitted to a monarch apparently absolute, had national institutions of a patriarchal and popular character, which no sovereign could infringe with impunity. Divided into numerous tribes, and these again into clans, each little community had established a system of internal government, partly patriarchal and partly elective, in which the elders and the people had an important share, and which, while it had one general character in all, had also its peculiarities in each. The principal families of these tribes and clans were a proud and powerful body of nobles, whom it was necessary for the monarch to conciliate, because he could not constrain them; and they, in their turn, were under a like necessity to protect the interests and preserve the attachment of the minor communities, from which they derived their influence and their power, and therefore to respect the popular institutions, which the temper and the habits of the people made them jealous to maintain.

The Afghan nation, therefore, more resembled a confederacy acknowledging one supreme head, than the uniform unorganised mass which composed the population of other eastern kingdoms; and the sovereigns who have been most successful

in establishing an arbitrary power, have not been those who have tampered with the popular institutions to which the people are so much attached, but those who directed the warlike spirit of the nation to foreign conquest; and while they maintained, for that purpose, a force which made them formidable at home as well as abroad, enriched the army by plunder, and controlled the nobles, as much on the pretext of military discipline as in the exercise of civil authority.

But the successors of Ahmed Shah, corrupted by the adulation, which, as princes, was paid them by the courtiers, and ignorant or regardless of the temper and feelings of the nation, abused with the utmost indiscretion the power which had fallen into their hands, and by a senseless arrogance alienated the affections of their subjects. At length, Mahmood, one of the grandsons of Ahmed, after a series of civil wars, which had dethroned and expelled from the kingdom two of his brothers, was raised to the Musnud, chiefly by the ability, influence, and power of Futteh Khan, head of the great Dooranee tribe of Baurikzie, which numbers sixty thousand families. Having appointed that nobleman his prime minister, and permitted him to place his numerous brothers in the governments of the most important provinces, Mahmood put an end to the sovereignty of his own family, by cruelly butchering the man to whom he owed his elevation. The brothers of Futteh Khan no sooner heard of his murder than they revolted, and, collecting a force, drove Mahmood to seek shelter in Herat, at the extremity of what had been his kingdom.

The foreign conquests of Ahmed Shah, with the exception of Cashmere, had already been lost, and that fruitful valley was speedily seized by the Seiks, who, aided by the talents of Runjeet Sing, had successfully asserted their independence, and the possession of the Punjab. Sinde followed the example; Beloochistan threw off the yoke; Balkh and Koondooz fell to the lot of the Oozbeck chiefs who governed them, and the Persians re-established their supremacy in Khorasan. The Afghan empire was thus reduced to the limits which we have described, as defining the country inhabited and possessed by the Afghans.

Four independent principalities have been established in this territory, on the ruins of the Suddozie monarchy. Of these,

three are held by the brothers of Futteh Khan, and the fourth by Prince Kamran, the son of Mahmood.

We shall first notice Peshawer, which province formerly extended to the Indus. It can hardly be said to be independent, for it has been subdued more than once by the Seiks, who have not, however, attempted to retain it, and now pays to Runjeet Sing a yearly tribute of sixty horses, and some rice.

Its territory is confined to the circular plain of Peshawer, whose diameter does not exceed thirty-five miles, and the hills of Cohaut, which form its southern boundary; it is held by Sooltan Mahomed Khan, and two of his brothers by the same mother, who do not, however, interfere in the affairs of the government. They enjoy a revenue of about nine lacs of rupees (£.90,000) of which Sultan Mahomed receives six lacs, chargeable with all the public expenses, and the remaining three lacs are divided between his brothers. The contingent of troops furnished by this territory, is about three thousand men; and besides these, the chief has a small corp of two hundred disciplined infantry, and six guns. A considerable body of men ,could, on any emergency, be collected from the villages, but they are ill armed. The chief is a man of some education, of polished and engaging manners, and an amiable and hospitable disposition, but he is deficient in energy and decision. His government is oppressive, and the people are, consequently, disaffected.

The family of Peshawer have a close and cordial alliance with that at Kandahar, but are at enmity with their brother of Cabool.

The city of Kandahar, and a considerable extent of territory, comprising the country of the Baurikzie tribe, is in the hands of three other brothers of Futteh Khan, all by one mother. The government is conducted by Kohun Dill Khan. The revenues of the principality amount to above eight lacs of rupees, and it maintains a body of nine thousand horse and six guns. For the defence of the country against a foreign enemy, the Burikzies of Gerishk could alone furnish ten thousand efficient cavalry. The government of Kandahar is oppressive and unpopular, and all the military expeditions of the chiefs have been unsuccessful.

Prince Kamran, son of Mahmood, the last of the Suddozie

kings, has retained possession of Herat and of the adjoining territory, extending on one side to Furrah and Goorian, and the other to the vicinity of Gerishk. These possessions yield him a revenue of about seven lacs of rupees, and he has a considerable amount of jewels and hoarded treasure. He maintains a force of about four thousand men, besides the militia of the city of Herat, and he can obtain a very considerable and efficient body of auxiliaries from adjoining tribes. He appears to be a man of weak intellect, debauched habits, and a tyrannical disposition, whom no one loves or respects. He is particularly obnoxious to all the members of the Barikzie family, because of his hereditary claims to the sovereignty, and the share he had in the massacre of their brother, Futteh Khan. The independence of Herat, like that of Peshawer, is dubious. It has more than once been occupied by the Persians, to whose sovereign, Kamran, he sends a yearly tribute, under the name of a present, and occasionally professes allegiance.

Dost Mahomed Khan, another of the brothers of Futteh Khan, whose mother was a Persian, rules at Cabool. His territories now extend from the Hindoocoosh mountains to Ghuzni, and from the confines of the Hazarah country to that of the Khyberees*. The surface is irregular and strong, that is, defensible, but in many parts extremely fertile, and intersected by tolerable roads. It furnishes a revenue of about twenty-five lacs of rupees, and the chief retains ten or twelve thousand horse, well mounted and armed, two thousand infantry, and a park of fourteen guns, tolerably served. He can also command a considerable body of auxiliaries and village troops, and the Persians of Cabool, amounting to twelve thousand families, of the martial tribe of Jewanshere (transplanted by Nadir Shah from Karabaugh on the borders of Georgia) are attached to him, because of his Persian descent, and the favour he has shown them. He pays his troops regularly, and is esteemed a brave and experienced commander. He has a great and well-earned reputation for justice, decision, energy, and attention to business. He has become somewhat bigotted, and adopts the Koran as his only guide in secular as well as religious matters. This has the advantage of giving consistency to his public

* Since the publication of Mr. Burnes's work, Dost Mahomed Khan has annexed Jelalabad to his previous possessions.

acts. In conformity with the precepts of the Koran, he levies a duty of only 2½ per cent. on the merchandise that enters his territories, and in return he affords every encouragement and a perfect protection to trade, insomuch, that merchants, it is said, may travel from one frontier of his possessions to another, without a guard, and without fear of molestation. He is on bad terms with his brothers at Peshawer and Kandahar, and has formed no foreign alliances; but he has been in correspondence with the Emperor of Russia, and has had more intercourse with the court of St. Petersburgh than with the British government in India.

The events of last year have considerably increased the influence and the power of Dost Mahomed Khan.

Shoojah ul Moolk, one of the exiled kings of the Suddozie family, who had found an asylum in the British territories, was enabled, by the assistance of Runjeet Sing, to make an effort for the recovery of his throne. Having collected a considerable mercenary force, he advanced to Shekapoor, defeated the army which the Ameers of Sinde sent to oppose him, forced them to pay him a considerable sum of money, and obtained from them an assignment of the revenues of that place. From thence he hastened through the Bolan Pass to Kandahar, and meditated an advance on Cabool, when his camp was attacked and his army routed and dispersed by Dost Mahomed Khan, who, with his usual vigour and promptitude, had proceeded beyond the limits of his own territories to repel the invasion. He is undoubtedly by far the most powerful of the Afghan chiefs; and if we are to look for a reunion of the broken fragments of that kingdom, it must be from the hands of Dost Mahomed Khan.

Such is the shattered state of this once powerful empire, which still contains a population of five millions, divided, it is true, by political factions, but connected by the bonds of a common language, nation, and religion, and capable of furnishing an almost unlimited number of the best and bravest undisciplined troops in Asia.

The condition of such a nation, bordering upon India, commanding the only routes by which an enemy could march to the invasion of that country, or its commerce find an outlet to the west, must always be a subject of the deepest interest to

Great Britain; and if Persia should, at any time, fall into the hands of Russia, will become the only remaining barrier against the advance of that power to the Indus. Yet, up to this time we have formed no connection with any of its chiefs, and have taken no steps to prepare the way for making it available to us as a second line of defence, into which it must, nevertheless, be converted, should we be pushed back from that which we have endeavoured, with more prudence than skill, to establish in Persia.

Even in the present distracted state of the country, while the Indus is forbidden to commerce, and the Punjab, Peshawer, and Kandahar, shut up by the exorbitant duties that are levied on the imports, and even on the transit of goods, the value of the merchandise, chiefly the produce and manufactures of Britain and of British India, that pay duty at the custom-house of Cabool, amounts to 800,000*l.* a year, and there can be no doubt that the trade is capable of great extension. But a few years ago, the manufactures of Russia were more used in Central Asia, and even at Cabool, than our own; but now it is otherwise, and in Persia, Bokhara, and all Toorkistan, as well as at Cabool and Herat, our commodities, from their superiority and comparative cheapness, are gradually driving all others out of the market, and even superseding the native manufactures. Yet this commerce is carried on through the most disturbed and dangerous countries of the east, without the protection of treaties, or the active interposition of any public authorities.

That it is dangerous to tamper with commerce, or encumber it with help, we admit, and that the silent power of individual interests will continue to extend this trade, as it has led to its establishment, we do not question; but as little do we doubt, that the removal of acknowledged and obvious impediments—a more intimate connection with the rulers of the country, and with the people—the arrangement of a more equitable scale of duties in some places—exemption from unnecessary molestation in others, and the confidence in the character and principles of a nation, which grow out of an intimate intercourse with even a few individuals belonging to it, could not fail to improve our commercial relations with the countries west of the Indus, as those relations in their turn would inevitably generate a livelier

sense of mutual benefit, and a closer political connection, founded on community of interest.

It is to the influence of individual character, rather than to our political power, or the measures of our government, that we owe the reputation for fair dealing, and for honour, which often enables an Englishman to procure from the merchants of Central Asia, to whom he is an utter stranger, money in return for a bill, of which the man who purchases it cannot read a letter. When an untravelled Afghan speaks with respect of the English nation, it is most probable that the feeling is derived, either directly or indirectly, from the impression of the national character, which Mr. Elphinstone and the gentlemen of his mission have left in the country. When a Persian enlarges on the high character and qualities of the English, it is ten to one that he is painting, in his own way, the portrait of some individuals with whom he is or has been acquainted, or of whom he has heard. It is the same with the Arab. He knows little of our nation, and nothing of its power; but his intercourse with Mr. Manesty at Bussorah, or Mr. Rich at Bagdad, has given him a feeling of respect for the people to whom they belonged. There are no men more ready than Asiatics to give their esteem to those who deserve it, however they may fail to profit by the example of him who has excited the feeling; and, like all uneducated men, they are ever prone to draw general conclusions from the few facts that come under their observation. We have reason to be proud of the reputation which our government enjoys wherever it is known in Asia; but this is not enough; and it surely would be wise to extend and improve our influence with the people of that continent by placing in continual communication with them persons who are worthy representatives of our nation, and favourable examples of its character.

Besides affording the means of self-defence, what is the advantage of political power, and of a high national character? Is it not the influence they give? But in semi-barbarous nations that influence does not grow up in an hour, neither is it matured in a day; for the knowledge of the power, and the character on which it is founded, is there imperfect, and slowly diffused. In Europe, where the resources of every kingdom are comparatively well known to all the other states, we may

assume, with some confidence, that the power of a nation will give it corresponding weight and importance; but in Asia, so few men have a sufficient knowledge of the facts, or are able, if the facts were before them, to arrive at any just conclusions on these subjects, that errors the most unaccountable to us, are daily committed by the best informed amongst them; nations, as well as individuals, are misled and deceived; and when we know that hundreds, nay, thousands, of the educated natives of India believed that our military means were inadequate to the reduction of the single fortress of Bhurtpore, unsupported by any army in the field, we have no right to presume that an accurate estimate of our strength will be spontaneously formed in Afghanistan, or Bokhara; or that our influence there, whenever we choose to exert it, will be immediately commensurate with our actual power.

While other states are studiously devising the means of extending and improving their connection with the nations of Central Asia, by employing emissaries and envoys, secret and avowed, conciliating individuals by personal favours, overawing governments by exaggerated statements, and an ostentatious display of their power, and using every means to depreciate our character and disparage our resources and our strength, are we to wrap ourselves up in a fancied security, and trust to the allpowerful effect of truth, which we take no pains to promulgate, and which, for any thing we can tell, may never be known. The Russians (says Mr. Burnes) "have "impressed the whole of the Oozbecks with high notions of "their power, to the detriment of all other European nations;" and again, "It is not to be concealed, that the Court of St. "Petersburgh have long cherished designs in this quarter of "Asia." And yet we have no intercourse of any description with these states.

The foreign, political, and commercial interests of India are daily becoming more important and more complicated, and her foreign relations must infallibly receive an extension and an organisation to which they have not yet attained. The line which separated the politics of Asia from those of Europe has been blotted out, and means must be found for assimilating and uniting their operations. The growth of our eastern empire has been so rapid, that men's minds have scarcely kept

pace with it, and we have not yet fully appreciated the rank, the dignity, and importance in the scale of Asiatic nations, that attaches to the sovereignty, with far more than the power of Aurungzebe and of Akbar. The extent, the wealth, and resources of that empire, backed by our power in Europe, ought to make the influence of England paramount in Central Asia, and would make it so, if our strength and our policy were well understood; for it is our interest to preserve, not to destroy—to build up, not to pull down. But the government of India has no accredited representative at any really independent court—no organ of communication—no source of authentic information—no organised correspondence with any kingdom or principality west of the Indus. While the pursuit of commerce carries the Hindoo across the whole continent of Asia, from the Indus to the heart of Russia, the British government has no means of obtaining authentic intelligence from any one of the countries he traverses.

There is no great government except, perhaps, the Chinese, that has established so few foreign connections, properly so called, as the British government in India; but the time will come, and is not now distant, when we shall be forced to acknowledge that it is not consistent either with our honour or our interest to imitate the policy of the Celestial Empire.

Central Asia, if it is not for us, must be against us. It cannot stand neutral between such powers as England and Russia. The question then is, whether, when the time of the struggle shall arrive—as arrive it will—we are to encounter Russia with all Asia at her back, or to oppose her with all Asia by our side. The power of choosing is still left to us; but how long shall we retain it?

It was our intention to have entered on an examination of the lights which have been thrown on the ancient geography of Asia by Mr. Burnes, who seems to have had both the ancient and modern histories of the countries he visited continually before him, and to have taken great and laudable pains to identify places rendered interesting by historical events. But we have already nearly filled up the space allotted to us, and must therefore content ourselves with some very brief observations.

In reference to this subject, nothing strikes us more forcibly

than the full confirmation which the truth and accuracy of the historians of Alexander has received from the observations of Mr. Burnes. Their descriptions of some of the countries, and the natural phenomena they have recorded, might serve, even at the present day, to describe them, and whole pages of Arrian and Quintus Curtius are as faithful delineations of the natural features and character of those countries as any modern traveller could place before us. Nay, even where Mr. Burnes supposes that he has discovered an error, it will be found, on more careful examination, that he has but elicited additional evidence of the accuracy of Arrian.

Nothing has more tended to embarrass the inquiries of those who have sought to make history intelligible by the study of comparative geography, than the difficulty of ascertaining the value of the measures of distance used by the ancients. M. D'Anville was the first, we believe, who discovered that the stadium of the historians of Alexander was a different measure from the Olympic stadium, which was in general use among the Greeks at a later period; but it is to M. Gosselin that we owe a more perfect elucidation of this subject.

Instead of attempting to compute the value of the stadium from the smaller measures, as the palm or the cubit, where a minute error in the element was necessarily multiplied in the result of the calculation, he deduced it from the larger measures of distance, and ascertained the number of stadia which Eratosthenes allowed to one degree of latitude. Having established the fact of the variety in the value of the stadium at different periods, or as used by different authors, he extended his inquiries, and, pursuing the same system of investigation, has put it beyond all question that, while a degree of latitude was equal to eight hundred Olympic stadia, it represented only seven hundred and fifty of the stadia used by Eratosthenes and Strabo, and about eleven hundred of those employed by the historians of Alexander.

This was precisely the result in respect to the latter fact, at which M. D'Anville had arrived by a different process of reasoning, and in which Dr. Vincent found himself obliged to concur. Ignorant or regardless of this fact, the Roman writers, and more especially Pliny, have falsified the distances which they have given from the information of Greek writers,

by uniformly converting the stadium, without reference to its real value, into Roman miles, at one fixed rate; and it is under the influence of a similar misapprehension that Mr. Burnes supposes Arrian to have misrepresented the dimensions of Pattala, the delta of the Indus.

"The Indus" (Mr. Burnes says) "presents a face of about 125 British miles to the sea, which it may be said to enter by eleven mouths;" and he adds, in a note—"This limited extent of the delta of the Indus is quite inconsistent with the dimensions assigned to it by the Greeks. Arrian informs us, that the two branches below Pattala, are about 1800 stadia distant from each other, 'and 'so much is the extent of the Island Pattala along the sea coast.' The distance of 125 British miles, the face of the modern delta does not amount to 1125 stadia, or little more than one-half the assigned distance of Arrian."

The calculation is very simple, 69½ British miles are equal to a degree of latitude, and about 1100 of the stadia of Arrian are equal to the same. This gives within a fraction of 1975 stadia for the value of the 125 miles; or, if we convert the 1800 stadia of Arrian into British miles, will give a small fraction more than 113½ miles, that is 11½ miles *less* than the real distance. When we remember that this was computed, not measured distance, we can only wonder at the accuracy of the statement.

Mr. Burnes rejects the opinion of those who would identify Tatta with the city of Pattala, but, as it appears to us, not on sufficient grounds. He has succeeded, we think, in proving, that Tatta, still known by the name of Saminuggur, is the Minagur of the younger Arrian, and this appears to be his principal reason for supposing that it does not represent Pattala. But we think it more than probable that Minagur and the city of Pattala are the same. The name of Pattala, as Mr. Burnes has observed, does not occur in the Periplus of the younger Arrian, who mentions Minagur as the principal city. The presumption, therefore, is, that there was no city known by the name of Pattala, when he wrote. But this city stood on the delta of the Indus, near its bifurcation. Such is the precise position of Minagur, or Tatta*. Pattala was the capital in the time of Alexander—Minagur in the

* The position of Tatta, in Mr. Burnes's maps, is erroneous. It is there placed at a considerable distance from the *right* bank of the western branch of the Indus, and, therefore, not on the delta, but on the main land. It is curious enough that his narrative and memoirs afford no positive means of deciding hether Tatta stands on the island or not.

days of the younger Arrian—and Tatta, which is identified with Minagur, has continued to be the capital till within a few years, and is still the largest town in that country.

It may be observed that the names Saminuggur, Brahminabad, and Dewul Sinde, by which it has been known, appear all to have reference to some temple or idol, by which it was distinguished; and this might furnish a sufficient reason for its change of name—if indeed the Greeks had any other reason for calling it "the *City of Pattala*," than that it was the capital of the island of that name, and of the nation whom, from inhabiting that island, they called Pattalans.

Sehwun appears to represent the city of Sambus Raja, and we are indebted to Mr. Burnes for the discovery of the capital of Musicanus, which, we think, is identified with the ruins of Alore. Had Bukkur, as some have supposed, been the capital of that prince, its insular situation would undoubtedly have been recorded. Alore was the capital of a great Brahminical kingdom, whose antiquity extends back to the days of the Hindoo traditions.

The countries of Oooch and Moultan have long been believed to represent the territories of the Oxydracæ and the Malli, and the observations of Mr. Burnes tend to confirm the belief, as well as to establish the identity of the very ancient city of Moultan, which is still called Malli-Than, or Malli-Tharun, with the capital of the nation whose name it bears.

Mr. Burnes appears to us to have discovered in the remarkable ruin of Shorkote, the place where Alexander was wounded; the traditions of the country confirm an opinion which its situation and antiquity would have led us to adopt. Alexander crossed and recrossed the Hydraotes in pursuit of the Malli, and it was near the angle formed by the junction of that river with the Acesines, that the fortress was situated.

Fifty miles east of Tolumba, our traveller visited the ruins of Harpa; but it does not appear to have occurred to him that it probably represents Sangala, where the Cathæi, a pastoral people, who still inhabit that country, made so determined a stand behind the triple line of waggons, against the army of Alexander.

Mr. Lewis, a gentleman whose energy and perseverance are above all praise, and who, without friends or assistance, pursued his inquiries in the countries to the west of the Indus,

and along its banks with a zeal which neither poverty, nor sickness, nor danger, could abate; travelling sometimes as a mendicant, and sometimes sharing the hospitality of the chiefs and nobles of the land, has collected a mass of materials, which must add largely to our knowledge of the ancient geography and present condition of those countries, and which appear to furnish the means of establishing several positions which elucidate in a most satisfactory manner the march of the Macedonians in the Punjab. Of these, the most important, perhaps, are Nicæa and Bucephalia, on the Hydaspes and Sangala, which he identifies with Harpa*.

We shall make no apology for giving, in Mr. Lewis's own words, his account of these important discoveries.

"I arrived in the Punjab under unfortunate circumstances, having lost all my books and other property some time before, and my memory, although it retained the grand features of Alexander's memorable expedition, failed me as to the minute details which would have been most serviceable in conducting an investigation. Nevertheless, I was so fortunate as to make a discovery which may be interesting to the lovers of antiquity, and important as elucidating the ancient geography of the Punjab.

"On the western bank of the river Jaylum is a monument which the people there suppose to have been constructed by Demons, as they usually suppose all such with whose origin they are not acquainted. It struck me that its architecture, though I could not refer it to any known order, was assuredly foreign, and that its antiquity must be remote. In the course of my inquiries amongst the oldest people in a small village near, I learned that there had formerly existed two cities, one on each bank of the river. I repaired to the spot pointed out as the site of one of them, and found abundant vestiges of a once large city; but so complete had been the devastation of time, that no distinct idea of its form or architecture could be gleaned. I set people to work in the ruins, and their exertions were rewarded by the discovery of coins, in gold, silver, and copper, of Alexander the Great, in all twenty-seven, with the same figures and inscriptions excepting one. On the one side was the bust of Alexander, and on the reverse a dismounted lancer, with the inscription 'Bucephalia.' The coin that differed from the rest had an inscription, on which were plainly observed the letters N. E. R. and O. I had, therefore, no difficulty in supposing the cities which once stood here to be the ancient Nicæa and Bucephalia; the river Jaylum being the Hydaspes of the Greek historians. The monument I moreover conjectured might be the tomb of the favourite horse, into which I found it impossible to penetrate, it being closed on all sides, without any appearance or sign of an entrance."

Satisfied as we are, and have ample reason to be, of the accuracy of Mr. Lewis, we cannot doubt that he then stood on the ruins of Bucephalia.

* Mr. Lewis is still employed in pursuing his researches in Afghanistan, where he has made important discoveries, which cannot fail to add to our very imperfect knowledge of the Greek and Grecobactrian dynasties of those countries.

" Having no doubt (says Mr. Lewis) as to the identity of the little fort of Harpa with the Sangala of Arrian, I shall enumerate the evidences which establish the fact, and point out the important advantages to be derived from the fixing of this position.

" First, as to the proofs:—Agreeably to Arrian, chap. xxii., Alexander having heard of the confederacy of the Cathæi, Malli, and Oxydracæ, marched against the former, who 'had chosen a city, named Sangala, strong by art and nature, where they had fixed their encampment, and were resolved to fight him.' Arrian adds, 'The Cathæi were a stout people, well skilled in military affairs. Alexander crossed the Hydraotes (i. e. the Rauvee), and the second march 'came to a city, called Pimprana, belonging to a nation of Indians, named Adraistæ, who forthwith surrendered themselves and country into his hands.' He then, 'the next day, tarried there to refresh his soldiers, and on the third reached Sangala, where he found the Cathæi, and some of their confederates, drawn up before the city, on the side of a hill, neither very high, nor naturally very difficult of access. This hill they had environed with their carriages, in a triple range, by which it was fortified as with a triple wall, and their tents were pitched in the middle. This encampment forced, the Cathæi retired into the city,' (chap. xxiii.) Alexander then surrounded the whole town with a rampart and ditch, and placed a much stronger party of horse to guard the lake, which is before noticed, and said to be 'of no great depth, and by which Alexander conceived the Indians would escape by night, and it so happened.' In chap. xxiv. we learn, that 'the Macedonians, having thrown down a part of the wall, which was of brick, by undermining it, and scaling ladders being fixed, they mounted the breach every where, and took the city by assault.' He then commenced a pursuit, and returned to Sangala, and laid it level with the ground.

" The local characteristics of Sangala, are hence the hill and the lake of no great depth. In the level plain, watered by the Punjab rivers, and overspread with their inundations, the eminence, as of rarest occurrence, is one of the most infallible evidences we could meet with of a required position. Presuming that the natural features of this country have undergone no alteration, at least since the days of Alexander, it is plain such situations would have been selected then, as they are now, for the seats of habitation. The claims of Harpa to an identity with the ancient Sangala are, an accordance in the local character—the existence to this day of a trench not deep, surrounding the town at a distance, such as might be thought judicious for a line of investment. The tradition of the country as to the existence of a city, which is confirmed beyond dispute, by the immense quantity of broken bricks scattered around in every direction; and, finally, the corroborative testimony of the present ruinous fort, whose walls are high; which, though not the ancient structure, is itself of venerable antiquity, and occupies probably the site of the former; and is constructed, as Arrian says it was, of bricks. The lake is still on the north-west angle. The fort is so dilapidated that it has no garrison, and a few miserable mud dwellings constitute the present village. To the west, there is another eminence close by, on which is a ruined edifice, and an immense circular stone perforated with a large hole in the centre, which tradition asserts to have been used as a bangle (bracelet) by some celebrated Fakeer.

" The lake, I must observe, being merely formed by rain, or the flow of the river water, may not be judged to merit that name; but it will be observed, how accurately Arrian mentions that 'it was of no great depth.' In the dry season it may possibly not exist; but Alexander visited it during the rainy season, and I was so fortunate as to view it at a similar period.

" Arrian, in chap. xxi., describes Alexander as marching against the other Porus, who fled out of his dominions, and whose capital has been supposed, by Major Rennell and Dr. Vincent, to have been Lahore. It may then be asked, if marching on the high road to Lahore, how could he, in three marches, have gained Sangala? But that he crossed the Rauvee not only below the point at which Lahore stands, but even below the territory dependent on it, we may infer from Arrian's testimony in the same chapter, which affirms that after he passed the river 'he dispatched Hephæstion with part of his army, to take possession of the whole country, which that Porus had deserted.' Now, had he crossed at or above Lahore, he would have been under no necessity to dispatch his favourite; consequently, he crossed below, in the territory of 'the Adræasti, of which Pimprana was the capital,' and my position of Sangala, now determines the position of the Cathæi and Adraistæ, verifies what was before only presumed, that the city of Lahore was the capital of the second Porus, and identifies the Malli, their neighbours, with whom they were in league, to have been the natives of Moultan. Thus, the portion of ancient geography between the two rivers, Rauvee and Beyah, or Hydraotes and Hyphasis, is clearly defined. The city of Pimprana, I doubt not, may be found.

" From this point of Sangala, therefore, estimating three marches, we may fix on the spot at which he arrived at the Rauvee from the river Acesines, and the local description of Ptolemy, as to the passage of the Acesines, is sufficiently clear. His course from the Hydaspes is well known to have been from his cities of Nicæa and Bucephalia, now, fortunately, discovered. The situation of Taxila, between Indus and Hydaspes, will remain to be recognised, and the marches of Alexander in the Punjab, will be more plainly distinguished than those he made in other countries.

" The most remarkable, though not, perhaps, the most useful result, which may be derived from ascertaining the position of Sangala, will be the discovery of the celebrated Altars. Arrian states his march from this place to the Hyphasis, a line, therefore, drawn from Harpa to the Hyphasis, at its nearest point, about 40 miles, will give nearly the spot on which they were erected, and manifestly indicates the space in which they are to be sought."

These MS. notes of Mr. Lewis's, from which we have quoted this interesting portion, were written in 1831, and bear ample testimony to his fitness for the task of further investigation, in which he is now engaged under the auspices of the government in India.

We had something to say on the coins found by Mr. Burnes, but we have already occupied too large a space, and too much of the time of our readers. Let all those who are wearied by our political and antiquarian discussions, turn to the pages of Mr. Burnes, and they will find an ample compensation.

Article IX.

Louis Philippe, les Doctrinaires et la France. Paris, 8vo. 1835.

Lois sur la Presse. Août 1835.

The political condition of France is, at the present moment, an object of extreme solicitude to Europe. That country has already witnessed so many successive governments, and has been so often disturbed by the fall of systems and the mutations of policy, that, with the strictest historical impartiality, we cannot but admit it contains some special and unwonted element of social discontent. To inquire into the causes of this state of things—to determine whether the fault lies most heavily upon the government, or the parties which assail it—whether the measures of the authorities or the excited passions of the multitude, the misconduct of the governing, or the bad political education of the governed, are the true sources of these changes;—such are the important questions which claim our attention.

It is impossible to judge of the state of France either by the measures of the government or by the language of the press, for both are interested parties, which disguise alike the real situation of the country. The government is always interested in asserting that every thing goes right, because it thus attributes the public order and prosperity to its own meritorious exertions, and lauds the wisdom of its councils and the services of its administration. As almost all the daily papers, on the other hand, belong to one or other of the different shades of the opposition, they are in open hostility to the directing power, and they are more earnestly bent on destroying its authority than in pourtraying the condition of the country with veracity. Where they do not spread discontent, they commonly suppose it to exist, in order to attribute the evils of society to the government. The publications of the government, and the controversies of the press, furnish, then, most erroneous data to speculate on the true state of France. Truth must be detected beneath the cloak of inaccurate assertion and unfair argument, by discriminating between the real dissatisfaction and the supposed alarms of the

people, and by explaining the present state of parties, of opinions, of passions, of interests, and of the government.

Two classes of society mainly contributed to the immense revolution which France underwent five years ago: *first*, the lower orders, consisting of the workmen and the poor, in which we comprise all that numerous population which lives on its daily earnings, and is easily excited to turbulence, because it is restrained by no recollections of the past, and can look with no certainty to the future;—*secondly*, the middle classes, the humbler order of citizens, and little shopkeepers, men peaceful in their habits, attached to the domestic life of their own firesides, and who can only be roused to action under circumstances of extraordinary importance. The populace—and we use the term only to distinguish the lower from the middle class—fought for the revolution in the streets, and when the victory was won, the middle classes assumed the direction and the control of the great movement which had taken place. Hence resulted the amazing power of the National Guard, and the immense authority of General La Fayette, its leader; hence sprung the monarchy of the 7th of August, and the accession of King Louis Philippe, the representative of that trading class, which had succeeded to the sudden power acquired by the people in July 1830.

The feelings which had chiefly prompted that revolution, were, in the first place, a deep-seated hatred of a patrician aristocracy, and of all social distinctions; and, in the second, a natural re-action against the clergy, metamorphosed under the name of the Jesuits. The principles of liberty were far exceeded by those of equality. Equality is the real object for which the French have passionately and constantly striven, since the great drama of the revolution of 1789. The habits of the nation may sometimes be uncongenial to liberty, and the government may often restrict and encroach upon the rights of the subject; but equality is the end and aim of France. She hates the gradations of rank, equality is her conquest and her pride. She too often confounds liberty with licence, and passing from action to re-action, oscillates between despotism and anarchy; but if her notions of equality be disputed, she is roused; and it is to this cause that we may trace her resentment against the restoration, which was

supposed to favour the erection of castes, and the maintenance of sacerdotal and patrician distinctions. When the revolution of July was accomplished, a struggle commenced between the two classes which had contributed to effect it, namely, the lower and the middle orders; they had contracted a league, upon the understanding that they were to overthrow the aristocratic caste, and eject the dynasty which they considered the expression of that order; but when this task was performed, the conquerors could no longer agree; the supreme power was the object of their dispute. The lowest class of society is naturally turbulent, and the recent trial of its strength, which it had made in the streets of Paris, gratified its propensities. Flushed by conquest, its conduct was generous and disinterested in the first days of its power; but notions of pillage, and of an equal distribution of wealth, arose at a later period. The middle class, on the contrary, is orderly in its habits—it requires the undisturbed exercise and facility of trade, and of gain; it had sided with the people, indeed, in the conflict, but when the victory was won, it demanded a government able and willing to preserve order at home, and peace abroad. The national guard was opposed to the populace; and after a protracted struggle, which has more than once cost the blood of the citizens, the middle class has triumphed, and now remains in possession of the field of battle. The regular army is animated by the same spirit as the national guard, which constitutes the strength and the security of the government, and of public order. The dynasty of Louis Philippe will be endangered, if ever that body becomes hostile to the spirit of the present French monarchy; and for this reason, the worst line of policy which can be pursued, is that which tends to wound the feelings or the vanity of the civic troops—a line of policy, however, which M.M. de Broglie and Guizot do not seem studious to avoid.

In the course of the struggle which has taken place between the populace and the middle classes, the parties, and strong shades of opinion, which at present divide society in France, have been formed. They bear the names of Republicans, Carlists, the Movement Party, the *Tiers Parti*, and the *Juste Milieu;* and although these appellations are familiar to our ears, we purpose to enter into a more detailed account

of their several meanings, pointing out the respective strength of these sections, and the present or future chances of preponderance which they may possess; for, upon these chances depend the future destinies of France.

The Republican party is the noisiest in France, the most clamorous in its threats, and the most ready to take up arms. It is the object of especial solicitude to the government;—not indeed without cause, for this party is bold and courageous, and it appeals to those robust and muscular members of the community who crushed the dynasty of the Bourbons in 1830. But the Republican party is by no means uniform in its objects and opinions. It is divided into a variety of shades. Some of its partisans, headed by M. Armand Carrel, affect a Republican government, softened down by the temperate and civic institutions of the United States; America is their model, the ideas of General Lafayette, their guide. These men are, however, more fitted for meditation than for action; and if the doctrines upon which they hold forth have any chance of success at a future period, that chance does not exist at the present time. The sect of M. Carrel may, therefore, be looked upon as a sort of aristocracy in a republic; it is characterised by a certain degree of exclusiveness, and by a sense of its own superiority, which excites the resentment of the other branches of Republicans, and the tenets which are peculiar to this school, have more than once been proscribed by the Society *des Droits de l'homme*. The second shade of Republican opinions is represented by the newspaper, called *Le Reformateur*, and is headed by M. Raspail. These individuals are less intent upon the modification of the government, than upon the reform of the working classes: their chief object, which has some analogy to the doctrines of the sect of St. Simonians, is to fuse all the elements of society into a kind of productive equality, to promote the physical happiness and the intellectual education of the working classes, and to confer upon the lower orders the exercise of political rights. This school of opinions is more influential than that of M. Carrel; for whilst he is confined within the sphere of certain tenets, addressed chiefly to the intelligence of the *bourgeoisie*, M. Raspail appeals directly to the labouring classes,

and to the workmen who contributed so powerfully to the revolution of July. He teaches them the nature of the ills they endure, he inspires them with the hope and the desire of a happier lot, and stimulates him with that kind of excitement which cannot be imparted to an *uneducated* class of the people too carefully; because it establishes a fatal contrast in their minds between their wants, which now urge them more keenly, and their powers, which, subject to no moral control, they are but too likely to exaggerate and to misemploy. The third and last class of the Republicans is composed of the active and the ardent members of secret associations, who are ever ready for action, and eager to meet their antagonists in arms. Amongst them are to be found Cavaignac, Lebon, and Kersavsie; men bold in politics, and who, restrained by no speculative opinions, are prepared to follow out the dictates of their courage and their ambition. If these different sections of the Republican party were to possess themselves of the supreme power by a sudden effort, not a day would elapse before they would turn against each other; there are amongst them, as there were in 1793, Jacobins, Dantonists, and Girondins, ready to dispute their mutual authority, and to prosecute their mutual opinions, by proscription and the scaffold. But they have at the present moment no chance whatever of attaining to so dangerous an eminence, and they are rejected by the peaceful classes of society in France, as the promoters of anarchy. We do not assert it to be impossible that the Republicans should surprise the supreme power, and conquer the monarchy in a revolt, for we admit their courage, and their superior influence upon the populace: but a surprise of this kind would be one of short duration; the interests of the country are opposed to Republican institutions; the melancholy recollections of the French Revolution are alive in the minds of the whole community; and the middle class is alarmed at the idea of tumults and of war, which it firmly believes to be the inevitable concomitants of the Republic. The public mind could therefore only be kept down by a second reign of terror, and we hold that such monstrous exceptions to the laws of humanity do not occur twice in a century. Hence we infer that the Republican party has no present chance of success in France, and that monarchical insti-

tutions will be supported, not by the love or the respect which they inspire, but by the dread of war and of civil convulsions.

In turning to examine the resources and the chances of the Carlist party, we shall find that it bears the stamp of quite a different character. Napoleon was once blamed for neglecting the means necessary to repress the Royalists, in order to devote all his attention to the Jacobins; an objection to which he replied by a remark no less witty than profound:—"*Le Jaco-*" *binisme est une maladie interne, l'emigration une maladie* "*de peau,*" meaning, that to get rid of the former, nothing would do but a searching treatment, powerful efforts, and a constant vigilance, whilst a few drugs would purge the system of the latter. The partisans of the ancient dynasty do not take up arms in the streets; and a breath was sufficient to extinguish the insurrection of La Vendée. The *legitimists* made a great mistake, when they muffled their heads in the *bonnet rouge.* The romantic brain of the Duchesse de Berri attempted to kindle a civil war, which was terminated almost as soon as it was begun. The days of the Pretender and of the Bocage, of 1793, have passed away for ever, and vague notions of chivalrous devotion have been superseded by more intelligible and useful principles. Those, however, who uphold the ancient dynasty as the representative of free institutions, are either deceivers, or deceived. The Carlist party will not relinquish the ends it has in view, but the means which it will employ will be different. The partisans of the fallen dynasty are rich in money and in landed estates; we learn from a recent statistical document, that they are in actual possession of one half of the surface of the country; their coffers have recently been replenished by the indemnity; and they exercise over all the rural districts of France, that influence which belongs to wealth and consequence.

Whenever the government has taken measures, or held language at variance with the principles of the revolution of July, it has been brought over, by the nature of the circumstances, to side with that fraction of the Carlist party who are the great landed proprietors. At this very time the object of its hopes and its efforts is to effect this union. The thirty peers who were recently created, were especially intended to favour this opinion, and to serve as a lure to the class of great land-

owners. The administration of Louis Philippe loses no opportunity of putting in practice another maxim of Napoleon's, which was, that, "as the soil is subject to no convulsions, a "government supported by the owners of the soil is possessed "of important securities." Certain members of the Carlist party, who are tired of being out of office, will unquestionably be gained over by the existing government. A division will take place similar to that which occurred in our own country after the revolution of 1688: some will remain faithful to their sense of honour, or obstinate in their antiquated prejudices, and will constitute a Jacobite party in France; but the majority will accept the proffered concessions of the government of Louis Philippe; they will form a Tory or Conservative party; they will endeavour to get the upper hand, and to govern in concert with the new dynasty. But we here discover a fresh source of danger for the monarchy; may it not be apprehended that it will lose the support of the middle classes, which constitute its present strength, in proportion as it connects itself with the landed aristocracy? The government of the Restoration perished, as we have already observed, because it placed too exclusive a reliance upon the class of nobles and land-owners. If the monarchy of Louis Philippe follows its example, if it abandons the principles of the constitution, it may be apprehended that the same difficulties await it. The national guard will be irritated, and the mass of the people will be dissatisfied, amongst whom the more turbulent Republicans will find support. The middle classes—the small shopkeepers—the workmen, whose welfare is intimately connected with the industrial and manufacturing interests of the country, are the natural supporters of the dynasty of Orleans. If they be shaken, the throne will lose its firmest hold.

These elements of society, and the opinions which they represent, are ordinarily designated in France by the term *juste milieu*. But the French are so ready to banter and deride, that this very expression, *juste milieu*, which implies temperance and moderation in political affairs, has passed into a jest. The party of the *juste milieu* does not owe its strength in France to the devoted affection or enthusiastic zeal which it excites, but to the important interests to which it appeals. As soon as ever a principle is found to exist, which promises to

restore and to maintain public security, that principle becomes the centre, and the rallying point of a multitude of interests which are menaced by the changes of the times. Louis Philippe is considered in France to be the representative of these interests. The middle classes do not always approve, they sometimes blame, the measures of his government; but no steps are taken to impede or embarrass that government, because, to weaken its influence, would be to let in the excesses of parties which are most dreaded by the nation. The merchant and the manufacturer require a tranquil state of things, in order to dispose of their goods. The workman also requires it, to turn his labour to the best account; and by these members of the community Louis Philippe is considered as the surest guardian of peace and quiet. Such are the essential principles of the *juste milieu*. Although this party is numerous, its peaceful character lays it open to be easily surprised by the aggressions of parties more violent, and more ready to take up arms than itself. At the present time it preponderates in the elections; it animates the National Guard; it has crept into the army, in which the officers are mostly sprung from the middle classes; and there is every probability that it will continue to rule the country, because the middle classes in France are extremely influential, and are connected with every condition of fortune and of employment.

The opinions which are styled those of the *tiers parti*, are held by men intimately connected with the *juste milieu*, and separated from it by mere cabinet intrigues and ministerial jealousies, more than by any strong or decided differences of principle. The *tiers parti*, represented by M. Dupin, affects to be in more immediate relation to the middle classes; and to represent their wants, or to respond to their inclinations, more accurately. In point of fact, the *tiers parti* is composed of that section of the middle classes which desires public order and the security of the government, but without admitting of any compromise or alliance with the landed interest. It comprises the shop-keepers, and retail dealers, who are devoted to Louis Philippe, and who wish to retain as much political importance as they enjoyed during the first two years of the Revolution. But as this system cannot last for ever, the *tiers parti* is dissatisfied, it complains, and it timidly joins the

opposition, under the pale and vacillating colours of the *Constitutionnel.* It cannot be denied that the *tiers parti* has some chance of taking the reins of government, and indeed it has twice very nearly formed an administration, the same circumstances may again arise, but the execution of its system of government would be attended with very great difficulties. It looks with abhorrence on all revolutionary tumult, and excessive popular emotions; order and peace are its principal objects, and it nevertheless clings to the principles which obtained in July 1830, whilst it cherishes antipathy for the conservative opinions of the landed aristocracy. The position of a cabinet, formed by the *tiers parti*, would be exceedingly embarrassing: it could neither proceed to the right, nor to the left; and it would be overpowered by all the parties unconnected with its own select coterie.

One more class of opinions remains to be noticed, which is, that professed by Lafitte, Dupont de l'Eure, and in a more moderate sense, by M. Odillon Barrot, who constitute what is called the movement party. Their principal object, is to restore the monarchy of Louis Philippe to the principles and ideas of the revolution of July: they powerfully contributed to that great change, or, to speak with more precision, they called the reigning dynasty to the throne—they formed the popular government in the midst of confusion, bordering upon anarchy—and their influence was exerted to support monarchical institutions, and to favour the interests of Louis Philippe. The services they rendered cannot be forgotten, but they are themselves, nevertheless, all in disgrace at Court.

M. Lafitte occasionally appears at the Tuileries, because financial interests and negociations still connect him with the king; but their principles are so manifestly at variance, that no political reconciliation can be expected to take place between them. The movement party could only be placed at the head of affairs by a great popular crisis, and it might then serve as a means of transition to a republican government. The tenets of the party are not in reality opposed to this latter form; the monarchy which they desire, rests upon a republican foundation; the king would be no more than the hereditary president of the nation, and they would revive the democratic institutions of Sparta, with the semblance, but scarcely the reality of

a king. The movement party is, consequently, looked upon as the advocate, not only of a change of policy, but of a revolution; and this circumstance prevents it from making proselytes amongst those middle and trading classes, which dread nothing so much as a rising of the populace, and a fresh suspension of commercial affairs.

Thus, if we recapitulate the state of parties in France, and the probable chances of success which belong to each set of opinions, we may conclude that, at the present moment, the *juste milieu* has the strongest and most immediate chances of preponderance, because it is founded on the interests of the community, the maintenance of order, and the mercantile security of the middle classes. The opinions of the Republicans may obtain credit at some future time, when the rising generation comes to be at the head of affairs, full of the convictions of inexperience, and the energetic confidence of youthful talent; but for the present, it may surprise, but it cannot rule the country. The Carlists, consisting of the great landowners, will be divided into Jacobites, remaining faithful to the former dynasty, and Tories supporting the present monarchy. The *tiers parti* may be called to the cabinet, but its system will be embarrassed, and its measures undecided: lastly, the movement party may serve as a means of transition to the republican form of government.

Such is the existing state of parties in France; we now turn to that of the members of the administration. Three branches of the legislature are established by the charter; the Chamber of Peers, the Chamber of Deputies, and the King; or to speak more correctly, the Ministry, which is responsible for the acts of the government. We shall successively examine the condition of these three powers, beginning with those which cooperate in the work of legislation, and arriving at the ministerial body, to whose care the administration is now entrusted.

The elements of which the Chamber of Peers is composed, are exceedingly discrepant. It is a Mosaic of political fragments—a patchwork of the ruins of every government that has ruled in France. It contains senators of the empire—ex-conventionalists—noblemen of the Restoration—generals, magistrates, and is a perfect amalgam of different systems and different times, well deserving the title bestowed

on it by the wit, who called it, *L'Almanach de toutes les régimes!* The Chamber of Peers has been made by levies, and successive governments have, from time to time, added thirty, forty, or fifty members to its benches, by whom the spirit of the assembly, and the majority, has been more than once modified and controlled: the governments of M. Decazes, of M. de Villèle, and of Louis Philippe, have each furnished their batch of peers. A portion of the members were ejected at the time of the revolution, and the hereditary dignity of the rest has been abolished. What unity can then be supposed to exist in this body, which is still styled an aristocratic assembly? The Chamber of Peers is not deficient in talents of a high order; it contains men admirably skilled in the art of administration, magistrates of eminence, philosophers, and warriors; but these elements are so ill-compacted, that they form a perfect chaos; it is vain to look for strength or dignity in an assembly where there is no principle of unity or cohesion, and all the talents and the tact of a man like M. Pasquier, the president, are required to conduct the business of the house. The Chamber of Peers has recently been exposed to a severe trial, in the great cause of the 19th of April, against the Republican insurgents, which was brought within its jurisdiction. It will shortly be invested with judicial authority, to try the assassin, Fieschi. The recent law on the press, converts it into a kind of Star Chamber, specially intended to take cognisance of offences committed by the public prints: so that it may be looked upon as a court of justice with more propriety than as a legislative assembly. Indeed, all the recent debates have confirmed the opinion which was previously entertained of its legislative inutility; it voted the budget in one sitting, and passed the laws on the press, in two! These are not means by which its influence, on public opinion, can be maintained. A power in the state loses its character when it neglects to fulfil its duties. The Chamber of Peers will have no weight with the country, until two opposing parties are arrayed within its walls. The position it occupies, at present, is unworthy of it.

The elements of which the Chamber of Deputies is composed, are more united and more compact. The French electoral law is far from being perfect, and the reform which it

underwent in 1830, was not sufficiently extensive to render the Chamber of Deputies the real organ of the opinions of the country. The qualification for voters, is a payment of 200 francs per annum, in direct taxes; a condition which restricts the elective franchise to the middle classes, and deprives the mass of the people of any share in the choice of the national representatives*. The Chamber, as it is now constituted, is therefore, in reality, the representative of the middle classes, in the departments; that is to say, of those ranks in society which are most opposed to political excesses, and are sensitively afraid of civil disturbances. This fact suffices to account for the ministerial majority. The Chamber is not, however, so corrupt as is generally supposed, and the ministerial party maintains its line of policy from motives of fear, more than from motives of interest. It is a curious and instructive lesson in the history of legislative assemblies, to see the Chamber of Deputies, which stood forth in the midst of a tremendous convulsion, five years ago, now trembling at the faintest ruffle of popular commotion. The number of public functionaries who occupy the ministerial benches is, no doubt, large, but that of independent deputies, who lend their timorous votes to the support of the ruling dynasty, and of public order, is scarcely less considerable.

The strongest opposition which has ever shown itself in the Chamber, was that which voted against the recent law on the press; it amounted to 153, and it was composed of all shades of opinion, since they all united to condemn the measure proposed by the government. Under ordinary circumstances, the opposition cannot muster more than 120 or 130 votes, which may be divided under the following heads. At the extreme *gauche*, sit the deputies whom we have designated as the movement party, headed by M.M. Dupont de l'Eure, and Lafitte, but not reckoning more than 30 votes. Next to them we find the second division of the opposition, amounting to 40 or 50 votes, and headed by M.M. Odillon Barrot, Pagès (de l'Arriège), Isambert, and Nicod. Beyond them

* France, with a population of upwards of 30,000,000, has less than 200,000 electors. The number is generally supposed to be 170,000. Of these, 40,000 are actually placemen, and doubtless there are at least 40,000 besides, who are candidates for place.

comes the *tiers parti*, composed of every shade of opinion, from M. Dupin to M. de Lamartine, amounting to some 40 votes. And, lastly, the small body of *legitimists*, possessing some 10 or 15 votes, and guided by the talents of M. Berryer. Such are the elements of which the present opposition in the Chamber of Deputies is composed, and on certain questions it is strengthened by the accession of a few independent votes, like that of M. Royer Collard.

Although the ministerial deputies vote with the most perfect unanimity, it must not be supposed that they are all imbued with the same feelings and opinions; that party, as well as the one which opposes its measures, has its violent and its temperate supporters. General Bugeaud does not form his opinion upon the same grounds as M. Sauzet; but these two individuals start from opposite points, and arrive by different paths to the same conclusion. The majority has never failed the ministers throughout the session, and hence —their power. But does this majority, in reality, represent the nation? Does not France require a measure of reform similar to the English reform bill, which shall give to public opinion its due influence over the legislature? The Chamber, at present, is not representative of the nation. It is not in harmony with great masses of the people. Its members are emphatically delegates of the *Bourgeoisie*, and in passing the recent law on the press, they have proved themselves, in our opinion, the enemies of national and European freedom.

The cabinet which conducts the government and the administration has received the epithet of *Doctrinaire* from the public press; and as this term has passed into common use, we shall employ it here, although we cannot allow it to be strictly accurate with regard to all the members of which that cabinet is composed. In reality, they do not all profess the same shade of opinion; and they constitute a ministry which may be considered as a coalition, rather than as a compact administration, composed of men holding identical opinions, and sharing the same persuasion. The two leaders of the cabinet are incontestably M. de Broglie and M. Guizot, but M. Guizot is the real head of the government, over which his colleague nominally presides. M. Guizot is a man of enlightened mind, of solid and varied information, but he has

the faults of the dogmatical school to which he belongs; he is too full of himself and of his doctrines, which he maintains as absolutely and infallibly true. He has something Genevese in his character, and a trace of the saturnine enthusiasm of Calvin, which drives him with inexorable firmness along his chosen course, although a thousand obstacles should arise before him, and blood appear across his path. M. de Broglie conforms to the tendency of his friend and colleague, for they belong to the same school. M. de Broglie is distinguished for his erudition in legislation and politics, but the subjects with which his mind is well stored, are all tinged with the line of his own peculiar opinions; he does not class the facts which his extensive reading and experience have collected; his temper is irritable, and he is apt to compromise his administration, and to exceed the bounds of moderation in his public speeches. In the conduct of the foreign policy of France, which is the department more immediately under his control, he has taken up peculiar opinions, which nothing will make him relinquish.

M. Thiers does not hold the same opinions as M. Guizot and M. de Broglie; but those ministers have admitted him to their counsels, because they were afraid to leave him in the Chamber, unconnected with the administration, where he might have joined the opposition, and headed the enemies of the government. We believe however that the Doctrinaires exaggerate the importance of M. Thiers: his ministerial position is the true source of his parliamentary influence; if he were removed from that position, and reduced to such weight as his personal merits may command, his opposition would not be formidable, and his real power would be more correctly appreciated. M. Thiers is the most voluble of declaimers—no one can speak so fast or so long as he can—but he is deficient in dignity. He passes from one opinion to another; to-day he advocates the measures which he reprobated the day before, and he destroys, by the most glaring inconsistency, the influence of his political character. France, indeed, has furnished but too numerous instances of inconsistency of the grossest kind, and never more than in the case of the recent enactments against the press. We have our political renegades at home, but we believe there are few English statesmen who would not blush to act

the part which the French ministers have performed upon this occasion: — M. de Broglie abjuring his written and acknowledged opinions. M. Guizot defending opinions in the tribune diametrically opposed to those which he had professed as an author. M. Thiers the minister eating the words of M. Thiers the editor of the *National*.—These are the unworthy changes that have been exhibited. They may provoke a passing smile in certain circles, but are they so easily effaced from the memory of the people? do they not destroy public confidence, and strike at the root of political integrity? and do not the people reserve their deepest contempt for those whom they brand with the name of apostates? We have ourselves recently seen these men shrinking from the indignant taunts of their adversaries, and timidly seeking a refuge behind their pliant majority. Looking at the motives which prompted the introduction of the law on the press—at the manner in which it was carried through the Legislature, it would have been a bitter satire to address them in words which ought to convey no exaggerated praise to the ministers of a great nation.

Si fractus illabatur orbis
Impavidos ferient ruinæ.

M. Persil is the weakest of the cabinet; he began his career at the bar by the discussion of those ordinary questions touching party-walls and water courses, which have narrowed his mind, and directed his attention to trivial interests; on the other hand, he is irritable, and ready to adopt those violent measures which are peculiarly congenial to the tastes of such a mind. M. Persil is the favoured of the Tuileries, and he enjoys the intimacy and the confidence of Louis Philippe and of the Queen. His devoted attachment to the reigning dynasty is unquestionable, and he loses no opportunity of proving it. He is not indeed very cordially united to the Doctrinaires, and the Doctrinaires are not behind hand in returning his dislike; but they use him; they know how M. Persil may be of service to them, and they employ him whenever any violent measure is to be carried into execution. M. Humann, the Minister of Finance, is insignificant as a political character. He is not an active partisan of either of the shades of opinion which prevail in the cabinet, though

the superior morality of the Doctrinaire party would induce him to prefer them to M. Thiers. In finance, he is an unwieldy man of business, who has passed his life in calculating his gains on sugar and iron, in the Germanic city of Strasburg. He is perfectly versed in the routine of the treasury; the expenditure is regulated with the greatest accuracy; money abounds, and M. Humann fulfils the duties of his post with the most scrupulous activity. The remaining members of the cabinet are Marshal Maison, Admiral Duperré, and M. Duchâtel. Marshal Maison is a man of talent, who has retained something of the bluff and coarse manners of a military life: he is at present the minister of war, but the presidency of the cabinet it is said is the object of his ambition; and if M. Thiers should separate himself from the Doctrinaires, the Marshal would perhaps join his party. Admiral Duperné takes but little part in politics. He affects a certain grandeur of manner, which serves very imperfectly to cloak the coarse vestiges of a bad education. M. Duchatel has been styled with great propriety, the son of the Doctrinaires; he is still young, and is inseparably wedded to their tenets: as an author, he has put forth liberal and advanced opinions in political economy; but as a minister, he has applied all the old prohibitive and restrictive theories of the school of Napoleon, to the commercial administration of his country.

At the head of all these ministerial functionaries is the King; for the constitutional principle, which excludes the sovereign from taking an active part in public business, is utterly disregarded in France, and Louis Philippe transacts a variety of affairs in person. Five years of arduous government have amply demonstrated the political sagacity of the king of the French;—his information is extensive and various;—his long exile taught him the precious lessons of adversity;—and the difficult and complicated position in which he was placed during the restoration, has given him so subtle a character, and so dexterous a use of the means within his reach, that few rulers can be said to equal him in these respects. In the council he often speaks; sometimes with sound judgment—always with extreme art: his opinion generally prevails, because he perseveres in it with the utmost tenacity. He flatters those who may be of use to him, and deserts them

when they have served his turn. Thus has he treated MM. de Lafayette, Lafitte, and Dupont de l'Eure. Louis Philippe entertains certain fixed notions of government, which sooner or later he carries into effect: if there be any who refuse him their assistance, he courts them when he has reason to fear their influence, and crushes them when that influence is extinct. He is a politician in the worst sense of the term. His ministers are not his only councillors, for besides his official servants, he consults those whose advice he desires to have. He does not like M. de Talleyrand, yet he frequently consults him, because no one, he conceives, has greater resources, or more ingenious devices at his command. He also, sometimes, affects to consult M. Molé, but merely for the purpose of dazzling him by hopes of the royal favour, or of converting M. Molé to his own matured opinion. His two most devoted partisans are General Sebastiani and Admiral de Rigny. They are entrusted with his most secret views on foreign policy, and may almost be looked upon as his secretaries of state. This circumstance can alone explain the paramount favour enjoyed by these two advisers, who are equally destitute of distinguished ability.

The influence of the royal family upon the king's decisions is small; but in emergencies, Madame Adelaide, the king's sister, has contributed to strengthen the determination of her brother. She is deficient neither in energy nor in courage, and, as has been said of her, her character fits her for resolution and revolution. The queen abstains from exerting her influence, which she confines to the honourable sphere of her family. The Duke of Orleans had at one time conceived the project of heading a parliamentary opposition, and forming a party of his own: this plan, however, never succeeded; he got a severe reprimand from his father, and is now reduced to the pleasures of a field-day, or a parade. The exclusive weight of the government rests upon Louis Philippe.

The whole system of his government may be divided into three great branches, *First*, the army and the national guard.—*Secondly*, the finances and the funded debt.—*Thirdly*, the commercial and physical prosperity of the country.

The army is in excellent order and discipline; and the

costly but effectual means which were taken to remodel the whole body of troops, under the iron rule of Marshal Soult, have been perfectly successful. The recruits are drawn by conscription, and the army, therefore, is composed of the people. About one-third of the men are paid substitutes, and the other two-thirds consist of the young peasantry, or the more unsettled portion of the population of towns. The body of officers is strangely heterogeneous, it contains but few men of family, and a large majority belong to the middle rank of society. About three-eighths of the officers served under the restoration, either in the body guards, the garde royale, or in other regiments, and they still profess *legitimist* opinions. These individuals are bitter enemies of street disturbances; they burn to revenge the defeat of the guards in the streets of Paris; and it is worthy of remark, that this feeling is one of the great securities which the government of July possesses against all future insurrections. The remainder of the officers are young men, indifferent to the cause they defend, who have won their epaulettes in the disturbances which have taken place; or, lastly, those veterans of the imperial armies who may be looked on as far behind the military tactics of the present day. The non-commissioned officers are most of them ardent young men, possessing a certain degree of education, eager for promotion, and full of the traditions of those wondrous days of the revolutionary wars, when common soldiers rose to the highest dignities, and sat by the side of kings. The republican movement is gradually propagated amongst this class, and the most rigorous precautions of the police are taken with regard to men, who owe their importance to the circumstance of their standing between the superior officers and soldiers, and of their representing the wants, the feelings, and the opinions of the common men. The non-commissioned officers may be said to control the army; or, at least, the most active and intelligent part of it; and it is with that body of men a revolt may originate at the time of a change from one reign to another.

The national guard, as we have already observed, constitutes the chief strength of the present system. This gigantic instrument is, at the same time, useful, and dangerous to the state; it has been disbanded in almost all the larger

towns, where it displayed symptoms of disaffection; it is kept up in Paris, where it is devoted to Louis Philippe. But the influence which public opinion, and the political press, may have upon these troops, is a constant source of alarm: the officers are elected by the men, so that no control can be exercised over them as a body; the guard is independent of the crown, and very ill-adapted to monarchical institutions; for were the opinion of the national guards to change, their hostility would prove the most imminent danger, as their support is the surest protection of the existing powers.

The finances of France are in good order, and the state of the public credit is sufficiently attested by the high rate of the funds. The *Bons du Trésor*, which correspond to our exchequer bills, do not bring in more than 2 per cent. interest, yet such is the abundance of capital, that the floating debt could easily be increased at the rate of a million of francs a day. The *Caisses d'Epargnes* (savings banks) pay large sums into the treasury every week: and these excellent institutions serve a political, as well as a moral, end. By depositing the savings of the workman in the treasury of the state, all the lower orders are, more or less, interested in the maintenance of the existing government, and of public order. The small income which he derives from his savings, prevents the industrious workman from joining insurrections which may endanger his own property by unsettling the country. However great these advantages may be, the savings banks are not unattended with drawbacks. A national panic might produce a severe run upon the treasury; though, even in this case, it is probable, that a loan might be contracted on terms far from disadvantageous to the government. The revenue of France is composed of fixed direct taxes, which are levied upon property; and of indirect imposts, which are levied upon the articles of national consumption. There is still a certain deficit in the annual budget, which is made up by a regular issue of bills on the treasury.

This financial system is intimately connected with the prosperity of the country, which has attained a certain point, without reaching an extraordinary height. The corn laws are still narrow and prohibitive, but the price of grain is low, and the assize of bread was never lower than it is at the present

time. Such, however, is not the case with regard to the other commodities which pay to the Octroi. The question of wages is rendered more difficult by these duties and imposts. It was this question which bathed the streets of Lyons with blood, and which threatens to compromise the tranquillity of all the manufacturing towns. The surest means of solving the difficulty would be to lessen the indirect taxes, and to supply the deficiency by a system of rigid economy. The sign of a good government is not only the wealth of the treasury, but the comparative wealth of the working man. The plan of reducing the interest of the debt, is one to which the Minister of Finance turns his serious attention; and M. Humann may succeed better in 1835, than M. de Villèle could do in 1825. The custom-houses of the principal ports, such as Marseilles, Hâvre, and Bordeaux, which afford a sure indication of the increase or decrease of commercial prosperity, have of late fallen off in their receipts. Commercial speculations are not forwarded with zeal or boldness; the capitalists hesitate before they risk their property, and they seem to look forward to the future with distrust. The country is tranquil at the present moment, but there is a black speck upon the horizon, which may herald an approaching storm. Men try to enjoy the security of to-day, and to take no thought of the perils of to-morrow. They live in a state of apprehension and uncertainty, of which it is less difficult, perhaps, to discover the cause than the remedy.

Two recent occurrences—the crime of Fieschi, and the laws which have been passed against the press—have heightened the mistrust and alarm of society. The crime of Fieschi occasioned a general burst of indignation; and every man asked his neighbour what would have happened if the whole royal family had been swept off by the Infernal Machine? What would have been the fate of France? What opinion, what party, would have prevailed? Would it have been the Republic, and the horrors of anarchy, or Henry V., attended by armed Europe? Sad and unsettled is the condition of a country whose destinies depend on the life of a single individual—a life, too, which is perpetually threatened with the attacks of enemies, exasperated by no imaginary wrongs, armed and prepared for violence.

The second event was the introduction of the laws against the press, which violated all the principles and promises professed and given by Louis Philippe on his accession to the throne, and which have shed abroad fresh seeds of discord, and of faction. What, then, may be the future fate of the constitutional monarchy, and of the dearly-bought liberties of France? What will be the conduct of the government, now that it has entered upon that track of absolute power in which kings and rulers never stop or recede? Who can say whether the country has still energy enough to renew the difficult and protracted struggle which it maintained against the powers of the restoration?—a struggle requiring exertions and perseverance which are rare in the history of nations.

Article X.

Minutes of Evidence taken in support of the Allegations of the several Petitions against the Bill, intituled "An "Act to provide for the Regulation of Municipal Cor- "porations in England and Wales." Ordered to be printed 4th August, 1835.

Speech of Henry Lord Brougham in Defence of the absent Commissioners on the English Municipal Corporation Reform Bill, on Wednesday, August 12, 1835. London: 1835.

On the 21st of July the Bill for the Reform of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales was carried up to the House of Lords. At that moment every thing appeared to indicate a speedy and satisfactory settlement of the question of Corporate Reform. The country had received and adopted the measure of ministers, gratefully acknowledging the honesty of its principles, and the fitness of its details for carrying those principles into effect. Little appearance of opposition was to be seen. The ultra-Tories were silent, and Sir Robert Peel had delivered a speech on the second reading of the Bill, in which he admitted the necessity of some such enactment, acquiesced in its principles, and objected only to a few comparatively unimportant matters of detail.

The Bill, as it passed the House of Commons, was indeed "calculated to afford contentment to the people, by establish-"ing good goverment in the towns:" the principal sources of discontent under the old system, are well embodied in the concluding sentences of the general report of the Commissioners.

"In conclusion, we report to your Majesty, that there prevails amongst the inhabitants of a great majority of the incorporated towns, a general, and, in our opinion, a just dissatisfaction with their Municipal institutions; a distrust of the self-elected Municipal councils, whose powers are subject to no popular control, and whose acts and proceedings being secret, are unchecked by the influence of public opinion; a distrust of the Municipal magistracy, tainting with suspicion the local administration of justice, and often accompanied with contempt of the persons by whom the law is administered; a discontent under the burthens of local taxation, while revenues that ought to be applied for the public advantage are diverted from their legitimate use, and are sometimes wastefully bestowed for the benefit of inividuals, sometimes squandered for purposes injurious to the character and morals of the people. We therefore feel it to be our duty, to represent to your Majesty, that the existing Municipal Corporations of England and Wales, neither possess nor deserve the confidence or respect of your Majesty's subjects, and that a thorough reform must be effected, before they can become, what we humbly submit to your Majesty they ought to be, useful and efficient instruments of local government."

For the remedy of present abuses, and the prevention of similar complaints hereafter, the Bill as it left the House of Commons contained the following provisions:—Throughout every corporation in England and Wales, the whole of the existing governing bodies, and the existing magistrates, were to be removed in the course of this year; elective town councils, chosen triennially by the inhabitant rate-payers of the borough, were to be substituted for the old self-elected irresponsible bodies; towns with a population of 25,000 persons were to be divided into wards; the mayors were to be elected annually by the councils, and to act, during their year of office, as Returning Officers of their respective boroughs; the absurd principle of qualification, "which evinces distrust of the people, without "conferring security," was excluded from the Bill; town clerks, and other ministerial officers now in the employment of the corporations, were removeable by the new councils; accounts of income and expenditure were subjected to audit and publication; the granting of licences was vested in the councils, by whom also magistrates were to be nominated for a crown commission, with a veto on their appointment, reserved to the crown; stipendiary magistrates were to be appointed by the

crown. Upon petition of the inhabitants, recorders (barristers of not less than five years' standing) were to be appointed by the crown, with quarter sessions, and power to act for more than one borough; the parliamentary franchise of existing freemen was preserved, but no freemen were hereafter to be admitted; exemption from tolls and exclusive rights of property, in particular classes, were to be surrendered, for the general benefit of the community. Such were the leading provisions of a measure which was hailed by the people as a new charter of their liberties, the principles of which had obtained in the House of Commons the cordial approbation of the liberal party, and the tacit acquiescence of the other, which all parties, indeed, seemed to unite in adopting as a safe, constitutional, and satisfactory remedy of acknowledged abuses.

The Bill passed the House of Commons unimpaired in any of its material provisions. Certain proprietary rights in toll, common, &c., were reserved to the freemen; these reserved rights, however, existed only in twenty-five towns, and they were subjected to compulsory purchase at the fair value. No other alteration of any consequence had been effected by the skirmishing opposition in the House of Commons. But when the Bill arrived in the Upper House, rumours of sinister import began to float into circulation; a cabal of Tory peers was said to have assembled at Apsley House, to deliberate on the course to be adopted by the House of Lords, whether to throw out the Bill boldly on the second reading, to hear evidence, with a view to the defeat of the measure by delay, or to mutilate it by means of what they were pleased to call *amendments* in the committee. Their Lordships did not choose to encounter the risk which might have attended the adoption of the first of these courses. We have not heard that the most rational of all projects, that of conceding the measure with a good grace to the wishes of the people, had ever once entered into their deliberations.

One of the earliest results of the discussions at Apsley House was exhibited in the attack made by the more intemperate Tory peers on the legality of the Commission. The Duke of Newcastle went so far as to threaten an impeachment of the ministers by whom it was issued, forgetting, in his zeal for the Corporations, as was promptly observed by Lord

Brougham, that it is for the House of Commons to impeach, and for the House of Lords to adjudicate on an impeachment. We have stated that these indications proceeded only from some of the more indiscreet members of the Tory opposition, for we think that there is something remarkable in the manner in which the name of Lord Lyndhurst had been used, as an authority for the charge. It will be found, upon a close investigation of this matter, that to the extent to which his Lordship's name was brought forward by his partisans, he had never ventured publicly to commit himself. In the memorable debate on the address, he was challenged by Lord Brougham to vindicate an opinion of the illegality of the Commission, which he was represented to have given on a former occasion, and to reconcile that opinion with the recently avowed determination of the minister whose chancellor he was, to adopt the report of the Commissioners as the basis of his promised legislation. With less than usual of the dexterity for which the learned Lord is distinguished, he thus endeavoured to evade the question.

"What will be done with the said Report when it comes to be laid before Parliament must depend on the nature of the evidence, on the report founded on that evidence, and not on that alone, but on other circumstances. I do not feel myself called on to give my pledge on the subject; on the contrary, I will say, that a commission having been appointed for inquiry, till that inquiry shall have been concluded, and the report made, it would be at present premature to say what will be done. *The noble and learned Lord says, that we had adopted this Commission, and this I am willing to concede to a certain extent.* I agree with my noble and learned friend, however, as to the *weakness* of that Commission; and I must also declare, that some of the powers of the Commission, in the extent to which they are carried, are, in my opinion, illegal. The Commission assumes to exercise an authority in the name of the king, which the crown does not in fact possess. I agree with my noble and learned friend as to the weakness of the Commission."—(*Mirror of Parliament*, p. 36.)

The sophistry of this is easily detected. Lord Lyndhurst had said, or rather his friends, for party purposes, had chosen to represent him as saying, that the Commission was illegal; and yet we find him adopting and preparing to act upon this very Commission. "But," says he, "it is weak, and to a "certain extent I think it illegal; though not so far illegal as "to induce me, as the keeper of the King's conscience, to re-"commend to His Majesty to dissolve it altogether. It is not, "I confess, illegal to issue these instructions to Commissioners,

"but the powers of the Commissioners are weak, and they "would become illegal, if illegal acts were done in pursuance "of them." Yes, and the Court of King's Bench is in the same predicament exactly: that tribunal has power to inquire into a great variety of matters, but then the rules of evidence must be observed in its investigations, and there are many questions which it is by no means illegal in the Court of King's Bench to ask of a witness, but which it would be altogether illegal to *compel* him to answer. To this extent it may be said that the powers of every court of justice in this kingdom are weak.

By the common law of the realm, a large extent of prerogative is vested in the crown, including, among other powers, that of granting municipal charters. The existence of a prerogative of this nature must necessarily imply the right of the crown to employ some effectual means for obtaining the information requisite to its judicious exercise. From the earliest periods of our history, down to the present day, Commissions have been the means adopted in preference to any other, to obtain information; in latter times, their convenience, as well as their unquestioned legality, has led to a greatly increased employment of them for this purpose. It will be found by those whose leisure will allow them to examine the many precedents, that commissions have been much more frequent since the revolution than before; and this, we think, is a convincing proof that they have been looked upon by British statesmen as a *constitutional*, no less than a *convenient and legal* mode of procuring information. Common sense demands that the prerogative should be accompanied by the power to inquire, and accordingly we find, whenever there is a claim to be enforced by the crown, or a prerogative to be exercised, that a commission, or some strictly analogous proceeding, is adopted. The "inquisitio post mortem," writs of extent, and commissions of lunacy, are all of the nature of commissions of inquiry. The "inquisitio post mortem," is described by Blackstone in the following words:—"Upon the death of any one of the king's "tenants, an inquest of office was held, called an inquisitio post "mortem, to inquire of what lands he died seized, who was his "heir, and of what age, in order to entitle the King to his "marriage, wardship, relief, primer seisin, or other advantages,

" as the circumstances of the case might turn out." The writ of extent directs the sheriff to inquire into the property of the person against whom it is issued, and to have his lands appraised. The writ " de idiota inquirendo," is precisely similar in principle; the Lord Chancellor, to whom, by special authority of the King, the custody of lunatics is delegated, *issues a commission of inquiry* into the state of mind of the alleged lunatic. We think that these instances, among many others, are sufficient to show that, where *information* is the object, Commissions properly issued, are as strictly analogous to the law of this country, as they are indispensable to a judicious exercise of the royal prerogative.

The great survey of the kingdom, called " Domesday Book," was compiled by order of William the Conqueror, through the means of inquisitions, as they were called, but which were in fact nothing more or less than Commissions. Ingulphus* affirms, " that this survey was made in imitation of the policy " of Alfred, who, at the time he divided this kingdom into " counties, hundreds, and tithings, had an inquisition taken, " and digested into a register, which was called, from the " place in which it was deposited, the Roll of Winchester†;" and it is not improbable that the title, " Domesday Book " was a corruption of " Dome boc," which, according to some learned writers, was another name for Alfred's Register. For the adjusting of this survey, certain Commissioners, called the king's justiciaries, were appointed, and we subjoin the exact terms of an inquisition which issued into the counties of Cambridge and Hertford, for the purpose of showing the manner in which the inquiry was conducted :—

" The inquisitors, it appears, *upon the oaths* of the sheriffs, the lords of each manor, the presbyters of every church, the reves of every hundred, the bailiffs, and six villans of every village, *were to inquire* into the name of the place, who held it at the time of King Edward, who was the present possessor, how many hides in the manor, how many carrucates in demesne, how many homagers, how many villas, how many cotarii, how many servi, what freemen, how many tenants in socage, what quantity of wood, how much meadow and pasture, what mills and fish ponds, how much added or taken away, what the gross value in King Edward's time, what the present value, and how much each freeman or soch

* " Hist. Ingulphi," pp. 79, 80.

† " General Introduction to Domesday," official copy, for the use of His Majesty's Commissioners on the Public Records of the Kingdom. Not published.

man had or has? All this was to be triply estimated; first, as the estate was held in the time of the Confessor; then, as it was bestowed by King William; and, thirdly, as its value stood at the time of the survey. The jurors were, moreover, to state whether any advance could be made in the value*."

In the year 1732, a Royal Commission was issued, under the great seal, *upon an address of the House of Commons.* The Commissioner recites the address of the House of Commons, representing misbehaviour, and illegal fees, &c., of officers of courts of justice. It authorises certain Commissioners to take "a survey of the officers, clerks, and ministers of the "courts of justice;" and "that an inquiry be made into "their fees, &c., to establish what may be reasonable, &c.;" and "generally within all our temporal courts, and also within "all ecclesiastical courts;" and "to find out what officers, "&c.;" and "what service, &c., belong to the said officers;" and "what fees and rewards may, and ought to be, taken," and "also what extortions, oppressions, and exactions, have "been committed by the said officers in the execution of "their offices;" "*by the oaths of good and lawful men,*" "as by *deposition of witnesses, and other lawful means;*" it gives "full force and authority, to cause all officers *to bring* "*and produce upon oaths,* before you, all and singular *rolls,* "*records, orders, books, papers, or other writings,* belonging "to any of them, or any of the officers, &c.;" and, finally, "*to report how the said abuses may be reformed.*"

Between the years 1716 and 1726, six Royal Commissions, with ample powers, were issued, for visiting the universities of Aberdeen, Glasgow, and St. Andrews; and in the year 1826, a Royal Commission (warrant signed "Robert Peel") was issued for visiting the universities and colleges of Scotland, which recites—"abuses and mismanagement of revenues;" "irregularity impairing the utility of the establishments, &c.;" authorises the Commissioners *to cite the principals, professors, and all officers,* to examine them as to management, and all matters; "*and as to all things else that the Commis-* "*sioners shall think meet;*" and "to look narrowly into the "management of the revenues and the fees, and to revise the "foundations and powers," &c. In the year 1800, a warrant (or commission) was issued, *in pursuance of an address*

* "General Introduction to Domesday," p. 12.

of the House of Commons, to Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Addington, to investigate and report on the public records. The two Right Honourable Commissioners were empowered *to summon all officers, and necessary witnesses, to examine them on oath, and to appoint sub-Commissioners.* This Commission was revived or continued in the year 1806.

In 1810, a Royal Commission, similar in purport to that of 1732, for the investigation of fees, and emoluments of courts of justice, empowered the Commissioners *to summon all persons —to inspect all records*,—and to examine *on oath, all persons who could give any evidence on the subject.* In 1812, two royal commissions issued for inquiring into the state, conduct, and management of Lancaster and Lincoln Castles, into abuses, regulations, &c., by which Commissioners were authorised to examine witnesses, and to produce, on oath, all records, papers, &c. In 1824, Sir Robert Peel being Home Secretary, and Lord Lyndhurst Attorney-General, two Royal Commissions were issued, the first, for inquiring into the court of Chancery in England; and the second, for inquiring into the courts in Ireland; the powers granted by each of these were, *to call for records*—to summon *witnesses—administer oaths*, &c. In 1828 and 1829, Lord Lyndhurst, as Chancellor, affixed the great seal to the Royal Commissions, granting all the usual, the full powers to Commissioners appointed to inquire into the common law, the real property law of the country, and the law in the counties palatine. Sir Charles Wetherell was Attorney-General in 1828, and Sir James Scarlett in 1829. In the year 1830, during the administration of the Duke of Wellington, a Royal Commission was issued "for inquiring "into the state of the several parochial benefices of the "respective dioceses in Ireland." Of this commission, Lord Brougham speaks in the following terms:—

"Would the House permit him to bring to their recollections the features of the commission issued in the year 1830, for the purpose of inquiring into the state of the Irish Church? That commision was issued during the administration of the noble duke opposite, and the purpose of it was, to inquire into the state of parishes and benefices, as well those separate as those where unions had been effected, and the Commissioners were directed to report upon the annual value of such benefices, upon the contiguity of the church or chapel, the possibility of dissolving unions, and the sums which each of the Irish parsons paid to his curate. Why, according to the doctrines held in reference to the Municipal Corporations Commission, that issued to inquire into the state of the Irish

Church, was the most jacobinical that by any possibility could be imagined. It amounted to nothing less than authorising the Commissioners to send for every one of the Irish parsons, to investigate the income which he enjoyed, and to inquire of him why he did not pay as much to his curate as the Act of Parliament required. Would not the House agree with him, that inquisitions of that extent far surpassed any such interference, with regard to private rights, as took place under the Commission for Inquiry into Municipal Corporations."—(*Times, Aug.* 4.)

The power exercised by the House of Commons, relative to the Scotch Burghs, is, perhaps, of all precedents, the one most decisive of the question; in each of the years 1793, 1820, 1821, 1823, and 1825, this House, acting exclusively on its own authority, fully investigated the powers and property of the Scotch corporations; the committees by which these inquiries were conducted, were all appointed under Tory administrations.

A very uncandid use was made in the speeches of counsel, of the opinion expressed by Lord Coke respecting the Commissions of Novell Inquiry, in the time of James I., and of the opinions given by constitutional writers on the commissions to regulate corporations, issued by James II. These were not commissions of inquiry, they were to inquire and *punish*, to inquire and *regulate*, to inquire and *confiscate;* the charge made by Hallam, and most justly made, against that "*amiable* " and *estimable monarch*" James II. was, that he attempted to *new model* corporations by means of commissions issued to *regulators;* this passage is so quoted by Mr. Knight himself:— " *This endeavour to violate the legal rights of electors*, as " well as *to take away other vested franchises*, by new mo- " delling corporations through commissions granted to regula- " tors, was the most capital delinquency of the king's govern- " ment, because *it tended to preclude any reparation for the* " *rest*, and directly attacked the fundamental constitution of " the state." Mr. Knight attempted to create a delusion, by a distortion of the facts of the case, and of the observations of Hallam and Fox; but the delusion was dissipated by Lord Brougham.

" Hallam and Fox had been quoted. The misapplication—the distortion of facts—the juxta-position of things as dissimilar as those mentioned in the commencement of Horace's 'Ars Poetica,' had been all resorted to. The learned counsel had spoken of James II. as an amiable and estimable man in the year of grace 1835, and on Lammas-day in the year aforesaid. But he, and Hallam, and Fox, all complained of James's conduct respecting the corporations. He had

issued commissions to regulate them. This was that of which they complained, and now there was a commission to regulate corporations. There was the same word in both. Here was the similarity. There was a river at Macedon and a river at Monmouth. The similarity was only in the existence of the two words. James's commission went to regulate the corporations itself, *by seizing their charters*, and so on; it did not go to inquire and report, in order that your Lordships might regulate them. In James's time all was to be done 'ex mero motu' of our serene and sovereign Lord the King."

If we were to concede, for the sake of the argument, that the Commissioners were not legally armed with power to compel the attendance of witnesses, or that a witness swearing falsely before the Commissioners was not liable to an indictment for perjury, it would not follow, as the consequence of that admission, that *the asking for evidence*, or the administering an oath, is illegal; but we are not by any means sure that the law upon either of these points really is such as it has been so confidently laid down by Mr. Knight. It is the opinion of many able lawyers, and among others, if we mistake not, it was Lord Tenterden's opinion, that the power of indicting for perjury is *incidental* to an authority granted by the crown to administer oaths. But, let this be as it may, we think that ministers may console themselves at all events with the reflection that, in issuing this much-abused commission, they have only done that which was the constant practice of the country, from the earliest period of our history down to the Revolution, that which has been done one hundred and fifty times since the Revolution, and fifty-three times since 1815.

Through the whole of the long catalogue of Royal Commissions, there is not one for which so perfect a defence (in a constitutional view) can be found as for the present. Petitions, praying for inquiry and reform in the corporations, had been sent up from all parts of the empire. They had been referred to a select committee of the House (of which Sir Robert Peel was a member); the committee proceeded *to examine witnesses;* but finding the number of witnesses so great that it was impossible the inquiry could be brought to a satisfactory termination in London, they recommended, unanimously we believe, that a commission should be issued. In pursuance of this recommendation, an address to the crown was moved for and carried without opposition in the House of Commons, and the Commission of Municipal Inquiry was accordingly issued. Is it not then a monstrous absurdity, to

tell the people of England that their constitutional rights have been infringed by a Commission of Inquiry which was based upon their own petitions, in relief of which, and for no other purpose, it was issued?

We fear we have entered too extensively into the discussion of this topic; but we were anxious to show that there is not one particle of foundation for the attempt to impugn the legality of the Commission. The public must have seen, that there was no real ground for this charge, when Sir Robert Peel, and his Lord Chancellor, avowed their determination of adopting the Report of the Commissioners, as the basis of their promised legislation. We now proceed, in our narrative of the events, which appeared at one time to threaten such serious consequences to the Bill, and to the peace of the country, and which have had the effect of preparing the public mind to expect that collision between the two Houses, the consequences of which it is not in the power of any man to foretell.

The motives by which the conclave of peers at Apsley House were induced to resolve on hearing counsel at the bar of the House of Lords are not publicly known. The most probable supposition is that which attributes this resolution to a desire on the part of their lordships *to feel the pulse of the nation*, in order to ascertain how far they might proceed in their work of destruction with safety to themselves. It certainly had the appearance of a deliberate insult to the country; no such proceeding had ever been thought of on any similar occasion; counsel were not heard on the Reform Bill, nor on the disfranchisement of the Irish forty-shilling freeholders, nor on the act for the reform of the Scotch burghs in 1833. The bill under discussion was a general measure of relief to the people, and not a penal measure for the punishment of delinquency in any particular corporations. The question was, whether the inhabitants of the towns were worthy of being entrusted with the management of their own affairs and the control of their own property, or ought these powers to be continued in the hands of self-elected irresponsible bodies of twenty or thirty corporators. The misconduct of individual corporations was unquestionably an additional reason for the speedy enactment of some measure by which power should be

removed from the hands of those who had abused their trust, and who had "*sold, delayed, and denied, justice,*" but it was not by any means *necessary* that such instances of misconduct should be proved. The bill was founded on far more important considerations—the Reform Act was the law of the land—the nation had arrived at an advanced stage of political education—the evils of irresponsible power were felt and understood—and the people were no longer to be hoodwinked by specious arguments, denying their fitness for the trust of self-government—a trust which they have every possible inducement to discharge faithfully, and which they can have no interest whatever in abusing.

Some of their lordships might possibly have entertained a hope of postponing the measure of Corporate Reform for a session, by means of this resolution, and we were prepared, by previous indications, to see them adopting any course by which they might expect to damage or destroy the popular parts of the bill; but the scene which followed, upon the introduction of counsel, was one for which no anticipation could have prepared us. We shall never be found among those who would unnecessarily restrict an advocate in the selection of his topics; in common with all men, we have a deep interest in the maintenance of the independent character of the Bar; but the deportment of the two learned gentlemen employed on this occasion was too remarkable to be passed over in silence. Sir Charles Wetherell and Mr. Knight are both well known in their profession—the former somewhat more advantageously than the latter. They have been called *distinguished* members of the Bar, but we question the justness of the term as applied to them. Thurlow, and Dunning, and Erskine, and Romilly, were distinguished men in their day; speaking relatively, Sir Charles Wetherell and Mr. Knight may perhaps be among the distinguished men of our's, though we are reluctant to adopt an opinion so derogatory to the present condition of the Profession; if they are distinguished, we fear their distinction has not been earned by great legal attainments, nor by the possession of those intellectual powers which, in any situation, may fairly be said to confer distinction.

Sir Charles Wetherell and Mr. Knight appeared at the Bar of the House in behalf of the Town-Clerks and Corpora-

tions. Their mode of conducting the cause in which they were engaged, presents, we think, a fair subject of animadversion. They exhausted the vocabulary of reproach on the authors of the Commission, the Commission itself, and the Commissioners, "applying to them every term of abuse which "our language can furnish, together with a good number of "terms which neither our own nor any other language does "afford, and all the metaphors which can be provided by the "kind of motley imagination that gives existence to patch-"work *." Their speeches are worthy of the cause in support of which they were delivered; and we regret to add, that the peers, by their cheering, seemed to intimate that they thought them not unworthy of the assembly to which they were addressed. Full of exploded prejudices, it appeared as though the learned orators had seen nothing valuable in municipal institutions except their abuses. The honest and popular character of the ancient municipalities was unnoticed; Mr. Knight, however, alluded, apparently with much satisfaction, to the connexion between noble and vassal, thanking God "*that* "*those feelings were not yet eradicated throughout this coun-*"*try*." The interesting history of our rise as a people, the free spirit engendered in the towns, the free governments they established, and the heroic resistance to oppression, which they displayed—these topics and such as these, were avoided or forgotten, and the only illustrations of the speeches of counsel were drawn from remote periods, when the people were not yet released from their condition of vassalage, or, the more modern times, when municipal institutions were perverted from their original objects to sustain corrupt politicians and bad government.

It must, however, be confessed, that the learned gentlemen were the best judges of the line which it behoved them to take in their speeches; they knew the merits of the case they had to conduct, and could make a shrewd guess at the sort of argument best calculated to touch the sympathies of the assembly they were addressing. Let that pass—still our duty compels us to animadvert on some parts of their conduct in reference to the examination of witnesses. The task upon which we are about

* "Lord Brougham's Speech," p. 9.

to enter is not an agreeable one, but feeling that we have a duty to discharge, we will not shrink from its performance. The writer, who professes to furnish his countrymen with a narrative of the events connected with the passage of this bill through the House of Lords, will not be acting honestly if he avoids entering into this investigation. The characters of honourable men, to whom the country owes more than it can readily repay, have been exposed to every charge which the most rabid party animosity could invent. The public has, it is true, already rendered ample justice to the Commissioners so falsely assailed; but justice demands that such practices as were resorted to on this occasion should be exposed; and the nation, deeply interested in the character of the Bar, requires that the Profession should be called upon to declare whether or no they sanction the line of conduct adopted by two of its members.

It has been alleged against lawyers, that accustomed to lend themselves for hire to the perversion of truth, the habit of advocating indiscriminately any cause, without reference to its justice or injustice—the constant effort "to make the worse appear the better reason," vitiates their minds, and renders them unsafe public men. This is a vulgar error, and, on some more fitting occasion, it would be easy to demonstrate that there is no class of men to whom the community is more largely indebted than to the Bar. In the ranks of that honourable profession have been found some of the greatest names that ever adorned the pages of our history—men who struggled through the rough and tangled paths that lead to eminence, unsupported and unassisted, save by their talents and integrity, and who, afterwards, by the noblest exercise of their powers, sustained the laws, the liberties, and the honour of the country; but it is not our intention to discuss that question; we have noticed the existence of such opinions, only for the purpose of expressing our regret, that Sir Charles Wetherell and Mr. Knight should have pursued a course calculated to give weight and consistency to the popular prejudice against their profession.

It is of the greatest importance to the Bar, that the *advocate* should be as little as possible confounded with the *man*; to effect this necessary separation of the two characters, requires a rigid observance of the rule (with which no professional man is

unacquainted), that the advocate shall ever confine himself strictly within the limits of his instructions; so long as he confines himself within these bounds, his gown affords him protection from any consequences that may ensue from the most fearless discharge of his duty—beyond this, it affords, and ought to afford him, no protection whatever. Another rule, of still greater importance to the profession, because it involves all those considerations which are supposed to be comprised in the character of a gentleman, is that which declares the falsification, by counsel, of a document which he has to quote, to be the most serious offence against the honour of the Bar, which it is possible for an advocate to commit. When it happens that a case of that sort occurs in Westminster Hall, the judges mark the conduct of the offender with the sharpest censure; and, to deprive him of the power of again misleading, they will require, on all future occasions, that the affidavit, or other document, be handed up. This has the effect of affixing a brand on the individual, which marks him through life as an object of scorn and avoidance to the honourable minds of the profession. The two rules which according to our understanding of them we have laid down amount to this;—an advocate departs from his duty, when he states that which is not in his instructions—he is guilty of a grave offence, when he reads a document falsely.

The course pursued by Mr. Knight, in his examination of the deputy recorder of Shrewsbury, will show the spirit in which the inquiry was conducted, and explain the charge of unprofessional conduct which we have made against the counsel. Speaking of certain "incorporated companies" existing in the town of Shrewsbury, the witness had just acknowledged that, in his evidence before the Commissioners, he had "admitted that, in their existing state, they were a scandalous "nuisance." After this, Mr. Knight proceeds—

"Turn to that passage" (the passage in which the admission of the witness respecting the companies, is given in the report) "and inform the House whether, in your judgment, that is an honest and fair representation of it?

"The passage alluded to is this, 'in one particular, it appears to us that the governing body have been wanting in attention to the town, namely, in not interfering to put a stop to the incorporated companies. It is admitted, on all hands, that the exactions of these companies have been seriously detrimental to the trade and prosperity of the town; they were emphatically pronounced by the deputy recorder, to be 'scandalous,' the common council, having, by the charter,

authority to make ordinances for the regulation of the different trades; and having for the last century permitted them to carry on their exactions without making any effort whatever to prevent them.' I say that is not a true account, nor a fair account, I apprehend.

"*Is it a dishonest account?—I will not use the term dishonest; I say I think it is a mistaken account.*

"(By a Lord.) You will not say it is a dishonest account?—*God forbid that I should say that it is a dishonest account.*"—*Minutes of Evidence*, p. 362.

We do not exactly know who was Mr. Knight's client on this occasion, the deputy recorder, or the town-clerk of Shrewsbury, or both; but is it possible he could have been instructed *by any body* to attempt to impute dishonesty to the Commissioners? His own client is startled by the question; observe the import of his answer:—"No," says he, "*God forbid* that "I should be a party to this attempt; I will not join in im-"puting dishonest motives to gentlemen who are members of "the same honourable profession with myself, and whose "conduct, in the discharge of their official duties, was" (as the witness stated in a subsequent part of his examination) "every thing that the most perfect courtesy could require."

The manner in which the examination of the town-clerk of Bristol was conducted by Sir Charles Wetherell was, if that be possible, still more objectionable. He had called the attention of the witness to certain passages of the report; the examination then proceeds—

"I ask you, after that, whether the paragraphs which I have read, are not a *scandalous falsehood?*

"My opinion is, that the Corporation should not be visited with such a severe remark as is contained in that report; I will add to it, I think, that so far from the citizens of Bristol being dissatisfied,—when I speak of the citizens of Bristol, I mean the respectable inhabitants of Bristol, the merchants, who are interested in the trade of the port—that if the Corporation would make any sacrifice to benefit the trade, it would be received with pleasure and gratitude, and not visited in the way this report describes.

"(By a Lord.) Then do you mean to say that you consider the statement in that report, to be a scandalous falsehood, or a falsehood in any sense of the word?—I have not said so.

"Do you believe it?—I do not like to use such a term.

"Do you believe that the person, whose name is signed to that report, has been guilty of writing down and reporting falsely that which he knew to be false?

"I believe that the gentleman, whoever he may be, for I do not know who it was that dictated that sentence, did it under very improper feelings in regard to the Corporation of Bristol.

"Do you believe that he did it, knowing it to be false?—*I will not say that of any body.*"—*Minutes*, p. 124.

In order to a proper understanding of the importance of the foregoing extract, it is necessary that we should briefly explain the relative position of the counsel and the witness then under examination. Sir Charles Wetherell is the recorder, and the witness the town-clerk of Bristol; the town-clerk was the client, and not alone the client, but the attorney also, from whom counsel had received his instructions, as well as the witness with whom he had to deal on this occasion. Sir Charles Wetherell must have known *exactly* what his witness was prepared to swear, as it was from the witness himself he had received his brief; it is, therefore, utterly impossible that he could have received any instructions to warrant him in attempting to impute "scandalous falsehood;" or, as Lord Brougham observed, to impute any description of falsehood whatsoever to the Commissioners. The witness cannot be induced to justify, by his testimony, the language which counsel was attempting to put into his mouth. Well might Lord Brougham exclaim, "From such a course of examination as this, one recoils with amazement and indignation."

But, unfortunately, we have to record instances of conduct still more objectionable, instances which involve a violation not alone of *professional* rules, but of some of the more fundamental principles, by which the intercourse of gentlemen is generally supposed to be regulated. To sustain this charge, we shall avail ourselves of a few extracts from the speech of a noble and learned Lord, which we have prefixed to the present article; the first contains an ingenious detection and exposure of the manœuvres to which counsel thought proper to resort, in order to impugn the authority of the report; but we wish to direct attention more particularly to the grave accusation in the concluding sentence of the following passage:—

"But how was the inquiry further carried on?—A charge of extravagant expenditure was to be met by a corporation (that of Sutton Colefield) and, said the Learned Counsel, with an air of triumph, 'was the management of the corporation funds regulated by a decree of the Court of Chancery?'—'To be sure it was.' 'When was it passed?'—'In such a year.' 'Then it was not voluntary to spend the money so?'—'Not at all.' 'You mean to say' (for one answer, or even two or three never satisfied them) 'it was under a decree of the High Court of Chancery, and you are obliged, whether you will or no, to spend the money so?' said the complacent counsel.—'Yes,' said the willing witness. Now what was the conclusion intended to be drawn from this? To what did all this triumphant colloquy of the gentleman, with his only witness, lead? Neither more nor less

than this, that the Commissioners had charged the corporation with a lavish expenditure, with extravagance, if not with embezzlement, and had suppressed the fact, that it was all carried on under a decree of the Court of Chancery; and I venture to assert your Lordships, who heard the examination, believe firmly, up to this hour, that the Commissioners had suppressed all mention of the decree. But no such thing. Look at the Report of the Commissioners, and you will find that this decree of the Court of Chancery stands in the front of it, stated as distinctly by the Commissioners as by the Learned Counsel, or by his witness in the examination. My Lords, I do not wish to occupy your time with these things; I have half a dozen cases before me of the same kind. We were obliged at last to stop the witnesses who bore their part in scenes thus got up, and ask whether the Report did not state the very thing they were triumphantly detailing, when, in that awkward manner, and with the sheepishness of visage which even experienced and zealous town-clerks can sometimes put on, they acknowledged that it did. Such is a specimen of the sort of manœuvre to which the Learned Counsel resorted. But not the only manœuvre. Another was far more notable. *Witnesses were prevailed upon to swear that the Report was incorrect and false, by Counsel affecting to read, as part of the Report, that which is not part of it at all, and by stating that to be omitted from the Report which lay before them staring them in the face.* There are no fewer than three cases of this description with respect to Coventry alone*."—(*Speech*, pp. 12, 13.)

Lord Brougham then proceeds to establish this charge, by detailing the three instances in the examination of the Coventry

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* The same charge, and stated in nearly the same terms, is made in the letter of Messrs. Drinkwater and Rushton, to Lord Melbourne. Lord Brougham appears to have adopted the terms of the charge, as expressed in the letter of the Learned Gentlemen:—

"Even under the strong provocation that we have received, we are very loth "to accuse either Sir Charles Wetherell, or Mr. Knight, of an intention to "mislead the House, although they have shown little forbearance or delicacy "towards us; but we earnestly beg your lordship to take an opportunity of "pressing on the attention of the House, that the abuse of us, in which those "gentlemen indulged, was neither founded on any specific allegations in the "petitions on which they were heard, nor has it been sustained or justified by "the evidence which they have called.

"*Among many other things of which we have just reason to complain, we have dis-*"*covered, with the greatest regret, that in more than one instance, a witness was* "*prevailed upon to swear that the Report was false and incorrect, by counsel pretend-*"*ing to read, as part of the Report, that which is not part of the Report, and by* "*incorrectly stating that to be omitted from the Report which is not omitted from the* "*Report. Three instances of this occur in the evidence on Coventry alone.*"

The letter from which we have extracted the foregoing passage is dated 12th August, it was read on that day by Lord Melbourne in the House of Lords, and published in the daily papers of the following day as part of his lordship's speech. We have not heard that either Sir Charles Wetherell or Mr. Knight have taken any notice of these serious allegations.

witnesses, to which he had alluded. We extract one of these cases.

"The witness was addressed in the following words by the Learned Counsel at the bar:—I see it is stated in a paper I have before me (the Report of the Commissioners) that neither the parish of St. Michael, nor the other parish mentioned as forming part of the county of the city, are at all connected with the town; they are inhabited by an exclusively rural population. *Is that true?* To which the answer was, that a very large proportion of the parish of St. Michael is within the city, a large proportion of the parish of the Holy Trinity is also within the city, and there is a smaller parish of St. John the Baptist, also within. Well, to be sure, this seems a very positive contradiction, and, doubtless, your Lordships must have been of opinion that a Report filled with such gross inaccuracies as that just read from it by the Learned Counsel, was totally unworthy your consideration. You see the contradiction is direct. The Report (as read by the Learned Counsel) says, that the parish of St. Michael is not in the city, and that it is inhabited by an exclusively rural population, and the witness says, '*that is not true,' for a large proportion of St. Michael is in the city.* Nothing can be plainer, and the Report is not to be trusted, if this evidence is to be believed. Probably it did not occur to any of your Lordships just to turn to the page of the Report cited, and to follow Counsel while he read, *or pretended to read* from it, for the purpose of administering the contradiction. Of course, you would take for granted that the passage which he made, as if he read from the Report, really is to be found there, and, consequently, that there is no further room for doubt upon the subject. But what is the fact? I have here the Report before me, and surely your Lordships will share my astonishment, on finding not only that the Report does not contain the passage which the Counsel pretended to read from it, for the purpose of asking the witness whether or not it was true, *but that it contains the direct contrary; in short, that the statements of the Commissioner and the witness absolutely agree; and that if the Counsel had read the Report correctly, the witness must necessarily have confirmed instead of impeaching it.*"—(*Speech*, pp. 13, 14.)

His lordship then reads the passage as it *really* is found in the Report. It may be said that the charge thus made against the Commissioners, is not of a very serious nature, and if we were discussing the question, as it affects those gentlemen, we might probably acquiesce in the justice of that opinion; but it is with the counsel at the bar of the House of Lords, and not with the Commissioners, that we have now to deal, and it is reasonable to assume that they attached some importance to this charge of inaccuracy, when we see the unscrupulous means to which they resorted, in order to sustain it. Lord Brougham continues:

"Now what do your Lordships think of this sample of the bale? It may, perhaps, be said, that after all, this is a matter of secondary importance, and whether the Report is proved to be right or wrong is of little consequence. But your Lordships will remember that Counsel thought it worth while to show, in

the best manner he could, that it was wrong, and it is quite certain that the matter is of serious moment in the controversy. *This is one of the most direct instances brought forward among the very few attempted to sustain the very strong and very sweeping allegations of falsehood and inaccuracy made at the bar.* Your Lordships cannot doubt that the Counsel brought forward the most striking cases they had to prove. This is one of them, and you see, now, that, *in order to impugn the Report, it was necessary first to falsify it, and fabricate a new one.*"—(*Speech*, p. 14.)

There is another important rule for the direction of counsel in the management of a case. He is not to state, as part of his case, any matter in proof of which he is not in a condition to produce evidence. Let us try the conduct of Mr. Knight by this test. He stated, in his speech, that the account given by Messrs. Rushton and Cockburn, in their Report on East Retford, of a magistrate and a prisoner found struggling in personal conflict, and rolling together on the floor, was "*pure fabri-*" *cation—sheer romance;*" and then he calls his witness, who proves, what?—that the statement of the Commissioners was false? No such thing; Mr. Knight's own witness proves that he heard the fact deposed to *on oath* before the Commissioners, by Mr. Bigsby, whom he describes as a solicitor of the highest respectability. Mr. Bigsby did give such evidence—gave it on oath—and Mr. Bigsby is a most respectable man, whose veracity, as the witness states, he himself would never, in similar circumstances, have thought of questioning. The name of the witness is William Newton, the town-clerk of East Retford. He is asked,

"Was not Mr. Bigsby once a partner of Mr. Mee, the town-clerk?—He was.

"Is he still town-clerk?—No; I am the town-clerk.

"How long was Mr. Mee the town-clerk?—Perhaps ten or twelve years.

"Was Mr. Bigsby his partner while he was town-clerk?—He was.

"For some years?—Yes.

"Mr. Bigsby is a solicitor now at Retford?—Yes.

"How long has he been settled there as a professional man?—Seven or eight years.

"He is a moderate Reformer?—Yes.

"He always takes part with that side?—Yes.

"A respectable man in his profession?—*A very highly respectable man.*

"*You heard him give this account of the scuffle and rolling on the floor exactly as it is stated in the Commissioners' Report?—Yes.*

"From Mr. Bigsby's respectability, and the manner in which he gave that account, should you have been disposed to believe what he said?—*Most certainly I should.*

"You would have had no doubt of it?—*No; I should have had no doubt.*"—(*Minutes*, 295-6.)

This was Mr. Knight's own witness, and such were his answers to questions put by several noble lords. Another instance of this occurred in the same case of East Retford. Mr. Knight read in his speech a portion of what he called the short-hand writer's notes of the evidence taken by the Commissioners, for the purpose of contradicting a statement in the report; according to Lord Brougham, the short-hand writer was present at the bar of the House, as well as other witnesses from East Retford. They are not called. The short-hand writer—that most material witness, upon whose testimony the veracity of the Commissioners was impeached—he is not called. Surely such conduct as this puts, as Lord Brougham said, the parties out of court. His Lordship observes—

"Then as to the Report about Alderman Parker; that part was drawn by Mr. Cockburn from his own notes of the evidence. The notes taken by the other Commissioner, Mr. Rushton, which I have seen, tally exactly with Mr. Cockburn's statement. To contradict them, the Corporation might have called the short-hand writer, who was in the room at the examination, *who is here at hand*, and who could have attended. But he is not called: they only examine a man who had taken no notes at all; and why are we to believe him rather than the two Commissioners? Any one of your Lordships must know that in a court of justice, where there is conflicting testimony, where there is word against word, or oath against oath, such an omission as that of calling the short-hand writer would put the case out of court, and establish the accuracy of the Report as certainly as that two and two make four."—(*Speech*, p. 23.)

We have no wish to charge Mr. Knight with "fabrication and romance," but we must say, that his conduct on this occasion merits, as it will most assuredly receive from the high-minded men even of his own party, the most severe condemnation. He had opened a case of fraud against the Commissioners—he stated that he had a witness to prove it. This witness he does not venture to call, lest by his testimony he might sustain, rather than impeach, the fidelity of the report. What are we to think of Mr. Knight after this? What can the public think of him? Is this a specimen of the honour and character of the Conservative Bar? No, we know better, and we think better of the Tory members of the profession, the old high-minded Tory *gentlemen* of the bar will sensitively feel the dishonour which the conduct of Mr. Knight has inflicted on their party and their profession.

The situation of the Commissioners must be remembered. Accused in their absence, on the testimony of men who were

notoriously the agents of corporate corruption, they might lay claim to some consideration. Several of them were already honourably known; others, as Lord Melbourne justly observed, were struggling upwards in life; all of them were members of the same profession as their assailants, and, as such, entitled to be treated with courtesy. Mr. Blackburn, the chief Commissioner, is too well known and too highly esteemed to suffer from such attacks. An able man, and an inflexible reformer, it was his fate, for the greater part of his professional life, to devote himself unflinchingly to the proscription which accompanied the avowal of patriotic opinions. This we suppose is *his* offence—an offence unusual and unfashionable in times when apostacy from early opinions leads to the highest honours of the profession.

It was determined by ministers that they would not examine witnesses in refutation of the charges against the Commissioners, and the prudence of this resolution is now generally acknowledged. Delay was evidently a great object with the opposition Peers, and Lord Melbourne saw that he would be promoting that object more effectually by examining witnesses in defence of the Report, than the enemies of the Bill had done by their awkward manœuvres. It must have been painful to the feelings of this generous nobleman to refuse to the Commissioners what in strict justice perhaps they were entitled to—the right of being heard in answer to the accusations heaped upon them; but Lord Melbourne knew that calumnies so absolutely groundless could not seriously affect the character of any man; and as the evidence of the town-clerks had not touched upon the notorious abuses which were the real basis of the Bill, it is clear that he acted most judiciously in refusing to allow any personal considerations to impede the progress of this great national measure. The Commissioners were not, however, altogether unheard in their defence; Lord Melbourne read in the House of Lords a letter, addressed to him by Messrs. Drinkwater and Rushton, which puts their motives in so honourable a light, and retorts upon Sir Charles Wetherell and Mr. Knight with such forcible recrimination, that we regret that our limited space will not allow us to insert it. Mr. Buckle and Mr. Dwarris addressed letters to the newspapers, and Mr. Wilkinson defended his report on the town of Liverpool in a manner at

once calm and convincing. Looking to the result, we do not find that the Commissioners have any reason to complain of the course pursued on this occasion; the masterly speech of Lord Brougham, the intrepid bearing of the Premier, the absence of all real accusation in the midst of unbounded scurrility, these, and other similar considerations, had effectually awakened sympathy in behalf of the Commissioners, and roused the indignation of the public against the means employed to traduce them.

The foregoing observations apply to the evidence as it affected the fairness and integrity of the Reports. As affecting the principles of the Bill, it was so futile that Lord Melbourne, with a great national object in view, would have been unjustifiable had he allowed the public time to be wasted in rebutting it. In truth, the evidence of the town-clerks was more remarkable for the points *which it left untouched* than for any thing it had touched upon. It did not impugn any statement of substantial grievances; it did not attempt to show that corporations were not self-chosen, self-interested, and opposed to that system of popular election which was the ancient right of the inhabitants of towns, and which the greatest act of modern legislation has recognised as the principle upon which the government of this country must be conducted; it did not deny the interference of the boroughmongers with the Corporations, as instanced in the conversations between the Duke of Newcastle and Alderman Dewick at East Retford; it did not impeach the narrative of abuses in the management of the Dock estate, at Liverpool; nor did it explain satisfactorily the circumstances under which several thousand pounds of public money were spent in the corrupt practices of an election by the corporation of Leicester. Upon a careful examination of the whole of the evidence given by these most interested witnesses—the last men in the world from whom a candid statement of facts might be expected—it is really surprising to observe how few of the allegations in the Reports they have ventured on contradicting, and how utterly unimportant are those the authenticity of which they have attempted to impugn.

It is usual to hear counsel, and to receive evidence upon Bills affecting pecuniary interests, and it cannot be denied that certain "interests" of this sort were affected by the Bill for

reforming the Corporations. Mr. Tyrrel, a solicitor, was examined as to the extent to which the "pecuniary interests" of his client, the lord of the manor of Havering Atte Bower, were affected by the Bill. It appears that his client, Mr. Mackintosh, had, in the year 1818, purchased the lordship of this manor and acquired with his purchase the powers of "*taxing his vassals as he likes*," and of appointing two magistrates out of three, who act in this district with jurisdiction over a population of 7,500 persons. To assist in forming an estimate of the value of this privilege, the witness stated, that his client had received from the notorious Rowland Stevenson, an offer of £.5,000 for the privilege of appointing one magistrate, which offer Mr. Mackintosh refused. To illustrate the hardships inflicted on this gentleman by the Bill, the examination of the solicitor proceeds thus:—

"Have you read the Municipal Corporation Bill?—I have read the greater part of it.

"Be so good as to state to the House the manner in which that Bill will affect Mr. Mackintosh's purchase?—It will deprive him, if I have read it correctly, of the power of appointing the magistrates within Romford; Romford being of course ascertained by the boundaries, as hereafter ascertained, which may possibly include the whole of the manor; and should it do so, it will deprive him of the right of appointing the magistrates over the whole of the district.

"Now is there to be an elective magistracy?—It is proposed to have one for the town of Romford.

"Is there to be in Mr. Mackintosh the power of taxing those vassals as he likes?—Certainly not.

"How would that be under the Bill?—The mayor and council will have the power of rating.

"Rating and taxing?—I suppose it must be so termed."

The Parliamentary Reform Act also affected pecuniary interests. Lord Monson, a short while before the introduction of that measure, had sacrificed a very large "pecuniary "interest," in exchange for the privilege of nominating two members to represent the borough of Gatton in Parliament; but we are not aware of any proposal, at that time, to call in the assistance of counsel, for the purpose of enabling their Lordships to assess the amount of damage inflicted on Lord Monson, or, more extravagant still, to listen to the denunciations of counsel, against the principle of the Bill, and the conduct of the House of Commons. Looking to the consideration with which Mr. Mackintosh was treated on

this occasion, we really must consider Lord Monson an injured man; surely the steward of the manor of Gatton ought to have been examined before that borough was disfranchised, to show that his master, never had nominated, and by no possibility could nominate, any but the most upright representatives of the "pecuniary interest," for which he had paid so large a consideration.

Up to this period the attempts against the Bill had failed completely—the charge of illegality in the Commission had fallen to the ground, the speeches of counsel were far from establishing a case for the rejection of the measure, and the evidence had failed egregiously to justify even the statements of counsel. The country, lulled into security by the tranquil passage of the Bill through the House of Commons, was awaking to a sense of the perils it was exposed to in the Lords; as yet, nothing had been done to preserve to the oligarchy their influence in Corporations, something must, therefore, be attempted now or never, for the citadel of Tory corruption may not be surrendered without a struggle. Their lordships resolved on adopting a system of mutilation, under the name of amendment, and proceeded to elect Lord Lyndhurst as the chief, under whose guidance their operations were to be conducted*.

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* It is to be hoped that some future writer of Memoirs will enlighten the world as to the extent to which Sir Robert Peel was a party to this arrangement. The Duke of Wellington informed the House of Lords that he was not only an approving party, but that he acted as the mouth-piece of the cabal in soliciting Lord Lyndhurst's acceptance of the leadership. Sir Robert boasted, in his Tamworth speech, that he possesses the means of inducing the Lords to accept large measures of reform from his hands, which they refuse contemptuously when presented by the hands of a Whig Premier. This avowal is more complimentary to the Right Hon. Baronet himself, than to the noble majority of the Upper House; but it seems to indicate that Sir Robert Peel was not quite so averse to the mutilations resolved upon at Apsley House as he would have the reformers throughout the country to believe.

The difference of the effect produced on the mind of Sir Robert Peel by reading the Report of the Commissioners, from that produced on the mind of the Duke of Wellington by the study of the same document, is really singular. Sir Robert informs us, in his Tamworth speech, that, "after he had seen and "perused the evidence and the report of the Corporation Commissioners, he "immediately admitted the necessity of Corporation Reform." In the House of Lords, on Monday, August 17, the Duke of Wellington said, "He had already "told their Lordships that the Report had occupied his serious and attentive

The noble lord prefaced his amendments with the following observations—

"As to the material principles of the Bill, he would conciliate the goodwill of the noble viscount opposite, by saying, that it was not his intention to propose any amendment of the principles; nor did he believe that it was the intention of any noble lord with whom he acted, to do so."

We shall enumerate some of the more important amendments, proposed by Lord Lyndhurst, and "the noble lords with whom he acted," so as to enable our readers to judge of the meaning which they attached to the promise of not interfering with the principles of the Bill. The first amendment went to preserve to the descendants of freemen, in perpetuity, certain exclusive rights of property which by the Bill were preserved to existing freemen and their children born before the 5th of January, 1835. These rights, which are obviously injurious to the community, can scarcely be said to be beneficial to the freemen themselves, and it must, we think, be admitted, that privileges and exemptions of this sort stand on quite a different footing with individual property; the rights in question were vested in particular bodies, as the depositaries of certain political functions, which, according to the intention of the donors, they were to exercise for the benefit of the community, and the property was held by those bodies, not in their private, but in their corporate capacity. It may be questioned, also, how far the creating a perpetuity is conformable to the law of this country; the law of England is said to abhor perpetuities, and the attempt to create a perpetuity, *by deed*, would render the instrument absolutely void.

The next amendment had for its object, to preserve the

"consideration, and the conclusion to which a perusal of it had led him, was, "that it would be impossible to introduce any bill effectual for the purpose of "universal Corporate Reform." Thus we find that each of these two statesmen was "*convinced*, by the perusal of the Report," yet oddly enough their convictions were in diametrically opposite directions. Sir Robert is convinced by it of the necessity of a large measure of Corporate Reform—the Duke is convinced of the necessity of all Lord Lyndhurst's amendments. Sir Robert loves explanations, and perhaps he will explain this diversity of opinion between his late noble colleague and himself. We should like also to know what sort of bill for reforming Corporations would have been produced by the Cabinet of which Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Lyndhurst, were the leading members.

right of voting for members of parliament, as reserved to the freemen by the Reform Act. Lord Melbourne denied a statement respecting the parliamentary franchise, which was put forward by the advocates of the freemen in both Houses, to the effect that the reservation of this right was the result of a compromise between the two Houses, to ensure the passing of the Reform Bill—it appears that no understanding of the kind was entered into on that occasion. Lord Lyndhurst fell into the weakness of arguing for the amendment, on the plea that it had been supported in the House of Commons by a majority of the *English* members, as distinguished from the Irish and Scotch—an argument which, if it was good for any purpose, would be only available as a reason for repealing the two Unions, or effecting a separation of the countries*. The principle of this alteration is undoubtedly very pernicious, but in operation under the new municipal system, we see reason to hope that it will not be allowed to work much actual mischief. It enables us, however, to appreciate the sort of friendship entertained towards the freemen, by the self-styled "tribunes of the poor." Their lordships do not appear to have troubled themselves about preserving to their clients the freemen the right of voting for any municipal officers, but to have adopted the present amendment for the purpose of preserving the Corporations as political engines, and the freemen as the means of corruptly returning members of parliament. We subjoin, from the general Report of the Commissioners an account of the working in former years of the system which the Peers have struggled so hard to maintain.

"Admission into the corporate body has commonly been sought, mainly with a view to the lucrative exercise of the elective franchise. In those towns where a large body of freemen return members of parliament, the years in which elections have happened, or immediately preceding those in which they have been expected, are distinguished by the admission of a number greatly exceeding the average: even without the confirmation which particular inquiries afforded, it would have been impossible to avoid connecting the two events. At Maldon, 1870 freemen were admitted in 1826, 1000 *of whom were admitted* during the election. The average number annually admitted since that time, is only seventeen. The following table, taken from a parliamentary return, ordered to be be printed in 1832, shows the annual number of freemen admitted in 128 cities

* The same argument was employed by Sir Robert Peel in his Tamworth speech.

and towns from 1800 to 1831. London and Preston are the only towns omitted. In London, the number annually admitted varies little; in Preston, freemen are mostly admitted at the guilds, which occur at intervals of twenty years. The year in which general elections took place, are marked by an asterisk (*). The years 1813 and 1816, appear in the table as if they were exceptions to the general rule, whereas, in fact, they confirm it. The Bristol returns for 1813, includes the period from the 29th of September, 1812, on which day parliament was dissolved. In that year, 1720 freemen were admitted at Bristol, instead of fifty, which is about the average number of ordinary years. In 1816, elections took place at Gloucester and Liverpool: in Liverpool, 487 freemen were admitted, instead of the ordinary average of thirty; and at Gloucester, 415 instead of thirty; making together 902, instead of 60. These last two are the only instances in which the effects of particular elections produce a very marked result in the general table.

Year.	Freemen.	Year.	Freemen.	Year.	Freemen.	Year.	Freemen.
1800	1775	1808	1256	1816	2582	1824	2237
1801	2051	1809	1270	1817	1715	1825	2665
*1802	5782	1810	1606	*1818	8889	*1826	10,797
1803	1397	1811	1441	1819	1430	1827	1337
1804	1254	*1812	5918	*1820	4605	1828	1404
1805	1473	1813	3285	1821	1468	1829	1433
*1806	4700	1814	1357	1822	1430	*1830	9321
1807	3114	1815	1480	1823	2080	*1831	2569

In cases where a pecuniary qualification for office is required, it will be found that the law is constantly evaded, and the evasion seems to be connived at from a general conviction of the inutility and inefficiency of such qualifications. The principle is decidedly bad; it expresses an unreasonable distrust of the people, as well as great ignorance of their disposition, whilst, on the other hand, it affords no protection whatever against the improper use of the franchise. The foible of the people of England is to feel too much admiration for wealth, and it is highly improbable that a municipal constituency would select the poorer in preference to the richer neighbour, unless under such circumstances as would clearly point out the former as the more eligible candidate of the two. The qualification for town councillors proposed by Lord Lyndhurst was, "that "the rate-payers of each borough should be divided into "classes of sixths of the whole body, and that out of the sixth "or highest class of rate-payers, the selection of members for "the town council should be made." *To this amendment the House of Lords assented*, as they had done to all the rest, but the absurdity of the new-fangled qualification seems to have forced itself subsequently on their lordships' minds, for

they voluntarily adopted the more rational proposal made by Lord Devon, of a qualification of 1000*l.* in the larger, and 500*l.* in the smaller boroughs.

There were several amendments, which our space will barely allow us to enumerate at present. The power of licensing was to be continued in the hands of the magistrates; existing recorders who are barristers of five years standing, were to remain; magistrates were to be appointed absolutely by the crown, and not to be selected by the crown from lists submitted by the councils; a declaration which looked very like a revival of the old Test and Corporation Acts was to be required from all councillors disposing of any church patronage enjoyed by the corporations; to these may be added, the temporary but most pernicious alteration in the Bill, which continues for one year longer the administration of public charities in the hands of the present trustees.

Of the remaining amendments, there are three which require particular notice: the first to continue one-fourth of the town-councils for life, and this fourth to be taken from the Aldermen of the existing Corporations; the second, to retain the present town-clerks in office for their lives; and the third, to effect a minute subdivision of the towns into wards. These alterations, taken separately, were each of them seriously injurious to the Bill; taken collectively, they would, had they been suffered to remain, have destroyed every thing valuable or popular in the measure. To continue the present Aldermen in office, was a proposition directly opposed to the principle of the Bill—to retain the present town-clerks, was insult added to injury—it was, in effect, saying to each of the new councils —"it may be true that you have no cause to be satisfied with "this man—he may have misconducted himself in his office— "you may have abundant reasons for refusing to confide in "him and just grounds for suspecting his integrity; but, "nevertheless, we will compel you by Act of Parliament to "continue him as your agent and confidential adviser, to the "end of his natural life, whether you will or no." The effect of the alteration in the warding of the towns, was accurately described by Lord Melbourne—"it was to parcel out the "towns into snug coteries, over which rich men might exer-"cise the right of nomination by dint of money." The

object, however, of the Tory leaders was that the mischief of these amendments should be effected, not by a separate but by a combined operation—that the three barrels of the infernal machine should all be discharged at once. The calculations were sufficiently ingenious. It was assumed, that the Tory interest will return rather more than a third of each new council, and, assisted by Lord Ellenborough's amendment as to the warding, it is not impossible that the estimate may be near the truth. If then, said they, we can contrive to keep a Tory town-clerk permanently in office, and retain the old Aldermen, as one-fourth of the council, any thing beyond a third of the elective portion, which bribery, intimidation, and our other electioneering talents may procure for us, will ensure a Tory majority; and thus will the people be effectually deluded by the name, without one particle of the reality, of Municipal Reform.

In this condition, the Bill was sent back to the House of Commons. The effect of the alterations made by the Peers is exactly described in the foregoing passage, and if these alterations had been persisted in *the measure was lost.* Let us then examine the concessions made by the House of Commons, in order to see whether they have sacrificed any thing, and how much, of the vital principles of the Bill, or whether in the condition in which it received the royal assent, it was worthy of the acceptance of a great and enlightened nation. Lord John Russell declared that he had insuperable objections to the two amendments by which existing Aldermen were retained as one-fourth of the new councils, and existing town-clerks continued in office for life. On both of these points the Peers gave way. Their lordships abandoned also the amendment which provided that Justices appointed for life by the old Corporations should be continued for life under the new system. They agreed also, to a reasonable modification of the amendment, by which a qualification for town-councillors was enacted. Ministers acquiesced in the amendment of the Lords by which the appointment of magistrates was vested absolutely in the crown, but the effect of the amendment was neutralised by the remarkable declaration of Lord John Russell:—

"I have," said his Lordship, "no hesitation in saying, that, as long as my colleagues and myself continue to be the advisers of the crown, we shall feel it

our duty, as the most natural and satisfactory mode of appointing these justices, to request from the town-councils that they would send us a list of the names of persons in whom they think that confidence ought to be placed. I have no hesitation, also, in saying, that I think this would be an exercise of the prerogative of the crown fully justifiable, and, indeed, rendered almost necessary, by the state in which the Bill was originally sent from the House of Lords. It has happened to me, in the course of this very day, to have received a letter from a lord-lieutenant of a county, recommending a certain person to be placed in the commission of the peace. This lord-lieutenant is opposed in politics to the party to which I belong; but I have no doubt that he is fully justified in his recommendation, and I shall only do right in carrying it into effect. It is impossible that I should know, locally, the particular qualifications of individuals; but if I should be right in advising the exercise of the prerogative of the crown in counties, at the instance and under the advice of a lord-lieutenant, there is no reason why it should be derogatory to the prerogative of the crown to exercise it in the same way after asking the opinion of a town-council."

This is the sort of language that becomes the minister of a free people, and we see no reason to fear that any future minister of Great Britain will venture to depart from the principle so ably and constitutionally laid down by his Lordship. It must be regretted that the House of Commons was induced to acquiesce in the amendment by which the number of the wards was increased, and in that for continuing the administration of the charities in the hands of the present trustees for another year; but our regret is diminished when we reflect on the immense importance of the improvements which the Bill has secured. The self-elected corporations—Tory Justices—jobbing town-clerks—noble recorders—all these abuses are gone for ever; and in their stead, we have freely-chosen councils—popular magistrates—upright officers—and an improved system of civil and criminal judicature. The Church patronage of the Corporations will be sold; an effective police, under popular control, will preserve order in the towns and afford security to property; corporate lands will be disposed of by open competition to the highest bidder; accounts will be submitted to audit and publication; licences will not be given as the reward of political services; charities will no longer be misapplied; purity and freedom of election will be restored; and juries will be impartially selected from the Burgess roll of the Borough.

We have thus attempted to trace the legislative progress of Municipal Reform. In our view of the subject, the Lords have outwitted themselves; they have not effected any material

reduction in the essentials of the measure, but they have done mischief enough to justify the nation in looking for more extensive reforms. That which the country has obtained, is substantially the Ministerial Bill, but we have obtained still more—an emphatic declaration from Ministers that this Bill must not be considered as a FINAL MEASURE.

POSTSCRIPT TO ARTICLE No III.

On the Prussian Commercial League.

THIS article had already passed through the press, when the "MEMOIR," the title of which is placed at its head, was communicated to us. We have not hesitated to place the title of that document at the top of a Review on the Prussian system,—first, because we know of no work amongst the ex-parte statements that have appeared, which takes a correct or comprehensive view of the subject: and secondly, because this most remarkable document so entirely corroborates and illustrates the views we have taken of the Prussian system, that we cannot but seize with avidity the support and confirmation thus accidentally furnished to us—support the more remarkable, as proceeding from the mouth of Russia herself, and the more eagerly accepted by us, as coming in support of opinions formed on other grounds, and of views already in print.

This document will soon be laid before the public, who will then be able to judge of it. The points it seeks to establish, and to impress upon the German governments, are briefly these:—the weakness of the German federation internally and externally—the opposition between the governments and the people—the baneful influence of French opinions over the people—the state of subjection of the governments to one or other of the two great German monarchies.

"In the memorable crisis of 1821, as in that much more "important one of 1830, the states of Germany, in their "assembly at Frankfort, showed themselves powerless and "incapable, especially in their external relations. Austria "appeared to overrule them on the south by means of her "material force, while Prussia extended in the north a moral "domination."

The revolution of France and of Poland, the "*Memoir*" proceeds to say, had produced a fermentation and excitement of the public mind in Germany, which ran into excesses alarming to the liberal party itself, and thus gave a handle to the Diet, oppor-

tunely seized, for the application of vigorous and decisive measures, which, while they obtained the desired end, acquired for the Diet, internally, new considerations and importance. These events also gave to it an external character of new political authority, manifested by its support of Prussia, in her military demonstrations on the Moselle.

It then traces the consequences to be drawn from this new power acquired by the Diet, and the advantages which were to be reaped *from* this victory—of the governments over internal opposition—of German feeling over French predilections. It divides the question into two heads.

" The first; what direction shall be given to the general " exchange of ideas, between the states of Germany?"

" The second; what are the facilities to be afforded to, or " the barriers to be raised against, the material communications " between the German states?"

As to the first question, it shows that all the German states, with the exception of Austria and Prussia, are constitutional; it admits the difficulty of subjecting those constitutional feelings to the principles of either government; that the case is hopeless, as regards *bigoted* Austria; but that the *liberal* character of Prussia, at once the guardian of protestantism, the model of administration, and the patron of science, might succeed.

With regard to the second question, which refers exclusively to the Prussian commercial system, it admits that Prussia in 1832, had been the object of hatred to all the liberals in Germany, in consequence of her then projected system of customs, which, " as they asserted, must annihilate every commer- " cial freedom in Germany, and extirpate industry in the " smaller states." Although it admits that the constitutional governments, even after giving their adhesion to the Prussian system, " found themselves placed in the most embarrassing " situation, with respect to their deliberative assemblies," yet it informs us, though with marked reserve on this head, " that Prussia had found means to cut short these difficulties."

The drift of this first portion of the document is to impress on the different governments a sense of their insecurity with respect to their subjects, of insecurity with respect to France; to impress upon them the necessity of the support, *not support only but direction, of a supreme*

power — to show them that power could not be Austria, and to lead them to the conclusion, that the Prussian system alone could protect them against the two dangers which had already menaced Germany—" the first brought " about by the enlightened of Germany, and their abstract " ideas; the second, by the lower classes from their material " wants." Prussia's system of education was the only corrective for the first—Prussia's commercial system the only remedy for the second. " If," says Russia, " Adam Smith, in his " Wealth of Nations, says that 'money is power,' how " much more truly may that be said in the present age, " of public opinion—still is that public opinion very easily led, " and it easily yields to the direction given to it. *The means* " *by which it is led, are the instruction of youth, and the* " *press—an enlightened government will not forget these.*"

Here, then, is the fullest confirmation of the fact which we have laid down—the connection of Russia with the Prussian system. We will extract from this document a few passages in illustration of the foregoing article; but we must first conclude the abstract we have commenced, of its objects and its contents.

After showing that the German states must rally round Prussia, it proceeds to show that all commercial restrictions are noxious and injurious—that the Prussian system, useful for the moment as rallying Germany under one banner, must soon produce material effects so contrary to the habits and interests of the combined states—so injurious to their feelings of nationality, that they must ultimately break away from the Prussian league; but *that, in the mean time, if war takes place* (which war can only be that of " enlightened," " scientific," and " moral" Germany and Russia against the " barbarous liberalism" of France, and the " commercial " despotism" of England), that the military power of Germany must be concentrated and disposed of, not according to old and antiquated routine, but " *according to the decision* " *that shall be made known from Berlin.*"

If, however, *peace is prolonged*, the Prussian system must be broken up, which will lead to the establishment of a system of which the Diet of Frankfort will be the centre and director, a system having a German tariff and a German code of laws.

" We have already said that this Prussian influence will also " disappear more and more when a German education, a Ger- " man code, a German tariff, will be adopted throughout " Germany, under the protection of the Germanic Diet. But " this will not happen soon enough to prevent Prussia from " developing new forces, so as to be able to overcome that " inequality of influence on Germany in opposition to Austria. " Prussia must consider, with respect to the system of cus- " toms, the strength that the Diet will acquire by its oppo- " sition to her, for Prussia is to expect from the Diet a much " more powerful opposition than from the cabinet of Vienna. " This may lead the cabinet of Berlin into efforts to break " down and weaken the political power of the Diet; but hap- " pily for Germany, Austria, from the same reason, will " endeavour to increase its force and prolong its duration."

What a wonderful web is here wove; the alarms, the hopes, the sympathies, the antipathies of each and all, called into her service, and used for her ends. And have we not seen the results? insulation of state from state—doubt, bewilderment; well may Russia speak of the power of public opinion, and of the facility with which it may be directed!

But the "*Memoir*" has shown us that the Prussian system will have given Prussia strength, which will raise her materially to the level of Austria—it does not follow out the consequences of such a struggle; but it gives Austria to understand that opposition to the Russian protectorate of Germany " *might* " *hasten that moment when the Sclavonic and Latin por-* " *tions of the Austrian monarchy would so far reassert their* " *national existence, that its German character would be* " *entirely absorbed.*"

However, in the mean time, the opposition between Austria and Prussia, and their mutual jealousies, will elevate the Diet to this high standing; but still that the dangerous neighbourhood of two such powers, who would unite in opposition to the Germanic body, from the moment it assumed a substantive form, would necessitate the dependence of that body on some *great and powerful foreign government.*

That the future fate and destiny of Germany, therefore, depended on the election, from the present moment, of that

foreign protector. The lists from which their choice was to be made was small—FRANCE—RUSSIA.

The memory of the Germans is then refreshed on all the wars and treaties of the last eighty years, to show them how fatal had been the influence, how hostile the power of France; to remind them how benevolent had been the intentions, how beneficent the policy of Russia. There is one liberty taken with history by this authoritative document which we cannot pass over wholly in silence, and it is the proof of her moderation which she draws, and which is the climax of all her arguments, from her rejection, out of regard to the interests and independence of Germany, of the splendid offers made to her by Napoleon, if she would but allow France to be supreme over Germany. That prize offered by Napoleon and rejected by Russia, being no less than the DARDANELLES and the OTTOMAN EMPIRE!

"Europe"—such, says the "*Memoir*" was the language addressed for several years by Paris to St. Petersburgh—"Europe, "is she not large enough for two masters?—let but Russia "abandon to us the western family, and she may deal with the "eastern family according to her pleasure. Then, when the "fitting time shall have arrived, will there be nought to do, "save to trace the grand frontier line, and the nations of Eu- "rope, relieved by the extirpation of inconvenient intermediary "members, from all collision, rivalry, war, and other causes "of alarm, will enjoy, under the shadow of two absolute "sovereigns, eternal peace."

"If Russia had yielded," it then triumphantly demands, "to the spirit of these suggestions: if she had been devoured "with that thirst of aggrandisement which France is so men- "daciously forward in reproaching her with to-day (though "then she offered the enticing cup with so much persuasive "softness), what would now be the destiny, we say, not of the "whole of Europe, but of Germany? Austria struck to the "ground by the peace of Presburg, Prussia by that of Tilsit, "lay powerless; it neither was from Austria nor from Prussia "that Germany could expect salvation and deliverance."

Now the very magnitude of this question—the very brilliancy of the light thrown thus unexpectedly upon it, have a

tendency to obscure its truth. The reader, on perusing the extract we have just quoted, may be expected to exclaim, if he is acquainted with the fulness of the falsehood of this assertion—"What barefaced effrontery! What Machiavelian policy!" This is not the point of importance. The practical conclusion to be drawn from this circumstance is, the superiority of Russia over the other states, exemplified by *her* making use of, and *their* being influenced by, a statement ridiculously false.

The conversations of Napoleon at St. Helena have laid bare the policy of that period, and exposed the views of Russia. His wonderful forethought gives increased splendor to his fame, and affords a new illustration to his intentions. These revelations have received a remarkable confirmation in a speech of M. Bignon, pronounced in the beginning of 1834, in the Chamber of Deputies. That speech has produced an effect on the state of Europe of which the author himself may be very little aware. We quote the following passage:

"In 1808, immediately previous to the interview of Erfurth, "at that period of strict intimacy between the cabinets of "Paris and St. Petersburgh, a period in which the ambition "of the two emperors frankly dispensed with every show of "hypocrisy, Alexander insisted, with incredible vivacity, on "the total partition of the Ottoman empire, which Napoleon "resisted. To tempt the French cabinet, the offers of Russia "were immense. Beyond the unreserved abandonment, by "Russia to France, of the Spanish and Italian peninsulas, "beyond the admission, as a right acquired, of the ascendancy "of France over Germany, she allowed Napoleon to choose "from the greater portion of the Turkish empire what would "be most convenient—Albania, Bosnia, the Morea, and the "islands (to which Napoleon himself adds Syria and Egypt). "She even offered to furnish troops for their conquest. But "on the other hand, in the lot of Russia, Alexander required "*Constantinople and the Dardanelles.* He declared, that "'Constantinople will be for me but a provincial town— "'geography gives it to me.' As to the passage of the "Dardanelles, he said, '*It is necessary that I should hold* "'*the key of my house.*' Although Napoleon was then com-

" pletely bent on Spain, and although he attached the utmost " importance to the Russian alliance—important, not only " against England, but also against Austria, which was then " arming—the demand appeared so exorbitant, that he never " would agree to it."

M. Bignon then proceeds to show, that the objects of Russia have not diminished, but that the equivalents that could be offered to France have exceedingly decreased in value. He rejects the idea of any shadow of equivalent being found in a partition of the Ottoman states. " Is it not to be feared," he says, " that a portion of the compensations must be found else- " where, at the expense—for instance—of the *Germanic* and " Italian nations?"

This speech nearly coincided in date, we believe, with the confidential communication of this " *Memoir*" to the German governments. We leave the reader to infer the effect*.

But from Europe, let us turn for an instant to Turkey. There, indeed, Russia might boldly assert that her opposition to Napoleon then was solely with the view of preserving the Ottoman empire; that her opposition to England now has the same object. She has every means, every opportunity, of establishing belief; she has made the acts of all Europe, by the interpretations she has given them, confirm her asser-

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* In the prosecution of so complicated a scheme, many such *contre-temps* were to be expected. This was a signal one. We have recently had another. The articles in the *Frankfort Journal*, about the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, while just at the same time the treaty itself and the secret article were published in England. For several months the English press has addressed itself to the Russian policy with an intensity, an energy, and a resolution, perfectly unparalleled. Why has Russia remained speechless? At length her thunders have been let loose, and the occasion is instructive. The *Journal des Débats*, important from its official character, had given a series of articles on the pamphlet, " *England, France, and Turkey*," adopting unreservedly the views there set forth. The *Débats* quoted, as a text, from that pamphlet, " *Pour défendre la Turquie il faut* " *l'occuper.*" The positon was untenable and absurd, and consequently the *Journal de Frankfort* shows it no quarter. It, however, turns out, that the passage above quoted was mistranslated for " *The defence of Turkey must precede occupa-* " *tion*," meaning that Turkey must be internally strengthened, to prevent *Russian* occupation. If the mistake of a translator thus arouses the indignation of Russia, why does she not address herself to the *original?* After all, this is but an opinion. In that pamphlet there are *some facts which she ought to commence with disposing of.*

tions. The impassable barrier of language has placed under the control of Russia, Turkish and European opinion. The Turks take little interest in European discussion, and receive on credit the notions instilled by her own agents. One of the first lights that burst through this ominous darkness was the speech of M. Bignon. The moment of its arrival in Constantinople, coincided with an epoch of extreme excitement and alarm, produced by the first remonstrance against the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. The universal conviction of the Turks was, that England would—could only answer that deed by broadsides at Sevastopol; and a southerly wind having succeeded to one of some duration from the north, expectation was wrought to the highest pitch. The more advanced and commanding eminences were thronged with many, who, without concert, thought they might be among the first to hail the sight of a squadron on the sea of Marmora, on which, as it moved, they might distinguish and welcome the British flag. This public disposition, of course, excited the utmost fears of Russia, and no doubt was made use of by her to awaken all sorts of apprehensions in the mind of the sultan, and to confirm his dispositions of confidence in the power and the intentions of Russia, the natural result of the political events that had gone before. Russia's influence, however, had been effective only on the seraglio, the tone of which was at that moment deeply Russian, while the capital, the public, and the army, proclaimed aloud their antipathy for the Muscovite, and their longings for the arrival of the squadron. At this moment (the 5th or 6th of February, a memorable day) the speech of M. Bignon arrived. To say that it passed from hand to hand, from mouth to mouth, of the inhabitants of Constantinople, may not surprise, however unprecedented the remarkable event. But two hours after the arrival of the courier, an abstract in Turkish, and the whole of the passage above quoted, found its way into the palace, and was laid before the sultan. It was read and re-read. The only words that escaped his lips, when he recovered the sense of being in the presence of witnesses, were, "*Is it* REALLY *so!*"

We shall now quote some passages from the "*Memoir*," as notes to the article itself; and if, on the one hand, we are rejoiced at receiving this subsequent confirmation of every

word which we have said, on the other, we are gratified that this essay has preceded the publication of the Russian memoir—the drift of which, covert and insidious, as from its objects and application it necessarily must be, might not have been fully appreciated—the true sense and the real intentions of which might have been misinterpreted and misunderstood, even while the other errors, regarding historical facts and general opinions, might have been fully exposed.

" As the princes of the small constitutional states of Ger-
" many are pressed upon by the encroachments of their national
" assemblies, as Louis XVI. by the National Convention, they
" recall to their mind this grand and memorable example, *they*
" *have admitted* the connection between their future existence
" and the licence of their chambers, and that both are for them
" a question of existence or non-existence. These princes,
" therefore, yield their aid themselves to Prussia, to bridle the
" liberty of their representative assemblies; and, in yielding
" voluntary obedience to the general decisions of the Diet,
" they only submit themselves to the absolute exigencies of
" the times. Thus it is to be presumed, in future, if peace
" continues, that the principles of Prussia, above all, in as far
" as the exchange of political ideas is concerned, will become
" common to the whole German federation, excepting Austria;
" and, therefore, will the progress of the human mind, and of
" *burgher* civilisation, be maintained within tranquil and
" fixed limits. So, also, will the Diet have acquired a large
" intellectual basis, which, combining the whole intellectual
" force of the confederation, will raise it above each individual
" state. The influence and the power of Prussia will neces-
" sarily pass, in a great degree, to the Diet, and that with a
" remarkable profit for the *ensemble*. For each little German
" state will thus save its moral independence, and will appear
" as a member of a whole, and not as a minor under the
" guardianship of a federative government."

" During the peace.—Instead of increased economy, we
" have had increased expenditure; and during a pacific period
" the government debts, instead of diminishing, have been
" augmented in most of the German states, and this greatly
" increased the general discontent so peculiarly manifested in

" 1830 and 1832. This increase of debt appeared incompre-
" hensible, and most of the governments themselves were
" troubled by it. They made projects—drew up plans of
" reform—changed that which existed—established that which
" did not—and the only result, after all, was excess of expen-
" diture over revenue.

" It was not, however, the departments of justice, nor of
" education, nor of police, not even their military establish-
" ments, which created these difficulties for all the minor
" states. These difficulties sprung from the finances them-
" selves, their system of administration, and their custom-
" house regulations. But that which irritated most their
" subjects, was that this enormous expenditure, with the view
" of protecting commerce, only served to incommode it. The
" secret of all these unfortunate results, was principally the
" false relations that had, in this present time, been intro-
" duced between production and consumption."

" The small states of Germany, and therefore the majority
" of the Diet, see then, clearly, that their existence, as separate
" and independent states, can be guaranteed neither by Prus-
" sia nor Austria; and that even as regards their internal
" organisation, the protection of Austria and of Prussia will
" always have a prejudicial effect; for whatever differences
" may exist between the different German states, they are,
" nevertheless, unanimous and agreed in that they would
" remain free German states, and become neither provinces of
" Austria nor Russia. The Diet will, therefore, most wil-
" lingly accept the guarantee of its constitution, on the part
" of a great foreign power. Its choice, as we have already
" remarked, can only be between France and Russia***."

" Here France can by no means be considered as a gua-
" rantee, but as an adversary, menacing the Diet and the
" confederation; hence at this time the interests of the fede-
" rated states of Europe are divided, according to a theory of
" national principle, on one side of which are placed the
" constitutional revolutionary governments, and on the other,
" the monarchial legitimate governments; and since the
" German confederation, from the elements on which it is
" based, belongs to the latter, it can then not only not attach

" itself to France, but it is forced, from its monarchial and " legitimate principles, to join itself in alliance with the three " great powers that represent these principles***. If then, " in the case of a preponderance on the part of Austria or " Prussia, which threatens oppression, it should be under the " necessity of calling upon France or Russia in its defence, it " will be compelled to accept of Russia as such, seeing it can- " not put itself in opposition to its principles***. Thus it is " that the necessities of the Diet, as well its internal as external " relations, concur in proving that Russia must be the pro- " tector of the Germanic confederation.

" The Russian empire, at the moment of its enrolment " among the principal powers of Europe, already possessed, as " the basis of its power, all that a state of the first rank may " desire or seek, and more than others had acquired, after " ages of successful efforts. Its immense extent, its insulated " position, the law of the state, its great military resources, " and the fear with which it inspired its neighbours, all gave it " a degree of power and security of which no European state, " with the exception of France, could boast; for no state was " a continual influence over the relations and interests of " others less a real necessity than for Russia, and yet it would " be difficult to find one which possesses, within itself, so many " different and precious means of securing, without the least " violence, the most important connections with all the nations " of Europe, and of opening the sources of a great, transcen- " dent, and yet pacific influence."

In the following extract, the projects of Russia will be seen as clearly developed as language can explain them. She tells us that the complications—that the opposition of doctrine, and of interests, have put parties within the states, and states between themselves, at variance. And that men and governments being thus distracted, neglect external politics, and open a career of the widest ambition to any one power capable of taking advantage of these chances. She admits her incapability of playing this game single-handed, and almost takes credit for having furnished Prussia out with an histrionic helmet and lance, to perform this second part*.

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* We beg to refer to the view we have taken of this important question in our previous number, in the article " Quadruple Treaty."

" The principles upon which every state reposes—the rela-
" tions of friendship, and political alliance—have experienced,
" in our day, a remarkable change. France and England,
" naturally at enmity, are now in alliance with each other.
" England quits her ancient and most faithful ally—Holland.
" Austria abandons Switzerland, and Prussia becomes the ally
" of Russia. Wonderful political phenomena. Since, on
" this account, the states no longer follow the policy which
" their geographical position and natural interests point out,
" but are influenced in their alliances by principles of theory.
" The political balance upon which the European system has
" for so long reposed, has become sensibly weakened, and in
" its place there has arisen a system of political counterprise
" in that which concerns the principles of state. By these
" means the predominance of one great power has been con-
" siderably facilitated. It is not easy to admit, that Prussia
" can soon, of herself, gain a preponderance over Austria.
" Nevertheless, what Prussia may be incapable of affecting
" alone, she may be enabled to accomplish, as far as regards
" the rest of Germany, with the assistance of *a great foreign*
" *power.*"

With respect to the authenticity of this document, or others quoted in the body of the article, we have not a word to say —the reader, according to his lights and his intelligence, will judge them. Unless Russia challenges their authenticity, we think no one else will be disposed to do so; *we fear* Russia will *not* challenge them. Russia has, of late, reserved her powers of eloquence for the statement of her own case; she has not ventured to attack, save when she found an accidentally false position.

Not one of the least curious means of influence employed by Russia, developed in this paper, is the air of superiority and supremacy which she has succeeded in assuming—she seems invested with the infallibility of superior intelligence, with the might of irresistible power—intelligence, so lofty as to descend on mankind only in charity and benevolence—might, so superior to all human objects and struggles, as to manifest its existence, alone, in shielding the friendless, in protecting the oppressed. Is such, then, the state of public mind in Germany, and can Russia really venture to tell them to their faces, that

" they have turned their " eyes towards Russia, to look for a " Saviour?"

The fact of such a paper being drawn up is not one of the least important at this critical period. The views, the arguments, the falsehoods, the truths, all of the utmost consequence, and revealing, if words can reveal, the precariousness of the peace of Europe, the extent of the projects forming under the garb of peace, and the conquests, not which Russia is making, but which the intelligence of two or three foreigners, forming the secret councils of Russia, are now achieving over the interests, the opinions, and the policy of the great mass of civilised Europe—that mass which is wealthy, and thinks not of acquisition—which is powerful, and takes no precaution —which is industrious, and dreams not of rapine—which, in its learning, ease, and contentment, thinking no evil, credits no evil designs in others.

The publication of this document, will awaken, we believe, an attention for which the public mind of Europe is somewhat prepared; and, independently of the effect of awakened attention, the mere fact of the revelation of a secret project suffices to frustrate it*.

We wish ill to no country—nay, we wish well to Russia. As a manufacturing country, we ought to have no predilections, nor can we have antipathies without very sufficient cause. The only object of the foreign policy of England, besides the prevention of hostile designs, is to promote individual well-being and national prosperity throughout every portion of the globe,

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* Besides the revelations already made use of, or hinted at, there is another of some importance. Dispatches purloined from the desk of M. Nagler, minister of Prussia, at the Diet, and published some months ago at Strasburg, under the title of " Authentische Aktenstücke aus den Archiven des deutschen Bundes." Prussia has succeeded in buying off the editor, and in buying up the edition—that is to say, *all but* succeeded. We trust this article is in time to reach Toplitz just after Russia has taken up and divulged her positions. The prospects here developed for Germany, are indeed encouraging. Austria will have additional reason to congratulate herself. To France we wish joy of the task of reconciling the language she will here find with the words that have beguiled her monarch. Prussia may see in the consequences of these exposures the means of preserving for *herself*, the powers which Russia has conferred upon her for *other ends*. It would be well for the cabinet of England " *to familiarize the cabinet of Berlin with this idea!*"

so as, on the one hand, to obtain large markets for our manufactures, and on the other, to obtain large and numerous supplies of raw materials. Russia, unfortunately, has got a monopoly of the supply of many raw materials, and, political designs apart, must look with dissatisfaction, nay, with alarm and dread, at every indication of progress in a producing country. The home interest, that connects the well-being of mankind with the thoughts of England, connects the misfortune or subjugation of mankind with the thoughts of Russia. Hence an aversion in England to war, even against her, her most active foe; hence, in Russia (amidst the universal aggression which forms the history of our times)—the "Memoir" of which we are more particularly treating. But endurance, like prosperity, has its limit. We are sorry that Russia has forced England to be against her, and we think she has made a serious miscalculation; she has mistaken the patient endurance of England for cowardice and weakness, not considering that equanimity and reserve betoken but firmer decision and increased energy, when the hour of indecision has passed away and that of determination has arrived.

We cannot conclude this article, which now has extended to so many various and important subjects, without taking notice of one very grave fallacy, which Russia has succeeded in disseminating throughout the continent, and in various quarters where correcter opinions ought to prevail, that is, the supposed unprepared state of England for going to war. We do not say that this supposition is too absurd to answer. Russia appreciated its importance, or else she would not have taken the trouble she has done to disseminate it. For the consideration of those whom it concerns, we make the following observations.

England never was so well prepared as at the present moment, for going to war. Her army has been kept efficient throughout this long peace, which never was the case before. Her navy, increased in positive strength, is still further increased in relative strength, and leaves no possible balance on the seas to the power of England if war takes place at the present moment. The foreign possessions, the military and naval stations, the fortresses occupied by England, now double her

military and naval strength, by the present efficiency it gives her at so many various and remote points.

Her finances are more capable of meeting the exigencies of war than ever they were before.

Her revenue increasing, with reduced taxation.

The public fortune rapidly increasing.

A low rate of interest, and enormous amount of floating capital, immediately available for the purposes of war, and this is the root of the whole question.

They talk of England's debt, and by talking of that debt as a means of preventing war, they confess that the means of war and success lie in the financial resources of England. The very exultation with which the debt of England is referred to, unmasks their own conviction. England's debt *is* enormous—her resources are MORE so. *Eight* hundred millions *are* absorbed in government securities. CAPITAL CAN ONLY FETCH TWO AND A HALF PER CENT. Government wanted 20,000,000*l.* for a special object; it was raised without difficulty; almost without observation; it influenced the price of no stock—it was not even quoted as an instance of the vastness of the resources of England! What would have been the result of the former war, and what its duration, had England then financially been in the condition which this single fact establishes?

It is the very innate conviction of strength in England which permits the periodicals and the debates to run wild in predictions and assertions of the most extravagant nature, in support of sectional views; it is a conviction of her strength which has caused public discussion to assume a tone of party, and to lose the character and feeling of nationality; and thus one of the most striking proofs of confidence and strength has been taken on the continent for a confession of alarm and weakness.

The commercial relations of England are extending in the east, in the west, in the south, every where but in the north.

A war can interrupt none of those relations—a war can endanger no territorial possession of England—exposes her to no aggression or invasion; and supposing war with the whole

of Europe, it gives her the command of the seas, and of the commerce of the continent itself, because a war is the death blow to those commercial projects, those manufacturing means which have already occupied so large a portion of this article. To other powers, war, either as means of carrying a design into execution, or as the means of preventing any hostile design—is a mere instrument, painful in every case to use, and detrimental in itself, whether the object be gained or lost. To England, a war opens *up positive advantages* independent of the object. But of these advantages a commercial nation, occupied in the progress of hourly transactions, would never dream, unless they are forced upon her.

In short, England by a war, with whatever power, or with even all the powers of the continent together, loses no one element of her greatness; and a war now would give her the same impulse that the last war did, and still further would have done, had there not been the spirit of a Napoleon to rule the storm. But war in Europe can only be (until the Dardanelles are Russian) *between* England and France. *If these nations are not opposed*, there can be no balance between the contending parties, and therefore no war, except of words and threats, can take place.

But in this hypothetical fiction of a war with Russia alone, need we talk even of such considerations? An empire that can be blockaded with a couple of squadrons—an empire that can be ruined by a slender discriminating duty in our tariff—a power, the basis of whose influence and progress is falsehood and deception, and which, therefore, can be beaten down by a mere statement of facts. A conqueror who holds the better part of conquests only while we choose not to display our hostile pennants in the Black Sea. Is this the power, before venturing to speak, to which we have to reckon over our strength? Is this the power which ventures to proclaim to Europe that England is unprepared for war?

We have alluded to the means of coercion which we singly possess, without firing a single gun. But what are the means Russia has to attack us? Would it be a descent on our coast? Will it be the attack of Corfu, or Gibraltar? Will it be the blockade of the Humber, the Mersey, or the Thames? Will

it be the bombardment of Chatham, or Sheerness? *Where* can Russia touch England? *What can* Russia do, we should like to know, against England? And supposing she could beat and humble us, does she not want money for the purpose? Where can she get a loan? There are but three marts where a loan can be negociated, London, Paris, and Amsterdam. France must be with England; Amsterdam must be with France and England, or with Russia. If with us, Russia will get no credit there: if Holland is with Russia, her ports are blockaded, her commerce is cut up; she is at once in a state of bankruptcy.

Russia may injure an ally of ours—Turkey—that she is now proceeding in with the utmost activity. A war is the salvation of that ally; and the continuance of peace alone affords Russia the means and chances of success. Russia may get possession of the Dardanelles; that possession will be the prize of peaceful intrigue; and if peace is necessary to Russia, because she is not prepared to go to war—if peace is necessary to her, because she is vulnerable in her commerce, her acquisitions, her communications, and her character, by a mere hostile demonstration on the part of England—peace is no less necessary to her, for the gradual repression of the spirit of nationality in Turkey—which now, in any collision with Russia, *must be supported by England*, and where, consequently, Russia can succeed *only by preventing any collision from taking place.*

Let the English public read and reflect on the following ominous words, addressed by Russia to the German states.

" From the instant that they," speaking of Austria and Prussia, " are not sufficiently strong to prevent the smallest " or weakest member of the league from being injured, by " the insolence or the violence of a neighbour, from that " moment their throne is shaken to its foundation. Away, " then, every thought of insulated prosperity!—away all cul- " pable indifferences with regard to foreign dangers!—no " neutrality—no backwardness—in a question of this impor- " tance—never and in no case, and least above all, when the " tempest of the west of Europe assumes so menacing a form, " and whilst its shocks tell upon all the old states of Europe! " Nowhere let there be indifference, and least of all in such

" an alliance of states as that of Germany! The apprehension " of Austria and Prussia, of being led by this policy (the only " true and noble policy) into interminable disputes, and a war " without aid with France is pusillanimous, and can flow but " from a false philanthropy, or from disgraceful weakness or " indolence. The greater the care and severity with which " these powers pursue, even to its inmost core, every injustice " and every violence that France may commit against Ger- " many, by so much the less will they have to deploy their " forces against her on the field of battle. The more that " France sees them ready and instant, the less will she be " inclined to provoke them."

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